

GWB

The Great War from Below (GWB). Multiple Mobility and Cultural Dynamics in Belgium during and after the First World War

Nico WOUTERS (State Archives of Belgium - CegeSoma)

Axis 3: Cultural, historical and scientific heritage





NETWORK PROJECT

GWB

The Great War from Below (GWB). Multiple Mobility and Cultural Dynamics in Belgium during and after the First World War

Contract - BR/121/A3/GWB FINAL REPORT

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ABSTRACT

This project analyses the social impact of the First World War (WWI) in Belgium using four social groups, notably veterans (including Prisoners of War), pro-German collaborators and resistance fighters (combined in one research) and forced labourers: social groups all directly affected (and even created) by WWI. The project focusses on wartime experiences (including the impact of social class and –relations) and the longer-term social trajectories of these groups. The overarching aim is to assess the impact of WWI on Belgian society. The social group-based research was executed on a pre-doctoral level by three PhD researchers (UGent-UNamur; State Archives in Belgium, CegeSoma) while a post-doctoral research (KU Leuven) complemented and supported this group-approach through a national social demography- research.

The results confirm the hypothesis about the high level of diversity of social experiences and the multiple (sometimes contradictory) strategies people developed to deal with their wartime experiences, refuting the almost stereotypical image of WWI as a total social rupture.

Keywords:

The First World War

Political History

Social History

Social Demography

1. INTRODUCTION

This research project analysed the social impact of the First World War (WWI) in Belgium using **four social groups**, notably veterans (including Prisoners of War), pro-German collaborators and resistance fighters (in one research), and forced labourers: social groups all directly affected by WWI. The underlying aim was to re-introduce **social history** to Belgian historiography of the First World War, a field which was initially very successful after 1918 but gradually fell out of fashion after 1945 with regard to the study of the First World War. The project focussed on **wartime experiences** (including the impact of social class and –relations) and **the longer-term social trajectories** of these groups (social mobility, collective changes, agency and social identification). The overarching aim was to assess the impact of WWI on Belgian society. The social group-based research was executed on a pre-doctoral level research while a post-doctoral research complemented and supported this group-approach through a national social demography research. Strongly dependant on large archival collections of the State Archives in Belgium, the scholarly approaches of collecting and analysing the data had to be specifically adapted to the different social groups.

The interdisciplinary research design and shared methodology of life course analysis was deeply embedded in the original project idea. It was also a necessary condition for the interdisciplinary interconnectedness. However, it proved difficult to implement in practice and had to be partially abandoned after two years (mid-project). The specificities in the large archival data collections – meaning both their quantitative and qualitative data as well as their (lack of) instruments of access such as inventories – clearly turned out to **make one homogeneous**, **uniform approach for all target groups impossible to implement**, in such a way that a rigid implementation would have been counterproductive for the final outcome (see under the point of methodology). Another obstacle we faced was the fact that one of the researchers (a PhD researcher co-supervised by UGent and UNamur) left the project after three years. This researcher was replaced by drs. Martin Schoups, who finished the research with his Gent supervisor (prof. dr. Antoon Vrints). Although our results are rich and diverse, the two doctorate researches (forced labourers and resistance/collaboration) are not yet finished. However, the two other WP's resulted in **final publications** while the two other aforementioned WP's delivered their **final research reports**, with all fundamental conclusions, attached to this general report.

2. STATE OF THE ART AND OBJECTIVES

After the major scholarly shift during which cultural histories and memory studies gradually gained dominance in international WWI historiography during the 1990s, this research project wants to contribute to re-introducing social history at the centre stage of WWI historiography. Through what could be considered as a 'social history of WWI' we will critically assess the scholarly consensus that assumes that top-down reform related to the principles of mass-democracy instigated by the Great War (political and socio-economic reform) were broadly absorbed and interiorized by local societies and ordinary populaces after 1918.

