Intergroup Evaluation as an Indicator of Emotional Elaboration of Collective Traumas in National Historical Narratives

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Abstract

In a longitudinal content analytical study, the authors explored intergroup evaluation patterns in Hungarian history school-book narratives about the so-called "Trianon Peace Treaty" in 1920 which had approved the detachment of 2/3 of Hungary's territory by victorious countries of the First World War. The event has meant a major national trauma that has not been elaborated to date. The study aimed to find evaluation patterns in temporally changing narrative constructions which were diagnostic to the process of emotional elaboration of the trauma. School-books released between 1920 and 2000 were included in the study, by a 10-year sampling method. Analysis was performed by NARRCAT (Narrative Categorial Content Analytical Tool), a computerized tool for narrative psychological content analysis, which is capable for identifying complex linguistic structures of psychological relevance in large databases of narratives. Four different evaluation patterns emerged in the narratives which roughly correspond to four different historical eras in Hungary. Results show that the aggressor-victim relation between the former Entente powers and Hungary has remained a part of the narrative representation of the treaty, reflecting the identity state of collective victimhood.

In the present study, the Hungarian national identity is examined through the collective memory processes of a trauma of the Hungarian nation as it is reflected in historical narratives. Hungarian people were affected by several collective traumas during the twentieth century. Among these traumatic events, the most serious one for many Hungarians is the so-called "Trianon Peace Treaty"[1]. In this study, the authors examine the temporal tendencies of self-evaluation and intergroup evaluation in secondary school history textbook narratives about the treaty of Trianon, in order to obtain data on the elaboration processes which the trauma of the national identity underwent during nearly a century that has passed since then.

Within psychology, the concept of trauma was first studied in details in a comprehensive psychoanalytic framework by Sigmund Freud. In a psychoanalytic approach, psychological trauma is an emotional shock that substantially affects the concerned individual's psychic integrity. Freud's daughter, Anna Freud (1937) argued in her work on

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defence mechanisms that the traumatic experience would compulsively recur in dreams, fantasies and behavioural reenactments. These phenomena show the unintegrated nature of the experience that engages the individual's mental life, thus preventing an adequate perception of reality. As a result of traumatic life events, the individual's pre-existing reality experience becomes shaken and the adaptation to the altered reality imposes a cognitive and emotional challenge that often seems unsolvable. Serious traumas "destroy the cultural and psychological presuppositions that govern our lives and this leads to cognitive and emotional paralysis" (Lust 2009). However, the adaptation to reality requires the elaboration of the trauma and the recovery of the integrity of the self. The elaboration process of loss and trauma was primarily studied by psychoanalytic authors who followed Freud's theoretical assumptions (Herman 1997; Kübler-Ross 1969). Following Laub and Auerhahn (1993), the process can be described in respect of memory as follows. In the initial stage, primitive defence mechanisms emerge such as negation, derealization and depersonalization. The trauma attacks consciousness as flashes of experience, however, this does not mean remembrance but the repetition of the experience in an altered state of consciousness. Fragments of the experience emerge repeatedly, but these fragments, as they are ripped out of their original context, seem senseless, irrational. Later transferences appear: the unintegrated experience fragments become parts of the present relationships, thus distorting them. Actual remembrance appears but the temporal dimensions of present and past are confused (Pólya, László, and Forgas 2005). The traumatic event becomes the main topic of the person's life story and it may determine her relationships, her entire life. In the final stage of elaboration, the self-remembers as a witness of the events, that is, the recalled memories are separated from the present time of recollection, the self reflects on the past and on the act of recollection itself.

Recollection becomes conscious, memories are recalled easily and come to the mind only when they have present relevance. In this stage, the integrity of the identity is considered recovered.

There are parallels between personal and collective identity given that both are being constructed and shaped by narratives (Bruner 1986; László 2008a, 2011; Liu and László 2007). As an individual's identity states and processes can be traced in his autobiographical narratives as representations of personal experience (McAdams 1985, 2001; László 2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2011), so this approach can be utilized at a group level, by extending the relation between narrative construction and identity construction to the relation between group history and group identity or collective identity. The extension is based on the connection of two theoretical considerations. On the one hand, collective memory (Halbwachs 1941; Assmann 1992) and social representations of history (László 1997) are assumed to be organized in narrative structures. On the other hand, group identity is assumed to be conveyed by the narratives of the group, that is, properties of a group's identity can be uncovered from its historical narratives.

Thus, the elaboration process of a group trauma or loss may also be followed up in collective memory processes, and hence an image may be drawn of the damages and recovery processes of group identity. Several studies in the international literature address the collective memory processes of national traumas. Igartua and Paez (1997), for example, studied films about the Spanish civil war and found that the number of such films had increased in 30 years after the end of the war, and the films kept increasing cognitive and emotional distance from the events as the time passed while paying more and more attention to the exploration of their causes. Atsumi and Suwa (2009) studied the omissions and compressions of the historical narrative in the Japanese collective memory. Up to the latest times, Japanese history textbooks

dated the beginning of Japan's participation in the Second World War to the Pearl Harbor attack, ignoring the offences against Southeast Asian countries in the 1930s, such as the Nanking massacre, and they construed the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings as natural disasters. This framing exempted them from maintaining a hostile relation to the subsequently allied Americans. However, to the authors' knowledge, there has been no such study done so far which follows up the collective memory processes of a national trauma through a nearly 100-year period in respect of the construction, that is, vulnerability of national identity. The present study focuses on one major aspect of the elaboration of the Trianon trauma, namely, the temporal tendencies of intergroup evaluation.

