What is still known about 11 November 1918 in German-speaking Belgians?

Christin Camia[1], Clara Falys[2], Jelena Scheider[4], & Olivier Luminet[2, 3]

[1]Department of Psychology, Zayed University, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates

[2] Psychological Sciences Research Institute, Université catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium

[3] Belgian Fund for Scientific Research (FRS-FNRS), Brussels, Belgium

[4] Friedrich-August-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany

Correspondence regarding this article should be directed to Christin Camia, Department of Psychology, College of Natural and Health Sciences, Zayed University, P.O. Box 144534, Abu Dhabi, United Arabic Emirates. E-mail: christincamia@yahoo.com

Integrating History in Personal Life

Across countries and age groups, the First World War is consistently ranked as one of the most important historical events of the last 100 years (Pennebaker, Paez, and Deschamps 2006). Because historical events such as the First World War are publicly commemorated, discussed, and rehearsed in families and educational institutions, they become part of the collective memory unifying both small local communities and large national groups (Hirst, Yamashiro, and Coman 2018; Abel et al. 2019). This historical importance is not only based on factual knowledge, but also a result of social psychological processes. In this chapter we address how personal experiences of the First World War are shared amongst generations, and the effects this has on the descendants' experience of commemoration.

Historical events that are learned in history books, media coverage or educational institutions but happened outside of one's lifetime usually tend to be less personally important than historical events that occurred within one's lifetime (Pennebaker, Paez, and Deschamps 2006). The closer a historical event is to one's life, the more specific historical events are remembered or commemorated (Schuman and Scott 1989), and historical events that occurred during one's lifetime have been shown to be building blocks of both collective and personal identity (Brown et al. 2012). This effect is facilitated in historical events that are experienced throughout the formative years between 10 and 35 years of age and which are more likely to be remembered and to be considered especially important (Hirst, Yamashiro, and Coman 2018; Schuman and Corning 2012; Camia, Menzel, and Bohn 2019).

Such important historical autobiographical memories shaping identity are prone to intergenerational transmission, as people share memories of significant historical events with younger family members (Attias-Donfut and Wolff 2005). In fact, the more parents are affected by war, the more likely they pass knowledge and personal war experiences down to their children (Svob and Brown 2012). This transmission of such vivid 'first-hand' information brings historical events closer than that learned in books or school, and consequently increases personal importance of war in the subsequent generation. When

intergenerational narratives are repeatedly shared between parents and children, children increasingly participate in the retellings and develop a sense of ownership over their parents' stories (Bohanek et al. 2006; Pillemer et al. 2015; Merrill, Booker, and Fivush 2019). Thus, intergenerational transmission of family stories, especially when comprising historical events, has been shown to contribute to personal and collective identity in the next generation.

As a consequence, the interest in and the experience of commemoration in the next generation may be directly linked to intergenerational knowledge of war and may render commemoration more important and more meaningful. The momentous historical events that affected one's parents' lives and thus indirectly one's own life might be considered as deserving special remembrance in order to keep the cultural and family history connected to the present. This chapter addresses the experience of commemoration by investigating the link between commemoration and intergenerational transmission of knowledge and personal importance of the First World War in older German-speaking Belgians. The parents of all participants lived through this conflict, so they are likely to have been exposed to family stories about the war. This is especially likely because East Belgium was particularly affected by the turmoil of the First World War and the Armistice.

Historical background of German-speaking Belgium

Today's East Belgian cantons consist of the three regions of Malmedy, Eupen, and St. Vith. From 1815-1919 Eupen and Malmedy were part of Prussia, which meant the inhabitants of these districts fought during the First World War on the German side (Kokaisl and Kokaislová 2015), and were profoundly loyal to the German Emperor (Kaiser) and patriotic towards Germany (Koll 2005). As a result, it very much troubled their national identity when Belgium annexed these regions in accordance with the treaty of Versailles. In order to transform these new citizens into 'real Belgians', the Belgian government suppressed all references to Germany and imposed the use of French in public and in schools. In addition, several cultural

initiatives were launched and memorial sites changed in these regions to form a collective memory, which would draw the people nearer to a national Belgian identity (O'Connell 2018). Despite these endeavors, a substantial part of the population in these cantons held on to a German identity and the gap between those in favor of joining Belgium and those in favor of returning to Germany widened all the more with the rise of Nazism in Germany (Beck and Verhoeyen 2009; Koll 2005). Thus, for German-speaking Belgians the interwar period was very difficult to live through (Kokaisl and Kokaislová 2015).