WWI is considered as the most essential caesura of Europe's modern and contemporary history. Today the commonly held view is that this war instigated new relationships between citizens and the state, the collective and the individual, the public and the private and even the ways we organize our collective remembrances. On a top-down level, and on the level of elites, we clearly distinguish the socio-economic and institutional reform in 1918-21. However, despite the existence of Belgian and European local/regional case-studies, large gaps remain in our systematic comprehension on changes for ordinary populaces throughout and after the Great War. Although few will dispute that traditional social structures and collective mental conditions were 'somehow and to some extent' fundamentally overhauled during those pivotal years, our knowledge on the nature, scale, diversity as well as the exact causes and longer term impacts remains vague. This research project assumes that the impact of WWI has to be seen in more diverse or multiple ways, combining certain continuities with changes and with large social variations over a longer term. This research proposal does not question the importance of WWI nor the enormity of its impact. Rather, it questions the uniform and homogenous nature of this impact; hypothesizing that there were large differentiations between social groups, merging continuities with changes and combining elements of rupture with. Related questions are 1/ specific wartime experiences themselves. What happened during the war and occupation to these different social groups; how exactly did war/occupation disrupt lives and what was the specific nature of particular experiences?; 2/ the longer-term altered life course of these different groups (multiple mobility (social changes) during the war but also in the decade after the war); 3/ the agency of these groups in postwar society (claims on society, to create new identities). Belgium is well-suited as exemplary case in Europe because of its key role in the events of WWI (as both a belligerent and occupied country), its diversified societal composition and the presence of clearly distinguishable social groups directly impacted by WW I.

This research project's main scholarly subject lies with the longer term societal impact of the First World War (WWI) through a systematic bottom-up analysis of different social groups with specific war experiences. These strategically selected groups were members of the ordinary populaces whose lives were directly affected by the experiences of WWI. This research project is primarily based on the archival collections of **federal institutes**. The post war claims of our selected social groups were primarily aimed at the Belgian state, which means that the multiform agency of these groups created massive amounts of archival sources, not in the least the (literally) tens of thousands of individual files of different (officialised) categories of civil and military war victims intended to obtain financial and other reparation measures. Together with the wealth of relevant wartime archives (for example the archives of the National Aid and Relief Committee, see below), this federal archival collection creates the possibility for (large-scale) bottom-up approach will activate/operationalise these sources on a scholarly level, but also on a broader societal level (see point 2).

3. METHODOLOGY General Development

The project's starting point used a homogeneous and collectively shared methodological approach, notably in the life-course analysis of social-demography. It was here that the interdisciplinary approach (history and social demography) was designed to maximize an efficient source-exploitation and outcome. At the same time however, the research was also deeply empirical and therefore dependant on the large archival collections. Each of the separate work packages was confronted with different large main collections and specific challenges to make them operational for the overall research questions; implementing a shared, uniform approach was attempted for the first two years of the project's runtime. However, once we had a precise view on the quantitative and qualitative data in the different large archival collections, it became clear that a uniform approach for all social groups would be impossible to implement. The discrepancy between theoretical (methodological) research design from an interdisciplinary point of view on the one hand, and the obstacles presented by the practical limits and opportunities presented by the sources on the other, was certainly something that took a lot of time during the first two years of the project in terms of meetings and reflections about the research approach and methodologies. The follow-up-committee also gave a lot of importance to this interdisciplinary approach and urged the project to maintain its original uniform methodology. Ultimately however, the pragmatic decision was taken that because of the specific characteristics – the opportunities and limits - of each archival collection, we had to let the individual research diverge and choose their own path to maximize the potential of the available collections. To conclude : the impact of data management therefore meant that the practical experiences with the archival sources determined changes to the practical application of our methods. It meant that each work package had to develop specific answers.

The life-course analysis in a pure sociological-demographic way, was maintained in **the post-doctoral research of dr. Saskia Hin (KU Leuven)**. Dr. Hin used quantitative demographic research methods to describe and analyse differences in the profiles of marrying couples before, during and after the war. Simple descriptive methods were used to describe trends, while multilevel regression methods were used to analyse patterns and differences between social groups. Alongside quantitative sources and methods, she used secondary literature and archival sources on macro-demographic and economic conditions to frame individual-level data within the historical context. A total of 49,646 marriage records was studied for the project.