In respect of identity, the narrative of an elaborated trauma has to meet the following requirements:

(1) It represents the traumatic event as a part of the past, that is, in a way which the event has no direct relevance to the current relations to the concerned outgroups;

(2) The narrative is coherent, that is, it fits consistently into the sequence of historical events, and it is a generally accepted (canonized) construction within the group;

(3) The narrative forms a part of a sustainable identity that means that it contributes to the maintenance of a positively evaluated national identity while it is in harmony with the current relations to the concerned outgroups.

INTERGROUP EVALUATION AND TRAUMA ELABORATION

The Evaluative Function of Narratives

The essential role of evaluation in the construction of personal narratives was demonstrated by Labov and Waletzky (1967; also see Labov 1972), who analysed narrative accounts of personal experience using a structural approach. The authors found two general functions that characterize all narratives that perform a communicative intention. One of these functions is evaluation that can be considered equal to the pragmatic relevance of the narrative as a communicative act. Narrator's evaluation of the events shows the reason why the events are worth being told or what makes the account a message. Consequently, evaluation is a necessary part of a narrative orienting the listener's attention to the intended conclusions of the story.

Intergroup Evaluation and Group Identity

Any nation's history is primarily embedded in a system of intergroup relations. Narratives about the origin, the events which turned fortune or the periods of flourishing and decay always assign essential roles to outgroups, to other nations or groups categorized in other (e.g., ideological) respects. In respect of the adaptability of national identity, the efficiency of coping with challenges, losses, threats and conflicts affecting the group, it is important how the nation judges its own role and those of the relevant outgroups in the events preserved in the collective memory of the nation.

Intergroup evaluation is an essential linguistic tool for narrative identity construction that organizes the narrated historical events and its characters into a meaningful and coherent representation. Intergroup evaluations are explicit social judgments that evaluate the groups or their representatives concerned in the event. These evaluations can be: (1) positive and negative attributions assigned to them or to their actions (e.g., wise, unjust); (2) emotional reactions and relations to them (admire, scorn); (3) evaluative interpretations referring to their actions (instead of or beside factual description; excel, exploit); and (4) acts of rewarding and punishment or acknowledgement and criticism (cheer, protest).

Intergroup evaluation plays an essential role in the maintenance of positive social identity. Social identity

theory (Tajfel 1981; Tajfel and Turner 1986) is based on the proposition that individuals obtain their identities to a great extent from those groups in which they are members of permanently and which play an essential role in their lives. A positively evaluated group membership provides positive self-evaluation and the feeling of safety for the individual. However, social identity is not an absolute category but a relational one: the ingroup gains its value by the positive distinction from similar outgroups. At the same time, an individual is always a member of multiple groups, and it always depends on the current social situation which social category forms the basis for distinction. The demand for positive social identity leads to intergroup comparison and bias, that is, overvaluation of the ingroup and devaluation of the outgroup, which may take the form of stereotypes, discrimination or aggressive competitive behaviour. Field and laboratory experiments demonstrated that the mere fact of group membership can elicit intergroup comparison and competition, overriding even former personal friendships (Sherif et al. 1961; Sherif 1966; Tajfel 1978). Attributional experiments proved that intergroup bias also appears in behaviour explanations: individuals tend to attribute success to their own group and failure to the outgroup (Pettigrew 1979). More recent studies demonstrated the intergroup bias effect in strategic language use, as well (Maass et al. 1989; Szabó et al. 2010).

Thus, in an intergroup context, interpersonal and intergroup evaluation shows bias both at the behavioural and at the linguistic level whose motivational basis is the demand for a positive social identity. The bias of evaluation intensifies in extreme intergroup conflicts that threaten the well-being of the group, thus enhancing group cohesion and collective identity.

Indicators of Intergroup Evaluation Related to Trauma Elaboration

In a narrative psychological approach, collective elaboration of a group identity trauma is considered as a narrative reconstruction process that begins with the narrative representation of the unacceptable loss experience and eventually leads to a narrative that represents the event as a part of the terminated past, fits consistently into the entire group history, and contributes to a sustainable positive identity. According to the major assumption of this study, narrative intergroup evaluation has at least three semantic dimensions which presumably make it an essential tool for trauma elaboration. Below are defined these three dimensions quantifiable in narratives and their implications to the elaboration process.

Each dimension is defined by the frequency distributions of multiple content categories and the patterns emerging from them, and not by the frequencies of a single category. The relation of each dimension to the elaboration process is determined by the definition of the difference between the pattern characteristic to the construction of an unelaborated trauma and the pattern characteristic to that of a trauma under progressive elaboration.

Intergroup bias: positive and negative valence. The construction of an unelaborated trauma is characterized by a significant asymmetry between the evaluation of the ingroup and the outgroups, corresponding to the tendency of intergroup bias: positive and negative dominance characterizes ingroup and outgroup evaluation, respectively. This pattern implies that the ingroup may not be held responsible for the traumatic event and its consequences, and the group demands compensation since the responsibility and compensation for a negatively evaluated event reside with the negatively evaluated character. In this dimension, the progression of the elaboration process is marked by a decrease in the asymmetry of intergroup evaluation: the ingroup is evaluated less positively and the outgroup less negatively in sum. This pattern implies the distribution of responsibility for the negative event and its consequences; the role of the ingroup in the occurrence of the event is an emphatic

part of the narrative. The narrative approaches to the loss from a self-reflective, more objective external perspective, considered to be an important factor in trauma elaboration.