This history would suggest that contemporary German-speaking Belgians have a strong awareness of the First World War, which changed not only their ancestors' nationalities but also fractured their regional identity. While the Armistice was cheered in the rest of Belgium (Luminet and Spijkerman 2017), the outcome of the annexation of former Prussian areas prompted a collective identity crisis in the inhabitants of Eupen and Malmedy that lasted some thirty years. It was only after the Second World War that East Belgium wanted to belong to Belgium and aimed to clean themselves from all things related to Nazi Germany (Kokaisl and Kokaislová 2015). The ensuing change in administration and the federalization of Belgium throughout the 20th century gave rise to a reconstructed collective regional identity in the East cantons, which nowadays is maintained by a lively local culture. Besides political and linguistic autonomy contributing to regional identity, contemporary German-speaking Belgians also derive their collective identity from a particular historical awareness (Koll 2005; Kokaisl and Kokaislová 2015) which might be partly sustained by the commemoration of the First World War and the Armistice originating the current collective identity of Eupen and Malmedy.

In the rest of this chapter, we explore the commemoration of the First World War and the Armistice in German-speaking Belgium. We focus on older German-speaking Belgians born between 1925 and 1946 because this generation may not only be affected at a cultural level by exposure to commemoration, but additionally at a personal level by exposure to

intergenerational transmission on the part of their parents, and perhaps also by concrete consequences the First World War had for their own lives.

German-speaking Belgians' knowledge about Armistice

As part of a larger study on the memory of 11 November 1918, thirty French-speaking and twenty-six German-speaking Belgians were interviewed about their knowledge on the Armistice and 11 November in general. More specifically, the semi-structured interviews targeted the participants' knowledge of the Armistice, their sources of this knowledge, the personal importance of the two World Wars, and their participation in commemoration acts and ceremonies.

For the purpose of this study, we focus on the subsample of seven old-aged German-speaking Belgians, because their lives and living environment were particularly concerned by the two World Wars. The subsample consisted of five women and two men ranging in age from 72 to 93 years. All of them were born in Liège province, where Belgian's German speaking population is located, were residing in Eupen at the time of the interview and held only Belgian nationality. In average, participants completed around twelve years of school and spoke German as their mother tongue. Most of them additionally spoke good to very good French, and a few moderate English and Dutch. None of the participants suffered dementia or other forms of cognitive impairments, as evidenced by relatives or geriatric nurses.

Interviews were conducted in German between the end of November and beginning of December 2018 in participants' (retirement) homes. Participants were asked a range of questions about their knowledge of the First World War, their interest in commemoration of the Armistice, and the personal importance they assign to the First World War. After the verbatim transcription, interviews were analyzed along the three main themes of participants' knowledge, interest in commemoration, and personal importance of the two world wars. Participants' variation in each of these themes was surprisingly large. Next, we present four

case examples in more detail in order to better understand the reasons and psychological mechanisms of this variability in the experience of commemoration.

Knowledge and the importance of the First World War

Four participants showed little knowledge and barely any personal importance assigned to the First World War, exemplified by the cases of Gertrud[1] and Ingeborg. Gertrud was born in 1926, eight years after the Armistice, and was thirteen years old when the Second World War broke out. At 92, she was one of the oldest participants in the German-speaking subsample. Gertrud has always lived in the region of Eupen but had worked for forty years as a secretary in West Germany close to the Belgium-German border.

Gertrud knew that on 11 November an armistice took place, but, when asked by the interviewer for more details, got confused with the Franco-German War in 1870/1871. Apparently embarrassed by this, she tried to excuse herself by stating that ‘I don’t care about politics. That is a theme you cannot interest me in’. Asked about the sources of her knowledge, she referred to East Belgium’s history throughout the Second World War and concluded that ‘people had better get along with each other. They should live together in peace’. When the interviewer tried to return to the theme of the First World War, Gertrud answered defensively ‘Aah, stop that with me, I was still a child back then, then one doesn’t care about these things.’ Eventually, Gertrud and the interviewer identified school as the source of knowledge for the First World War and Gertrud reiterated: ‘Yes, but I always dispute everything that, that is related to politics and war, I don’t want to know anything about this. I don’t want to be stupid.’