Graph 1: The distribution of these marriages over time

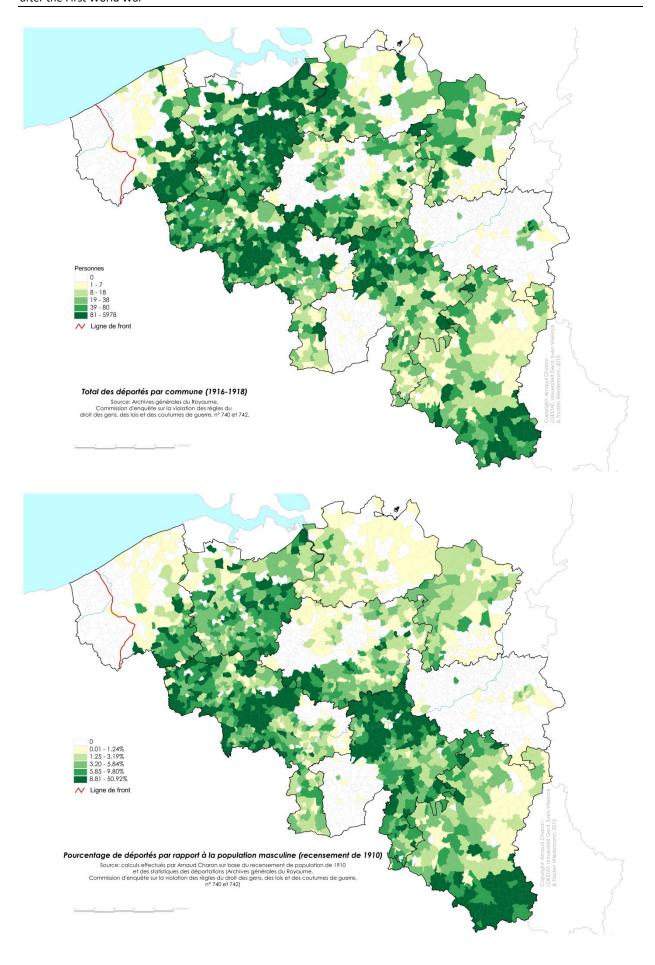
Of these records, a total of 12,820 records were newly added to the database with the help of volunteers, pertaining to the period 1913-1930. The entire dataset however needed to be cleaned and coded (e.g. adding the historical coding system for historical professions and codes for locations) to be able to be used for analyses.

Table 1 below shows the number of marriage records per year for 1913-1930.

year_mar	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1914	402	3.14	3.14
1915	241	1.88	5.02
1916	325	2.54	7.55
1917	519	4.05	11.60
1918	628	4.90	16.50
1919	1,086	8.47	24.97
1920	1,246	9.72	34.69
1921	1,016	7.93	42.61
1922	1,018	7.94	50.55
1923	573	4.47	55.02
1924	941	7.34	62.36
1925	825	6.44	68.80
1926	789	6.15	74.95
1927	836	6.52	81.47
1928	785	6.12	87.60
1929	769	6.00	93.60
1930	821	6.40	100.00
Total	12,820	100.00	

Drs. Arnaud Charon's research about forced labourers (conducted at the State Archives in Belgium) ultimately prioritized a broad and deeply historical approach. For this, he developed a database with the social profile of 1300 deportees for geographically representative parts of Belgium, partly integrating data from the Commission d'enquête sur la violation des règles du droit des gens, des lois et des communes de guerre, the Archives of the Commission Centrale des Déportés, Réquisitionnés et Prisonniers civils, the files of Jacques Pirenne, and the files of civils victims of WWI. The research therefore maintained its original broad quantitative basis while also adding the focus of analysing German labour policies related to social geography. The methodology was applied in several stages. First, a review was made based on existing historiography. Second, the basis for a prosopographic sample needed to be determined. To do this, drs. Charon created geographical maps on Belgium based on statistics created after the war by the "Commission of Inquiry into the Violation of the rules of the law of nations, laws and customs of war". These maps for the very first time created a visual image of the phenomenon, clearly indicating the most affected areas. This enabled to select a series of municipalities, to arrive at a representative sample in accordance to the regional impact of the deportations. The next objective was to study the actual profile of the deportees. All the while, in support of this, a more 'traditional' historical study was also conducted about the subject of the postwar actions of deportees: their mobilization, claims and organization to demand recognition and reparations.