Relevance of the past to the present: narrator's vs. characters' evaluative perspective. Evaluations of the narrator and the characters of the ingroup in narratives of the collective memory usually represent the evaluative perspective of the ingroup. It is important that the narrator represents the present perspective of the ingroup on the event while characters' evaluations belong to the past as characters themselves are parts of the past event in the narrative. The following examples illustrate the difference between narrator's and characters' evaluations, preserving a virtually identical evaluative content: narrator's evaluation: the terms of peace were unfair; and characters' evaluation: the country received the terms of peace with protest.

It is assumed that a relatively great proportion of the evaluations are performed by the narrator in the initial construction of the group trauma (compared to the subsequently issued narratives). A high rate of intergroup evaluation in this perspective reflects the relevance of the event to the present, that is, its unterminated status. During the elaboration process, the rate of narrator's evaluations decreases compared to the previous constructions, implying a decrease in the present relevance of the event, that is, an increasing psychological distance between the present and the past; the reconstruction process progresses toward the termination of the event.

Emotional focus: emotional vs. cognitive evaluation. The relative rates of the narrator's emotional and cognitive evaluations form an indicator of the emotional load of the relation to the event. The basis for the emotional-cognitive distinction is similar to the categorization applied by Pennebaker (1993; Cohn, Mehl, and Pennebaker 2004; Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010) in the content analysis of personal accounts of traumatic life events. At the same time,

this study, which focused on the narrower class of intergroup evaluation, applied a category system in which moral judgments implying emotional responses were also classified under emotional evaluations (e.g., cruel, heroic), while cognitive evaluations included not only evaluations referring to cognitive mechanisms (e.g., careless, well-considered) but also those of a rational aspect and general, emotionally not loaded evaluations (e.g., erroneous, good).

Pennebaker found that a successful coping was indicated by an increase of words referring to cognitive mechanisms during the repeated reconstruction of the traumatic event, while emotional words are important in the initial stage of elaboration when the catharsis enables the release of the paralysing emotional distress. In group historical narratives about a collective trauma, a similar tendency is expected within the evaluative perspective of the present, that is, within narrator's evaluations. Initially, the rate of emotionally loaded evaluations is relatively high as opposed to that of cognitive, rational evaluations, a pattern that reflects an emotional focus in the appraisal of the event. During the elaboration process, the rate of emotionally loaded evaluations decreases as opposed to that of cognitive, rational evaluations that implies the improvement of emotional control and rational insight; a more objective perspective is applied in the narrative, treating the event as a subject (and not experiencing it).

THE STUDY: INTERGROUP EVALUATION AS AN INDICATOR OF EMOTIONAL ELABORATION OF A COLLECTIVE TRAUMA IN NARRATIVES ABOUT THE TRIANON PEACE TREATY

The Trianon Peace Treaty (1920)

The Trianon Peace Treaty was selected as a relevant event for the examination of the relations between narrative intergroup evaluation and trauma elaboration. According to the peace treaty coming into effect in

1920, the territory of Hungary was reduced to one third and its ethnic population to two third approximately. There is no doubt that this change resulted in a state of collective trauma. Although the period lasting until the end of the second world war was characterized by partly successful efforts to regain the lost territories (Vienna awards in 1938 and 1940), the Paris Peace Treaty signed in 1947, which cancelled the Vienna awards guaranteeing Hungary the regained territories, can be considered as retraumatization in psychological respect.

Such circumstances suggest the unfinished state of elaboration as the case of over-border Hungarians has not yet been settled either in Hungary or in the neighbouring countries, still there are political groups in Hungary which support the revision of the peace treaty, and the history of Trianon has not yet gained its canonized form. Recently, the Hungarian government attempted to unify the educational material about Trianon in public education (Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development 2011).

Hungarian history textbook chapters about the traumatic event released after 1920 offer an excellent textual database for the examination of the relations between intergroup evaluation and collective trauma elaboration. A longitudinal analysis of the textbook chapters released from the time of the treaty to the present enables to follow up the tendencies of the semantic dimensions during that period and the tendencies can be interpreted according to the elaboration process.

Hypotheses

The main assumption was formed as a null hypothesis concerning the tendencies of intergroup evaluation as reflecting the collective trauma elaboration process. According to the null hypothesis, the elaboration of the Trianon trauma has been exclusively influenced by the progress of time, that is, without effects of factors that have prevented a successful elaboration, such as the retraumatization after the second world war, the

long-term interests and strategies of the political power (e.g., revisionism or communist international), and, most important, the specific maladaptive way as the Hungarian society has attempted to cope with the traumatic loss. An advantage of this approach is that it enables clear predictions on the tendencies of the indices of evaluation, and any considerable difference from the predictions can be interpreted as related to the above mentioned factors.

The social impact theory (SIT) (Latané 1981) served as a theoretical basis for the null hypothesis. SIT provides a universal model of social influence on individual behaviour applying physical metaphors such as force and distance similarly to Gestalt psychology. In short, SIT proposes that the extent to which other people as social forces influence an individual's behaviour or attitude toward a target event is a multiplicative function of the strength, immediacy and number of forces involved in the event. The greater the strength (status or power), the spatial or temporal immediacy and the number of people involved in a target event, the greater social impact is exerted on the target individual. One aspect of immediacy is the temporal distance from the target event. Social impact of an event is assumed to decrease as temporal distance increases (Sedikides and Jackson 1990). Applying SIT to the collective narrative representation process of the traumatic event, time emerges as the determining factor of social impact. Number and strength of social forces involved in the target event should be considered constant given that the study focuses on the representational processes characteristic to a national group as a whole and not on specific interactions between group members or subgroups (see Nowak, Szamrej, and Latané 1990; on the dynamics of public opinion or attitudes within the group, that is, among group members or between a majority and a minority)[2]. Then, the quantitative indices of evaluation obtained in the school-book texts of a given period are used to measure social impact generated within the group and

the longitudinal analysis shows the temporal tendency of impact.