At first sight this quote from Gertrud seems contradictory and we cannot be certain what she meant with ‘not wanting to be stupid’ when she refused knowing anything war-related. One

1 Names of participants are modified to protect confidentiality.

possibility is that she deemed the First World War as stupid and, as she said, ‘unnecessary’ because ‘all these people who died for nothing, nothing at all; they could have lived’. From that perspective, it seems plausible that Gertrud found the First World War stupid, and consequently also its remembrance. Accordingly, Gertrud did not partake in any commemorative ceremonies and, when asked if she received information about such events, repeated her dislike:

> Gertrud: No, I tell you, I avoid this theme.
>
> Interviewer: But maybe somebody told you about it?
>
> Gertrud: Oh no, at our house this theme was taboo.

At the end of the interview, Gertrud assigned very low personal importance to the war, because ‘there was no need for this war. Afterwards, there was again only chaos’ and, again, Gertrud ‘was still a child. Then, one does not really care’. Gertrud emphasized her disinterest in politics and history and this way justifies her lack of knowledge, which she moreover embellished in the general statement that wars are useless and people should get along. She also strongly rejected to learn more about the Armistice and avoided hearing about any commemoration act by claiming this theme to be a taboo in her house.

Ingeborg, the second case of little knowledge and of personal importance, was born in 1928, ten years after the Armistice, and was eleven years old at the outbreak of the Second World War. She had worked as a shop assistant, and was 90 years old at the time of the interview. Like Gertrud, Ingeborg argued that she did not experience the war and therefore did not know much about it. While she knew from the TV coverage that 11 November had something to do with the First World War, she did not know that it was Armistice Day. Ingeborg’s lack of knowledge is especially surprising because her parents used to talk about the First World War at home as did her aunts and uncles at family gatherings. In this war Ingeborg’s mother had lost her brother (whom Ingeborg had never met), but despite this family history, Ingeborg said she did not know much about the Armistice or the war because

'I never experienced the First World War' and 'I was never really interested in politics'. She thought this disinterest explained why she did not retain much that she learned in school, movies, books or newspapers:

> Ingeborg: Every day they showed something, but this is like watching a movie which doesn't tell you anything. You watch this but it goes in one ear and out the other. Mmh, and in books? Yes, as I said, I did read a book once in a while or flipped through, but never that it got stuck in my head.
>
> Interviewer: Or something in newspapers, cinema? Internet probably less?
>
> Ingeborg: I don't have Internet. And newspapers, yes, what one heard now, there were many things that the parents told that came back to mind. But that was nothing…For that also too much time has passed for me. Now I am already 90 years old, but I cannot remember this anymore.

When the interviewer asked Ingeborg about her participation in commemoration ceremonies, she explained that she sang for years in the church choir and therefore used to go every year on 11 November to the local cemetery where the choir accompanied the yearly memorial service. One year, this service took place in the local church, as Ingeborg explained:

> I remember once here in the church, that's here in the center of town. There is for example a memorial for the war, these are commemorative plaques with the names of the dead soldiers of the First World War. On this for example is the name of my uncle, his name was Hans Hubertus, but I never knew him, he didn't come home from the First World War. But besides, I have no thoughts in this.

Although Ingeborg could have felt concerned by the war because of the family history, the family discussion of it, and her service in the church choir, she seemed to refuse any emotional involvement. Instead, she felt much more concerned by the Second World War and, several times in the interview, referred to the difficult experiences throughout this conflict.

Hence, lacking personal concern of the First World War, it was unimportant for her because 'I cannot feel something for a time where I was not born yet'.

Ingeborg appeared to be reluctant to relate to anything connected to the First World War although her family, particularly her mother, had to cope with loss, and despite her regular participation in the yearly commemoration of the Armistice with the church choir. Ingeborg justified this attitude with the fact that the First World War happened before she was born and that she therefore did not feel concerned in any way. Evidently, Ingeborg refused to take ownership of her parents' memories and to integrate herself into the broader family history affected by the First World War. Despite the broad media coverage, Ingeborg did not acquire new knowledge about the Armistice, which could have complemented her intergenerationally transmitted knowledge. While both Gertrud and Ingeborg were concerned by the First World War to different extents, both concluded that its commemoration was somewhat overdone and that they did not share the importance the public granted to it. Thus, we found the strongest reluctance towards the Armistice commemoration in the two oldest participants, who had to live their formative years during the Second World War. Presumably, they could not empathize with the Armistice centenary as the personal significance of the Second World War overshadowed the importance they were willing to allot to the First World War. For them, the Armistice was unimportant, and they were therefore not interested in understanding it further.