The two maps below show first the total number of deportees per municipality and second the percentage of deportees per municipality compared to the male population of the 1910 census.



At first sight, there seems to be no clear pattern to the deportation distribution. They seem arbitrary, to the point of improvised. Indeed, the research shows that some level of freedom to conduct this policy was given to the *Kreisleiter*. But a more careful analysis of these maps reveal the industrial logic of the Germans. First, the regions most strongly affected by unemployment were first targetted by the deportations, second the regions with the most skilled workforce. Sometimes, policy created both conditions, for example when Forges de Clabecq was closed and the workers were targeted by the German industrialists of the Ruhr (see also: Charon, The deportations of Belgian workers in Palaude and Thomas, 2018).

The research about collaborators and resisters by Florent Verfaillie (CegeSoma, State Archives) reduced its quantitative basis but gained a qualitative aspect in correlating different categories of 'resistance' and 'collaboration' to social status and context and also adding an unforeseen focus on gender studies. Drs. Verfaillie selected a total number of 648 so-called "political prisoners". Of these, 305 could be identified as so-called "collaborators" or "inciviques". These included first 145 individual files from the archives of the Penitentiary Anthropological Laboratories (LAP). The selection was simply based on all preserved files in Belgium between 1918 and 1925, notably from six prisons (Saint-Gilles, Forest, Liège, Antwerp, Leuven central prison and Leuven secondary prison). For all other Belgian prisons, a search was made but we could confirm that these archives were not preserved. These archival sources were used, because they turned out to be one of the richest source on the prisoners' social background. However, they also turned out to have a disadvantage, notably that not every prisoner received such a research and therefore individual file: these files were exclusively created for prisoners for whom the anthropological researchers at that time evaluated some scientific interest existed. Therefore, a necessary comparison with another archival collection was necessary: the so-called "Morality Registers". Another 160 additional individual files were selected from these Morality Registers among the abovementioned prisons. From these six prisons, only three had preserved their Morality Registers (notably: Antwerp, Liège, Leuven secondary prison) between 1918 and 1925. The advantage of these additional sources was the fact it provided a second sample, doubling the size of our analysed group and allowing for a controlled bias of the former (PAL) sample. However, there was a disadvantage as well, notably that these files were not hardly as rich on individual information on the social profile of the prisoners.

With regard to our other large group, the "patriots" (people who could be considered to form part of a "resistance"). We selected 343 individual "patriots" for our large sample. First, we used 105 files from the War Victims Archives (State Archives). This selection was based on a list of 1995 "political prisoners" detained in German custody at the moment of the armistice in 1918 and transmitted to the Belgian authorities after the war. The proportional sample of 105 files was selected based on 11 categories of forms of "resistance", notably: War Treason, Espionage, Rebellion, Escapes, Weapon possession, Mail Contraband, Hiding Soldiers, Economic Help to the Allied, Sabotage, Pigeons activities and Female resistance. The advantage was that these were unexploited sources that fundamentally extended our rough understanding of "resistance" during WWI (to for example also include the more informal forms of opposition to the occupiers, beyond organised clandestine resistance networks, often vied through the dominant lens of the Second World War). The disadvantage was that these individual files were not "systematic": they contained very diverse information and in many cases simply also not a lot of information on the social profiles. The other caveat was that these files were based on the bias of German custody, something that therefore neglects a majority of Belgian resisters. Next to this, we did research on 238 individual files from the archives of the "Commission centrale des Déportés et Prisonniers civils". This selection was based on a geographical distribution: two larger cities (meaning: more than 100.000 inhabitants, notably Ghent and Schaerbeek), two middle-sized cities (meaning: between 40.000 and 20.000 inhabitants, notably Leuven and Verviers), 36 villages (meaning: less than 15.000 inhabitants) and finally the four first villages per province based on an alphabetical order. The advantage was that this second sample expanded the size of the "patriots" group, and also extended the analysis to Belgian-detained political prisoners, in this way taking into account the smaller forms of resistance or opposition to the German authorities (including even prisoners that were never convicted, as such further shedding light on the actual extent of the German repression). The disadvantage however, was the difficulty of making a clear distinction between actual "resistance" from an anti-German or pro-Belgian political motivation, and completely non-political motives. Also, the trustworthiness of the files, often filled in by the former prisoners themselves, was a difficult obstacle for systematic analysis. In order to make the data manageable, drs. Verfaillie created four databases in Excel based on specific archival material. The four databases were than merged into two general databases (one for "Patriots" and one for "Traitors"). Both general databases allowed then the analyses of specific subgroups, further allowing for comparisons (e.g.: Female traitors vs Female Patriots; Patriot Spies vs Traitors Spies; Political traitors vs Intellectual Patriots; etc.).