Specific predictions on the three semantic dimensions of intergroup evaluation were made on the basis of the general assumptions addressed in chapter *Intergroup Asymmetry of Evaluation*, which was assumed to decrease by the progress of time, that is, both positive evaluation on the ingroup and negative evaluation on the outgroup would show decreasing tendencies. Concerning evaluative perspective, the rate of narrator's evaluations was predicted to decrease by time, thus psychological distance between the past and the present would gain increasing emphasis in the narratives. Within narrator's evaluations, the rate of emotional evaluations was predicted to gradually decrease by time, thus the dominance of emotional focus would decrease whereas that of rational insight would increase.

Sample

Secondary school history textbooks available at the Hungarian National Széchényi Library provided the basis for sampling. The corpus designed for longitudinal analysis was built up of Trianon chapters of textbooks released between 1920-2000. The sampling method followed a 10-year resolution: all Trianon chapters were included in the sample which were released in a round year (1920, 1930, etc.). In this way, nine sub-corpora were designed whose numerical evaluation indices formed the basis for inferences on the elaboration process.

Procedure

The primary content analysis of the texts were performed by means of the evaluation module of the NARRCAT (Narrative Categorial Content Analytical Tool) computerized linguistic analytic tool (Vincze et al. 2009). The modules of NARRCAT operate in the NooJ linguistic development environment (Silberztein 2003) that enables morphologic and syntactic analysis of large digitalized text databases in several languages

as well as identification of predefined linguistic structures by means of search algorithms based on the primary linguistic analysis. The evaluation module marks the keywords conveying evaluative content with annotation tags according to word class and valence whose keywords are included in several different dictionaries within the module. Table 1 gives a summary of the dictionaries with examples and word counts of them.

Evaluative keywords may be adjectives, verbs, nouns, or adverbs sorted by word class. Adjective and verb dictionaries were selected by two independent judges from digitalized dictionaries selected by usage frequency by the Research Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Keywords of positive and negative valence were included in separate dictionaries. As evaluation is primarily realized in attributes and actions that are linguistically expressed by adjectives and verbs, thus the noun and adverb dictionaries were generated from the derivatives of evaluative adjectives and verbs. This is the reason why the word counts of the dictionaries show repetitions. Evaluative emotional and mental states are identified by the separate emotion module of NARRCAT (László 2012), these linguistic structures are not yet included in the evaluation module.

At the moment, the evaluation module is capable for identifying evaluative keywords in any inflected forms in texts, furthermore, it identifies verbs and verbal adverbs with separated prefixes, and then it annotates the identified structures with output tags corresponding to their valence. In order to identify the subject and object references and the emotional or cognitive content of evaluations, further computer-assisted manual analysis is needed. Currently, technical developments are in progress in order to implement these functions.

At the second stage of analysis, the in-text annotated evaluations were coded by means of the ATLAS.ti software (Muhr 2004) according to object (Hungarians, Entente, Little Entente), valence

Table 1. The Dictionaries of the Evaluation Module of NARRCAT With Examples and Word Counts

Word class		Positive	Count	Negative	Count
Adjective		Wise	317	Unfair	582
Verb		Excel	122	Exploit	317
		Cheer		Protest	
Noun	From adjective	Wisdom	317	Unfairness	582
	From verb	Excellence	122	Exploitation	317
Adverb	From adjective	Wisely	317	Unfairly	582
	From verb	Cheering	122	Protesting	317

(positive, negative) and evaluative perspective (narrator, character), and narrator's evaluations were also coded according to evaluative content (emotional, cognitive). Only evaluations representing the Hungarians' perspective were included in the analysis, that is, the narrator's and the Hungarian characters' evaluations, as intergroup differentiation reflected in these evaluations formed the basis for inferences on the elaboration process. All evaluations were included in only one case, when the temporal tendency of the rate of total evaluations compared to text length was studied.

At the coding of object reference, the Hungarian nation as a whole, its subgroups and individual Hungarian characters were categorized as Hungarians, as well as the narrator representing the perspective of Hungarians. The categories of Entente and Little Entente included the two political groups, each as a whole, their member nations, national subgroups and individual characters.

The coding of valence was already performed at the first, automatized stage of analysis, as the module marks the evaluations with output tags corresponding to positive or negative valence. At the coding of evaluative perspective, narrator's and characters' perspectives were separated depending on the subject or evaluator who is the source of evaluation in the text. At the coding of content, categories of emotional and cognitive content were separated. In this respect, the

coder relied on his individual linguistic intuition.

RESULTS

Intergroup Asymmetry of Evaluation (Object and Valence)

At the first stage of data analysis, frequencies of positive and negative evaluations on the different groups (Hungarians, Entente, Little Entente) were studied. A separate report was made for each of the nine sub-corpora, these together formed the basis for interpretation. Table 2 shows the distributions of evaluations according to object and valence in each decade.