In contrast, Alfred had more knowledge of the war and the Armistice and ascribed more personal importance to it, which shaped his experience of its commemoration. At the time of the interview, Alfred was 85 years old. Born in 1933, he lived his childhood throughout the Second World War and referred occasionally to these years in the interview. Like Ingeborg and Gertrud, he deemed the Second World War as more personally important for him than the First World War because 'in these times I lived'. Nevertheless, he was interested in the First World War and the Armistice, reporting that he caught up on some

knowledge with the help of TV because ‘in school you didn’t learn much’ (teaching the difficult war- and inter-war periods in primary and secondary schools became compulsory in German-speaking Belgium only in 2008; Ostbelgien, 2018). Thus, he knew the significance of the Armistice, the involved countries, the exact years, and the Belgian war zone of the First World War. Alfred acquired this knowledge mainly from documentaries shown on TV and via newspapers, which were published on the occasion of the Armistice centenary. He followed the commemoration ceremonies in the news, except for the one ceremony held in Eupen, where he went himself. When reminded by the interviewer that the Armistice was signed in Compiègne, he also referred to his late brother as a possible source of knowledge:

> Yes, I could have asked my brother, but he unfortunately died three, four months ago, he could have told me. He was a teacher in school. And they also…If I remember correctly, they were in Compiègne once. With the school. And he could have still told me a lot.

With this personal note, Alfred seems to consider the knowledge about the First World War and the Armistice relevant in general and for himself. When asked for the personal importance, he said:

> This is some general education. One never cared about this and one could catch up on it. Because there is enough literature out there; one should get it and then study again.

Possibly implying that he himself could have read more books to enlarge his knowledge, Alfred instead did so by watching the news and documentaries and reading the newspapers. Thus, his knowledge about the First World War and Armistice Day was newly acquired by the commemoration provided by the media out of, as it seems, general interest rather than personal concern. Although he did not mention intergenerationally transmitted memories, and in fact only shared personally relevant memories in regard to the Second World War, Alfred used the commemoration of the Armistice centenary and its broad media coverage as a source to compensate his deficient school knowledge (Corning and Schuman 2013).

The final case is Sieglinde, who showed strong knowledge of the War and for whom it was highly important. Sieglinde was one of the youngest participants; born in 1946, she was one of the two participants who were not alive during the Second World War. Yet, she perceived a strong connection between both World Wars and her homeland and her family. When considering what came to mind when thinking of 11 November, she replied:

> Yes, the Armistice after the First World War 14-18. And I can remember already as a child, because we used to have the day off from school. It still is a bank holiday in Belgium. This year it was celebrated a lot, because it's been a hundred years. We have in Belgium in Ypres, in this town [in West Flanders], a memorial devoted to the Americans, who basically rescued us or Western Europe. Every evening at 8pm they play there at the grand gate the fanfare. They play 'the last post', every evening that is a tourist magnet. People every evening. And this is really something great, and I personally think, if we, thank God I didn't experience war, but that we should always remember. This awful war. My parents talked about it a lot. This awful war. My parents talked about it a lot.

Sieglinde connects historical facts with her own memories from childhood, the commemoration tradition in West Flanders, and finally with her parents. She apparently identifies with whole Belgium as a country as she refers to a commemoration ceremony that takes place in the Flemish region where the Armistice was praised as victory over the Germans (Luminet and Spijkerman 2017). This, however, does not seem to prevent Sieglinde to also identify with the German-speaking Belgians, as she praises the Americans who rescued 'us' and states later that 'the First World War has been very important here in our region'.

Sieglinde possessed detailed knowledge about the First World War and the Armistice. She could recall the history of the Eupen region including the temporal and geographical

details, details she learned mainly in public lectures held by historians, publicly displayed documentaries, and theater plays, which were organized as part of the commemoration of the Armistice centenary. For example, she heard ‘from historians who just published new books, about the First World War with old photos, old maps. And I personally find that all very captivating and interesting’. Additionally, Sieglinde referred to conversations with others as a source of personal knowledge:

> Uhm, yeah the First World War, I know, back in school we didn’t learn much about that, there was rather the Second World War, but I know about the First World War from stories from my parents and other acquaintances. That must have been here in Belgium a very difficult static warfare, that means the soldiers were standing and standing in these deep trenches in Flanders and North France. And it was humid and wet, that’s why also many died, not so much because of gunshots. And, uhm, so much hunger the people had back then. A big famine, because everything was destroyed. And I know that in Ypres they reconstructed a trench, where they go now with the schools to visit it. Well yes, they do a lot nowadays.