The research about veterans by drs. Martin Schoups and prof. dr. Antoon Vrints (both Ghent University) focused more on the general history of the veterans (and veterans movement) related to social class in post-war Belgium (in strong direct dialogue with national and international literature). This included therefore a general history of 320,000 men that survived the war, and notably the 70% to 80% of them who were member of a veteran-organization. In terms of methodology, a careful archival research of published press was used to creat an "event catalog". Such an "evenementialbased analysis" is a classic method in protest research. However, similar empirical protest-centered research for war veterans in other countries did not yet exist. Through this "catalog", we could identify several important characteristics of the Belgian ex-combatant's movements. Our argument was further "thickened" by a qualitative analysis of the veteran's self-published newspapers. We were able to determine that these veterans exerted influence through the classic mechanism of "street pressure", or at the very least the menace of it. The "storming of the parliament" in the summer of 1920, for example, secured a more generous war dotation than the government originally was planning to allow. Through their persistent street actions, they secured a social status which was far more generous than in other countries (higher pensions, more lenient invalidity and preferential treatment in government appointments).

4. SCIENTIFIC RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Dr. Saskia Hin's research focussed on several complementary strands, in support of the overall research strategy, among others marriages (based on civil marriage records 1910-1930, Flemish Brabant and Brussels) and macro-demographic analysis. Following expansion of the marriage records of Flemish Brabant dataset into the 1920s, and the collection of additional data variables, in 2017 and 1 quarter of 2018 Dr. Saskia Hin finalized research into the development on first marriages in Belgium (see the book chapter for the edited volume The Impact of WWI on marriages, divorces and gender relations). Dr. Hin also produced a macro-demographic article joining demographic perspectives on marriage, mortality and fertility trends during the war, differentiated by region type. She also worked on a closely related theme: that of the impact of extreme conditions during childhood on marriage timing, among others concluding that people who were born at times when there was hunger, tend to accelerate their life history, marrying earlier - in line with predictions of evolutionary theory. This article uses marriage records and contextual information from the 19th century, because it turned out not to be practically feasible to collect data on the marriages of people born during WW1. However, the hunger conditions of the 19th century invoke parallels with the extremely harsh conditions of part of the Belgian newborn population during WW1. This study therefore gives us very interesting insights into processes at work under harsh conditions, that are also of relevance to our understanding of the impact of WWI on everyday life.

For an exhaustive overview of published results we refer to the **bibliographical list**, but **one highlight** is the published edited volume co-edited by Saskia Hin *The impact of WWI on marriages, divorces and gender relations in Europe* (Routledge 2019).

Drs. Arnaud Charon's conclusions about **forced labourers and deportees** focus on the following axes. First, the social dimensions and profiles of the labour population can partly explain the failure of German deportations. Resistance of deportees (refusing to sign a work contract, collective protests through mobilizing the family, or more passive forms of resistance) can be correlated to these social environments. Second, the social dimensions of the family of the deportee, and the impact of deportation on the social conditions of the families, including the mechanisms of social solidarity and the mobilization of help and support for the deportees and their families. Third, life conditions of deportees in the German camps. And finally, fourth: the post-war, longer term consequences of the war on these deportee: their lack of official recognition, also tied to the more ambiguous 'patriotic' status of forced labour (also observed after the Second World War) and the real social impact on them and their families. Another (secondary) outcome was that our research brought "forgotten sources" to the foreground, notably diaries of deported labourers for example. Also, notably the research about forced labourers was able to make connections to current local populations, that created local interest and sometimes even pushed certain local commemorative initiatives (in the context of the Centenary) to have more attention for the subject.