According to the patterns of intergroup differentiation, the nine sub-corpora were divided into four major segments: 1920-1940, 1950, 1960-1980, and 1990-2000. A detailed analysis of these data is provided below, in the chapter titled *The Four Patterns of Intergroup Differentiation*, yet it is reasonable to propose at this point that the periods covered by the four segments roughly correspond to four successive political eras: Horthy-era (1920-1940), Rákosi-era (1950), Kádár-era (1960-1980), and the period after political system change (1990-2000). This match suggests that the prevailing political ideologies left their print on the representations of Trianon. Those characteristics of each political era, which are relevant to the interpretation of the results, are

Table 2. Distributions of Evaluations According to Object and Valence in Each Decade

Political era		Horthy-era			Rákosi-era	Kádár-era			After political system change	
Decade (number of texts)		1920 (1)	1930 (6)	1940 (6)	1950 (3)	1960 (2)	1970 (1)	1980 (1)	1990 (3)	2000 (5)
Word count		365	4,395	4,092	3,138	285	271	836	4,772	6,065
Object: Hungarians	Pos.		32	11	8			2	5	4
	Neg.		7	7	26	1		6	8	
Object: Entente	Pos.		1		1					2
	Neg.	1	18	17	5				14	21
Object: Little Entente	Pos.									
	Neg.	1	9	12	4			1	3	6

Notes: Proceeding by rows from the top: (1) the political era matched to the sub-corpora assigned to the same period according to the distribution pattern of evaluations; (2) release date of the texts and number of texts from that period in brackets; (3) total word count per decade; and (4-6) frequencies of evaluations on Hungarians, Entente, and Little Entente per decade and valence (positive, negative).

described below at the detailed data analysis.

Average Text Length and Evaluation Rate per Period

At the next stage of data analysis, the tendencies of average text length and percentage evaluation rate across the four periods were studied. Table 3 shows detailed data on the number and length of texts and on evaluation rate per period. The average word count per decade within each period (total word count / number of decades in each period; the sixth column from the left in Table 3) is an indicator of the level of linguistic elaboration that provides information on the tendency of cognitive elaboration. The interpretation of the target event and its antecedents from multiple perspectives, that is, the reconstruction of the causes leading to the target event and that of the characters' mental perspectives, their intentions and beliefs related to the event are such compositional elements whose application leads to an increase in text length depending at the level of their elaboration. In this respect, the average word count per decade in the Horthy-era (2,951) serves as a reference point. It should be noted that a large increase can already be observed within this period, namely between 1920 and 1930 (365 and 4,395 words, respectively). The average word count in the Rákosi-era (3,138) is nearly equal to that of the Horthy-era, then a drastic fall can be observed in the Kádár-era (464), and the average word count in the period after political system change exceeds those of all previous periods (5,419). These data show that the cognitive elaboration process comes to a break as the story of Trianon almost disappears from the official history, and it only continues after the political system change.

The percentage rate of evaluation per period (total evaluations / total word count × 100; the eighth column from the left in Table 3) provides information on the emotional elaboration process. In this case only, all evaluations were included in the analysis, that is, evaluations beyond the relations "Hungarian evaluates Hungarian" and "Hungarian evaluates outgroup" were also included. An evaluation always reflects the psychological closeness of the related event as a positive or negative judgment implies emotional involvement, and at the same time, it narrows the opportunities of interpretation or cognitive elaboration as it offers a complete interpretation in a condensed form. Evaluation rates in the Horthy-era and Rákosi-era are practically identical (1.5%), then a

Table 3. Indicators of the Number and Length of Texts and Rate of Evaluation per Period

Evaluation pattern	Political era	Number of texts	Text/ decade	Total word count	Word count/decade	Number of evaluations	Evaluation /word count (%)
1920-1940	Horthy-era	13	4.3	8,852	2,951	134	1.5
1950	Rákosi-era	3	3.0	3,138	3,138	46	1.5
1960-1980	Kádár-era	4	.8	1,392	464	12	.9
1990-2000	After political system change	8	2.0	10,837	5,419	68	.6

Notes: Proceeding by columns from the left: (1) the time interval covered by the sub-corpora assigned to the same period according to the distribution pattern of evaluations; (2) the political era matched to the covered period; (3) number of texts per period; (4) mean number of texts per decade within each period; (5) total word count per period; (6) mean word count per decade; (7) total number of evaluations per period; and (8) percentage rate of evaluation compared to total word count in each period.

gradual decrease comes in the subsequent two periods (.9%, .6%). This suggests that the emotional significance of Trianon reduced gradually as the evaluatedness of the event reduces to nearly one third compared to the initial period. However, the tendency of text length, that is, that of linguistic elaboration has also to be considered. The text length after political system change nearly doubles compared to the initial period. Theoretically, the two indicators can be harmonized, interpreting them uniformly on the basis of an effective emotional elaboration process. On the one hand, the narrative representation of the event in the present shows a more detailed linguistic elaboration, thus implying a more complex societal discourse which takes more details and aspects into consideration. The reconstruction and understanding of the event, that is, cognitive elaboration reaches a higher level after 70-80 years than in the previous periods (Vincze 2009). On the other hand, the evaluatedness of the event, that is, its significance in respect of the Hungarian national identity reduces (It has to be added that it reduces compared to the past but not compared to the contemporary representations of other events). Thus, the emotional acceptance of the loss also reaches a higher level. As in the case of individual traumas studied by Pennebaker, the cognitive and emotional elaboration progress in parallel in the narratives of the national trauma.

Indicators of intergroup differentiation provide further information on the issues of emotional elaboration and underrepresentation of Trianon in the Kádár-era.