Sieglinde’s tells the story of trenches and the famine in Flanders almost as if she had been personally concerned. Apparently, the stories of her parents made her feel close to the historical events of the First World War without separating the Flemish from the German-speaking region, territories which had been military opponents (Kokaisl and Kokaislová 2015). Deeming the First World War personally very important, she derived for herself social responsibility from it. Unprompted, she added that she used to take friends from other countries, when they would visit her and her family in Eupen, to the military cemetery and that she also tried to pass on this knowledge about both World Wars to her children and grandchildren because ‘I find this historically so important that we retain this’. Thus, about one hundred years after the First World War, Sieglinde did what her parents did for her; she

engaged in intergenerational transmission of historical knowledge in order to raise awareness and social responsibility in the following generations.

Given that Sieglinde was exposed to intergenerational transmission long before the Armistice centenary, we here conclude that her zealous interest in commemoration and learning the historical facts is presumably a result from a general interest in history but also from taking ownership of her parents' memories. Her upbringing in a socio-cultural context that valued intergenerational historical narratives led to the development of a Belgian identity and a feeling of national belonging. This identity development was probably facilitated in Sieglinde's cohort, because this generation of German-speaking Belgians grew up with the public aspiration to belong to Belgium (Kokaisl and Kokaislová 2015).

Conclusion

The four examples showed that how people understand and experience commemoration is linked to their interest in historical events, which in turn seems to be partly determined by their personal stories. Overall, we found that the effect of commemoration on people's collective identity seems to partly depend on personal concern of historical events, which also includes intergenerational transmission. Yet, there seem to be two different ways that commemoration and intergenerational transmission interact. Interest in, or the willingness to learn about, historical events appears to influence the link between intergenerational transmission and commemoration. Although all participants could have been exposed to intergenerational transmission of memories of the First World War and the Armistice, only Ingeborg and Sieglinde revealed that explicitly in their interviews. Yet, both responded in very different ways to this exposure of war-related family history and later to the Armistice commemoration. Ingeborg distanced herself from the First World War and her parents' history so that not even her regular participation in the yearly commemoration ceremony as a singer in the church choir increased her interest or appreciation for the Armistice. Sieglinde, in

contrast, connected herself strongly to her parents' history and consequently enthusiastically partook in commemoration. While it is unclear whether Sieglinde's personal concern made her attend commemoration ceremonies or whether her attendance increased her personal concern, Sieglinde showed a much greater sense of national belonging than Ingeborg, presumably as a result of her participation in commemoration (de Regt 2018; Coopmans, Lubbers, and Meuleman 2015).

The temporal development of attitudes towards the Armistice was also noteworthy. With increasing temporal distance, the participants assigned increasing personal importance to the First World War and increasingly took part in the Armistice centenary. Gertrud and Ingeborg, who were the closest in time to the First World War, were the most reluctant to commemorate it; Alfred, who spent fewer formative years in the Second World War, was willing to complement his deficient school knowledge throughout the Armistice centenary; and Sieglinde, not personally concerned by any world war, easily identified herself with both personally relevant and nationally relevant memories. This accords with the view that a society needs time to overcome the effects of war and to gather the courage to work through these difficult times to enable subsequent growth (Mitscherlich and Mitscherlich 1967). Commemoration may aid in this sensitive process of collective coping, as it keeps historical events alive (Corning and Schuman 2013). Yet, how individuals respond to commemoration may not only be a question of public efforts to render commemoration affecting but also a question of psychological readiness.

References

Abel, Magdalena, Sharda Umanath, Beth Fairfield, Masanobu Takahashi, Henry L. Roediger, and James V Wertsch. 2019. "Collective Memories across 11 Nations for World War II: Similarities and Differences Regarding the Most Important Events." *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition* 8 (2): 178–88. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jarmac.2019.02.001.

Attias-Donfut, Claudine, and François-charles Wolff. 2005. "Generational Memory and Family Relationships." In *The Cambridge Handbook of Age and Ageing*, edited by Malcolm L. Johnson, Vern L. Bengtson, Peter G. Coleman, and Thomas B. L. Kirkwood, 443–54. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511610714.047.