For an exhaustive overview of published results we refer to the **bibliographical list**, but **one highlight** is the final report of Arnaud Charon's research attached to this report as **Annex 1**.

Florent Verfaillie's research about collaborators/traitors and patriots/resistance fighters (conducted at CegeSoma-State Archives in Belgium) was ultimately strongly influenced by the archival collections. If offered the first in-depth social analysis of either resistance or collaboration during the First World War in Belgium (and even in international perspective). It is certainly the first systematic comparison between Traitors and Patriots. It also used unexploited archives, which was one of the goals of this project as well. Previous resistance-research was mainly based on archives created by the organized resistance networks (Commission des archives patriotiques), which is very useful for a history of activities but often tells us little about the actual resisters themselves. The same can be said on "collaboration": previous collaboration-research was mainly based on Judiciary files, that tell us more about activities and judicial procedures than on the social profiles of the collaborators

themselves. Ultimately, this research favoured a focus on wartime experiences rather than a focus on the post-war life courses and agency. The (partially preliminary) results focus on: the higher social status of Flemish nationalist 'activists', the high number of 'denunciation'-facts among convicted collaborators and the fact these concern relative lower social profiles and younger profiles (under 35 years of age, but also including women), and also the relative high number of economic collaborators. To summarize in a highly simplified manner: the 'ideal type' of the economic traitor is an older (45 year old in average), married man who is a small entrepreneur in charge of a family. With regard to the resistance fighters, the vast majority were simply workers who attempted to flee from German work camps, while on the other hand most important motive of detention in German prisons was 'the attempt to flee or to help to do so' (21%) (which relates partly to patriots helping allied soldiers to escape through the Netherlands). However, organized resistance still proves to be dominant (24%) when taking into account the various prisoners sentenced for treason, spying, help to enemy soldiers, letters contraband, etc. An important group of civilians (15%) was arrested for either the detention of weapons, or for rebellion or insults against the German authorities, which stresses the importance of individual and informal acts of resistance.

For an exhaustive overview of published results we refer to the **bibliographical list**, but **one highlight** is the final report of Florent Verfaillie's research attached to this report as **Annex 2**.

The research about the Belgian veterans encountered a setback when researcher Fabian Van Wesemael (UGent-UNamur) left the project in 2017, but thanks to a swift replacement by researcher Martin Schoups and a more active rol of supervisor-promotor prof. Antoon Vrints (UGent), we were able to implement a remarkably smooth transition and avoid any structural delays. The only fundamental change was that the initially planned PhD was transformed in a book-project. In fact, this part of the project was finished as planned and Vrints and Schoups published the monograph *De overlevenden. De Belgische oud-strijders tijdens het Interbellum* in 2018 (a French translation is under preparation in 2019 for publication in 2020).

Of all the social groups included in this research, the veterans were the most tightly organized after the war in cluster of different associations. One of the major conclusions of this book, is the vitality of the veterans' movement, described by the authors as perhaps the strongest social movement in interwar Belgium. The Great War seemed to have exerted a lasting "politicizing" effect on the soldiers that survived the conflict. Indeed as survivors of the First World War, who had been ready for the ultimate sacrifice, the Belgian veterans felt entitled to express themselves on different social issues. This politicization of former soldiers was nowhere as visible as in Belgium. Membership of veterans' associations was the highest in Europe, with up to 70% of the 320.000 surviving soldiers being registered. This number exceeds even the 50% put forward by Antoine Prost for the French veterans, which is generally believed to be Europe's highest rate. The Belgian veterans also seemed to have taken to the streets more often and systematically than other veterans. On the basis of the daily press and police archives, 1412 street actions by war veterans for the interwar period have been detected. This number was without any doubt only partial. In particular during the first post-war years, the Belgian veterans took to the streets very, very often. The veterans' associations formed a successful social movement, which was able to influence decision-making processes in different areas, ranging from material compensation for themselves to general political issues like the linguistic legislation or the defense policy. The veterans' movement operated very much like any other civil social movement in Belgium, maximizing its political leverage by lobbying in parliament and demonstrating in the streets. Its political style and actions were not violent or militaristic. The veterans' actions did not cause any casualty. Apparently, the Belgian veterans were not "brutalized" by the experience of total war.