The Four Patterns of Intergroup Differentiation

Table 4 shows the distribution of the positive and negative evaluations on the Hungarians and on the outgroups. The table shows raw frequencies which appropriately reflect the tendencies within the periods.

The statistic significance of the differences among the distribution patterns of the periods was tested by Chi-square test in order to ascertain whether the division of the dataset according to the four periods is supported by the evaluation patterns obtained in that way (see Table 5). The comparability of the four subcorpora was rendered by using the frequencies compared to text length (altering among periods) instead of raw frequencies. The cell frequencies in each period were calculated by the following formula: [raw frequency of evaluation / word count of the subcorpus × 10,000] – rounded to a whole number. In this way, the converted frequencies were compared to text length and comparable to each other while keeping the same scale as raw frequencies. Data on

Table 4. Intergroup Evaluation in the Perspective of Hungarians (Narrator, Hungarian Characters) in Trianon Chapters of Secondary School History Textbooks Released Between 1920-2000

Period	Object: Entente		Object: Little Entente		Object: Hungarians	
	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.
1920-1940	1	36	0	22	43	14
1950	1	5	0	4	8	26
1960-1980	0	0	0	1	2	7
1990-2000	2	35	0	9	9	8

Notes: The four data rows show the four patterns separated on the basis of the decade reports whose patterns are related to four political eras. The data show raw frequencies.

Table 5. Comparison of Evaluation Patterns and Valence Distributions

Period (a)	Group × Valence (b)			
	Outgroups		Hungarians	
	Pos.	Neg.	Pos.	Neg.
1920-1940	1	66	49	16
1950	3	29	25	83
1960-1980	0	7	14	50
1990-2000	2	41	8	7

Notes: (a) Comparison of the four entire intergroup evaluation patterns of the four periods, each pattern including all group × valence categories (see entire rows); and (b) comparison of the valence distributions for the outgroups and for the Hungarians within each period (see columns "Outgroups" and "Hungarians" within each row). The frequencies shown are compared to text length.
(a) Pearson x^2 = 135.926; p = .000; (b) 1920-1940: Pearson x^2 = 76.555; p = .000; 1950: Pearson x^2 = 2.927; p = .087; 1960-1980: Fisher's Exact Test: p = .331; 1990-2000: Fisher's Exact Test: p = .000.

the two outgroups, the Entente and the Little Entente were summed, partly because of the similarities among the distributions of evaluations on them, and partly because of the relatively low frequencies of evaluations on each. According to the result of the Chi-square test, the obtained distribution patterns of the different periods statistically separate from each other, thus the division of the entire dataset into four historical periods or political eras is reasonable.

Within each period, the statistic significance of the difference between the valence distribution for the outgroups and that for the Hungarians was tested by the same method as described above (see Table 5). The results obtained for each period are detailed below.

1920-1940 (Horthy-era). The tendency of intergroup bias clearly appears in the period directly after the peace treaty. In the case of the outgroups,

negative evaluations are dominant as opposed to positive ones: 1 positive, 66 negative evaluations (in frequencies compared to text length). At the same time, the evaluations on the Hungarians show the opposite pattern: 49 positive, 16 negative evaluations. The valence distribution for the outgroups differs significantly from that for the Hungarians. The results correspond to the intergroup behaviour and attitude which are characteristic to an intensified intergroup conflict. In respect of emotional elaboration, this evaluation pattern corresponds to the denial of loss, in the sense that representing a past loss as an intense ongoing conflict reflects that the loss has not been acknowledged along with its emotional consequences. Corresponding to the efforts for territorial revision of the treaty in the Horthy-era, the narratives released in this period clearly put the liability for the loss on the

outgroups, while Hungary is a victim that represents positive values despite the loss and justly demands compensation, redemption of the national "greatness" on the basis of this positive role.

The denial of loss was supported by actual partial territorial restitutions until the end of the Second World War (in 1938 and 1940) as a result of the revisionist policy of the Horthy-era supported by the allied Germany. Thus, the loss did not by any means seem permanent in this period. It was only made permanent by the peace treaties ending the Second World War which invalidated the territorial restitutions while Hungary came under Soviet occupation. In a psychological sense, this meant the retraumatization of national identity.

1950 (Rákosi-era). In the texts from 1950, a completely different pattern emerges compared to the previous period. On the one hand, there are considerably less evaluations on the outgroups than on the Hungarians: outgroups: 32; Hungarians: 108 evaluations. On the other hand, there are considerably more negative than positive evaluations not only on the outgroups but on the Hungarians also: outgroups: 3 positive, 29 negative evaluations; Hungarians: 25 positive, 83 negative evaluations. The difference between the two distributions is not significant. That is not to say that the judgment of the nation in relation to Trianon changed by 1950 in Hungary. Actually, the story of Trianon is reframed in a sense in the texts from this period, namely, it is reframed corresponding to the then prevailing communist ideology. The groups concerned in the event are already not Hungary and the victorious powers but the Western imperialists and the revolutionists representing the working class, and, furthermore, the texts primarily focus on the roles of Western-friendly and Soviet-friendly Hungarians which they played in the events leading to the treaty. In this framing, Western-friendly Hungarians are responsible for the loss while Soviet-friendly Hungarian revolutionists represent positive aspirations in respect of the country's fortune. This is the reason

why evaluations on the Hungarians dominate in the texts, and negative evaluations dominate within these.

The elaboration of the traumatic loss affecting the national identity comes to a break when the communist era begins as the construction of Trianon relevant to national identity is replaced with a construction relevant to a communist-internationalist identity which weakens the Hungarian national consciousness while serves as a communist propaganda against the Western side of the bipolar world.