Beck, Philippe, and Etienne Verhoeyen. 2009. "Agents Secrets à La Frontière Belgo-Allemande: Des Services de Renseignements Alliés et Allemands Entre 1920 et 1940 Dans La Région d'Eupen [Secret Agents at the Belgian-German Border: Allied and German Secret Services between 1920 and 1940 in the Region of Eupen]." *Cahiers d'Histoire Du Temps Present* 21: 93–134.

Bohanek, Jennifer G., Kelly A. Marin, Robyn Fivush, and Marshall P. Duke. 2006. "Family Narrative Interaction and Children's Sense of Self." *Family Process* 45 (1): 39–54. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.2006.00079.x.

Brown, Norman R, Tia G. B Hansen, Peter J Lee, Sarah A Vanderveen, and Frederick G Conrad. 2012. "Historically Defined Autobiographical Periods: Their Origins and Implications." In *Understanding Autobiographical Memory*, edited by Dorthe Berntsen and David C Rubin, 160–80. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139021937.013.

Camia, Christin, Christina Menzel, and Annette Bohn. 2019. "A Positive Living-in-History Effect: The Case of the Fall of the Berlin Wall." *Memory* 27 (10): 1381–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2019.1661494.

Coopmans, Manja, Marcel Lubbers, and Roza Meuleman. 2015. “To Whom Do National Days Matter? A Comparison of National Belonging across Generations and Ethnic Groups in the Netherlands.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38 (12): 2037–54. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.1023822.

Corning, Amy, and Howard Schuman. 2013. “Commemoration Matters.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 77 (2): 433–54. https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nft015.

Hirst, William, Jeremy K. Yamashiro, and Alin Coman. 2018. “Collective Memory from a Psychological Perspective.” *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 22 (5): 438–51. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2018.02.010.

Kokaisl, Petr, and Pavla Kokaislová. 2015. “Belgian Germans or East-Belgians?” *Journal of Social Research & Policy* 6 (1): 31–43.

Koll, Johannes. 2005. “Preußischer Westen - Belgischer Osten. Eupen, Malmedy Und St. Vith Zwischen Reichsgründung Und Zweitem Weltkrieg [Prussian West - Belgian East. Eupen, Malmedy and St. Vith between Foundation of the German Empire and World War II].” *Comparativ* 15: 101–25.

Luminet, Olivier, and Rose Spijkerman. 2017. “ ‘11 November 1918, an Exceptional Day!’: Flashbulb Memories of the World War I Armistice in Belgium from a Psychological and a Historical Perspective.” *Memory Studies* 10 (3): 347–62. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698017701617.

Merrill, Natalie, Jordan A. Booker, and Robyn Fivush. 2019. “Functions of Parental Intergenerational Narratives Told by Young People.” *Topics in Cognitive Science* 11 (4): 752–73. https://doi.org/10.1111/tops.12356.

Mitscherlich, Alexander, and Margarete Mitscherlich. 1967. *Die Unfähigkeit Zu Trauern: Grundlagen Kollektiven Verhaltens [The Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behavior]*. München, DE: Piper.

O’Connell, Vincent. 2018. *The Annexation of Eupen-Malmedy: Becoming Belgian, 1919-1929*. New York, NY, US: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pennebaker, James W, Dario Paez, and Jean-Claude Deschamps. 2006. “The Social Psychology of History. Defining the Most Important Events of the Last 10, 100, and 1000 Years.” *Psicología Política* 32: 15–32.

Pillemer, David B., Kristina L. Steiner, Kie J. Kuwabara, Dorthe Kirkegaard Thomsen, and Connie Svob. 2015. “Vicarious Memories.” *Consciousness and Cognition* 36 (November): 233–45. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.concog.2015.06.010.

Regt, Sabrina de. 2018. “On the Causal Relationship between Participation in National Commemorations and Feelings of National Belonging.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41 (9): 1710–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1302094.

Schuman, Howard, and Amy Corning. 2012. “Generational Memory and the Critical Period: Evidence for National and World Events.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76 (1): 1–31. https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfr037.

Schuman, Howard, and Jacqueline Scott. 1989. “Generations and Collective Memories.” *American Sociological Review* 54 (3): 359–81.

Svob, Connie, and Norman R Brown. 2012. “Intergenerational Transmission of the Reminiscence Bump and Biographical Conflict Knowledge.” *Psychological Science* 23 (11): 1404–9. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612445316.