1960-1980 (Kádár-era). The texts from the period between 1960-1980 show a pattern similar to that of the previous period but the evaluation rate is much lower in this case: outgroups: 0 positive, 7 negative evaluations; Hungarians: 14 positive, 50 negative evaluations. Similarly to the previous period, the difference between the distributions of evaluations on the outgroups and Hungarians is not significant (Fisher's Exact Test: $p = .331$). The evaluation rate is relatively low partly because much fewer and shorter texts were released in this period (.8 texts / 464 words per decade) than in the previous one (3 texts / 3,138 words per decade). Moreover, in the sub-corpus of 1960-1980, the evaluation rate compared to text length is also much lower than in the sub-corpus of 1950 (71 and 140, respectively). Thus, both the length of the released texts and the relative rate of evaluations decreases considerably. These results suggest that the repression of Trianon as a national trauma and the national consciousness based on the former national greatness were even more effective in the Kádár-era than in the Rákosi-era.

1990-2000 (After political system change). In the period after the political system change and after the end of the Soviet rule at the same time, Trianon is framed in a national context again as in the Horthy-era[3]. On the one hand, the Hungary victorious powers relation recurs, and, on the other hand, the event regains its significance which is reflected in a considerable increase in text length compared to the

previous period (5,419 words as opposed to 464 words per decade). Partly recurs also the evaluation pattern obtained in the Horthy-era. Evaluations on the outgroups show a strong negative dominance again: 2 positive, 41 negative evaluations. However, the positive dominance in the distribution of evaluations on Hungarians found in the texts from the Horthy-era does not recur, the distribution is balanced instead: 8 positive, 7 negative evaluations (Yet the difference between the distributions of evaluations on the outgroups and Hungarians is significant: Fisher's Exact Test: $p = .000$). A further important difference between the texts from the two periods is that the percentage evaluation rate is considerably lower in the present than in the Horthy-era (.6% as opposed to 1.5%).

The changes compared to the Horthy-era, that is, the increase in the average text length (5,419 words as opposed to 2,951 words), the considerable decrease in the rate of evaluations and the lack of the overvaluation of the ingroup can be interpreted as marks of a progression in the emotional elaboration process. The increase in linguistic elaboration implies the development of cognitive elaboration, that is, a more objective perspective-taking in the interpretation of the event. Parallel to this, the decrease in the rate of evaluations suggests that the distance between the traumatic past and the present increased in an emotional sense. It is suggested also by the balanced evaluation of the ingroup that lacks the glorifying attitude characteristic to the Horthy-era, thus eliminating the former national greatness from the perspective of the present.

In the narratives of the present, however, negative evaluation of the outgroups, the former Entente and Little Entente is still strongly dominant: the valence-based distribution of evaluations on the outgroups differs very little from that found in the Horthy-era (Distributions expressed in rates compared to text length: 1:66 in the Horthy-era, 2:41 after political system change). The similarity of the data

suggests that the Trianon Peace Treaty is an unchanged offence against national consciousness after 70-80 years as it was in the period directly following the treaty. This suggests that the victorious powers of the first world war still play the role of the perpetrators in the story of Trianon who are still responsible for the loss that the Hungarians suffered, and this role is emphasized by the dominance of negative evaluations though an effective responsibility is not stated explicitly in the texts. The conflicted past intergroup relation and the victim-perpetrator role pair remain in the altered social reality of the present, and these elements are present in collective memory processes as unintegrated fragments of experience.

Evaluative Perspective and Content of Narrator's Evaluations

The conclusions on the status of elaboration can be further refined by an analysis of the data in respect of evaluative perspective and content of narrator's evaluations. As it was explained in the description of the results for each period, Trianon was represented in the context of an anti-western Soviet ideology during the two periods covering the communist era that put the story of Trianon as a part of the war between the parties of the bipolar world, thus repressing the experience of loss that affected national identity. Following this, only the sub-corpora of the Horthy-era and the period after political system change were informative on the state of emotional elaboration, thus the relative rates of narrator and character perspective and the rates of cognitive and emotional evaluations within the narrator's evaluations were only studied in these two sub-corpora, and the differences between them formed the basis for inferences on the progression of the elaboration process.

The relative emphases of the two evaluative perspective in each period are reflected in the frequencies of the narrator's and the characters' evaluations (see Table 6). The results show that the texts of the Horthy-era altogether contain above eight

Table 6. Distribution of Evaluations According to Perspective and Narrator's Evaluations According to Content

Period	Perspective (a)		Content of narrator's evaluations (b)	
	Narrator	Character	Emotional	Cognitive
1920-1940	104	12	71	33
1990-2000	30	24	17	13

Notes: (a) Distribution of evaluations according to perspective and (b) distribution of narrator's evaluations according to content in the periods of 1920-1940 and 1990-2000. The frequencies shown are compared to text length.
(a) Pearson x^2 = 25.668; p = .000; (b) Pearson x^2 = 1.390; p = .238.

times more evaluations of the narrator than those of characters (104 and 12, respectively), while the two frequencies are almost equal in the sub-corpus of the period after political system change (30 and 24). The distributions in the two periods differ significantly, thus the rate of narrator's evaluations considerably decreases in the present compared to the Horthy-era. This suggests that the texts from the period after political system change keep a much greater psychological distance between the past event and the reality of the present, as the narrator's evaluations represent the relation of the present's society to the past event and a decrease in these evaluations implies a decrease in the present significance of the event.

A similar tendency can be observed in the content of narrator's evaluations (see Table 6). As the data show, the texts of the Horthy-era contain above twice more emotional evaluations than cognitive ones (71 and 33, respectively), while the distribution is much more balanced in the sub-corpus of the period after political system change (17 and 13). However, the difference between the two distributions is not significant, thus the change of the emotional-cognitive rate can only be considered a tendency. Yet it can be suggested that a decrease in the rate of emotional evaluations indicates the progression of the elaboration process (Pennebaker 1993; Cohn, Mehl, and Pennebaker 2004; Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010), as it reflects that a more rational and objective appraisal replaces the emotional reactions to the

traumatic loss in the evaluation of the groups and events related to the peace treaty.

DISCUSSION

The null hypothesis concerning the elaboration process of the collective trauma predicted that the measure of intergroup differentiation, the rate of narrator's evaluations and that of emotional evaluations within the narrator perspective would all show a decreasing tendency over time, and any deviation from these tendencies indicates a factor that posed obstacle to the elaboration process. Data show that the prevailing political ideologies considerably influenced the representation process as four different evaluation patterns were found on the basis of the frequency distributions by decades which patterns correspond to the effects of four political eras according to their positions in the historical time. Examining the conclusions on the four distribution patterns in a temporal linearity, the emerging image suggests that the communist dictatorship beginning after the period of traumatization and retraumatization prevented the thematization of the trauma of the national identity for nearly 50 years, thus resulting in a delay of the emotional elaboration process, the integration of the story of the loss into an acceptable national history and into a national identity based on history.

At the same time, different indicators of evaluation

reflect that the elaboration process has considerably progressed in respect of emotional distance and cognitive elaboration compared to the Horthy-era as a zero point. An increasing emotional distance from the event, that is, the effectiveness of retrospective memory as opposed to experiencing memory is reflected in the data showing that a lower emotional intensity characterizes the contemporary narratives about the trauma compared to the Horthy-era, they lack the glorification of the nation, and the rate of narrator's evaluations considerably decreases. The development of cognitive elaboration is suggested by the data showing an increase in text length and a decreasing tendency of emotional evaluations as opposed to cognitive ones in the narrator perspective, thus the contemporary narratives apply a more rational perspective compared to the Horthy-era.

The incompleteness of trauma elaboration and the effect of ideological repression are reflected in the fact that the contemporary narratives about the peace treaty, having been put in the context of national autonomy again, are rather similar to the narratives of the Horthy-era than to those of the preceding communist era in respect of intergroup evaluation. The common point of the constructions of the Horthy-era and the period after political system change is the dominance of negative evaluations on the outgroups, which suggests that the contemporary construction of Trianon preserves the victim-perpetrator relation: The Hungarian nation remains to appear as a victim and the victorious powers of the second world war are still responsible for the consequences of the treaty. Thus, the victim-perpetrator role pair still remains in the altered social reality of the present, and victimhood is present in collective memory processes in form of unintegrated fragments of experience. The victim perspective externalizes responsibility and control over harmful events, furthermore, it consolidates a depressed and hostile emotional attitude resulting from the uncompensated loss.

The victim perspective can be assumed to substantially influence identity construction processes at a more general level, beyond a specific traumatic experience, similar to individual traumatization where the traumatic experience engaging one's mental life damages one's overall adaptation to reality. Comprehensive studies examining Hungarian history textbooks as well as folk historical narratives show that the experience of victimhood emerges as a general pattern throughout the Hungarian national historical trajectory (László and Fülöp 2011). The emotional repertoire distinctively characteristic to the ingroup in the Hungarian representation of national history comprises of fear, hope, enthusiasm, disappointment and sadness, reflecting the experience of recurring victimization (László and Fülöp 2011; Fülöp, Péley, and László 2011), while a general lack of ingroup agency is also characteristic to the representation of the national history that corresponds to a victim's perspective (Ferenczhalmy, Szalai, and László 2011). These construction principles suggest that collective victimhood functions as a form of national identity that is assumed to have evolved historically as a result of a series of unelaborated national traumas, including the major trauma of the treaty of Trianon (Bar-Tal et al. 2009). As an identity form, collective victimhood is expected to govern the representation of identity-related present events and future prospects that evoke, however, maladaptive coping strategies.

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Notes

1. The Trianon Peace Treaty, mentioned by Hungarians in short as Trianon, was given its name after the Grand Trianon Castle in Versailles, France where the treaty was signed by the victorious Entente powers and the defeated Hungary at the end of the first world war, in 1920. The treaty ended the war for Hungary and approved the detachment of approximately two third of its territory. The detached territories were assigned to the neighbouring countries which formed the Little Entente in order to enforce territorial demands against Hungary, and they were politically and militarily supported by the Entente as its allies.

2. Content analytical studies on Hungarian national historical narratives suggest that it is reasonable to consider the Hungarian national group as a whole in respect of the representation of the Trianon Peace Treaty. The correspondence between official (textbook) and folk historical representations was demonstrated by several previous content analytical studies (e.g., László, Ferenczhalmy, and Szalai 2010; László and Fülöp 2010), showing that history textbook representations are important sources of, and correspond to, the basic and general emotional experience of group members, at least of a majority in relation to Trianon.

3. Obviously, the boundaries of the periods designated on the basis of the obtained frequency distribution patterns are not considered as sharp lines that separate different conceptions of history. However, the 10-year resolution of sampling does not allow a more refined reconstruction of the conceptional changes. Yet the authors consider the conclusions on the representations of Trianon in the different periods basically valid.

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