For an exhaustive overview of published results we refer to the bibliographical list, but one highlight is the **monography book publication** De overlevenden. De Belgische oud-strijders tijdens het

Interbellum (Antwerpen 2018). This book was awarded by the prestigious three-yearly "Pil-Van Gastelprijs for history" in 2019.

To summarize the overall research: the project succeeded in nuancing or even refuting (in the case of Belgian veterans) existing knowledge or assumptions. Therefore, the original objective of deconstructing the general assumption of WW I as a clear and uniform 'total rupture' was attained. At the very least – for all of the social groups involved – the multiplicity and diversity of experiences (and therefore of the longer term impact) are clearly demonstrated. As such, the research clearly proved our hypothesis that even in the social history of larger groups within ordinary populations, periods of large (civil) wars, occupations and dictatorships can create many different contradictory impacts as well as strategies and mechanisms of dealing with these experiences: from an acceleration in marriage strategies to 'make up for lost time' to the birth of ideas of social and financial justice on the much longer term. Overall the project was able to produce a large output and a highly diverse one. Nevertheless, it is clear that the fact two major research components (forced laborers and collaborators/members of the resistance) have not yet reached their final results prevents us from formulating the true final results and recommendations. Partial results were published (see 5 and 6), the thesis and book about collaborators/members of the resistance and for forced laborers are scheduled for finalization in 2020. Nevertheless, for both final research reports have been submitted by drs. Charon and drs. Verfaillie, highlighting their main conclusions. Both reports are attached to this final report. For the other WP's, all final results have been published.

The follow-up-committee played an important role as sounding board and broader space for reflection. Certainly in the first half of the project, there were interesting exchange on a collective level but also between individual members and researchers about the existing literature, the approach, the sources, the methodology. In the second half however, this role diminished. First, fundamental results of the research were strongly delayed, prohibiting the committee at a certain point of further engagement. Second, the committee gradually focused more on questions of larger dissemination and future follow-up research initiatives, priorities that were difficult to sustain by the ongoing project.

An essential recommendation is that the key-partners will create a moment in 2020 to bring these final results together and also present them as a whole, focusing on the overarching conclusions. Despite the lack of final, definitive recommendations we can already present some 'lesson's learned', two 'working points' and one positive gain.

A first point of attention, is that a strong and uniform interdisciplinary approach and methodology that depends on large serial archival collections can be a huge advantage but can also become a disadvantage once more in-depth knowledge of the sources shows that some of the original assumptions in the methodology are wrong and unobtainable. The paradox is that for some approaches one needs to first apply the method on the sources themselves, before being able to evaluate whether it fully works and does get the useful results that can answer the central questions. This 'test-phase' can take time, certainly in interdisciplinary research, and should be managed as well.

A second point of attention is that there is a certain tension between academic output and public dissemination activities, in terms of strategies, priorities and choices. This is probably a universal tension in some historic research but was particularly acute in this WW I research which took place in the Centenary context. There was a large demand for public dissemination activities in the first phase, when the academic results were not yet fully obtained and we chose to try and divide our energy to both aspects (which is also shown in the diverse nature of our output, see under points 5 and 6). Nevertheless, this remained a difficult dilemma to implement in practice.

A third and unambiguously positive lesson learned, is the strong international nature of this particular field of research. Although all of the research was clearly nationally focused (Belgian history), the questions, methods and concepts were highly internationalized from the beginning. It is remarkable that for all of the different researches, the dialogue with international scholars (in- and outside of the

follow-up committee) and international literature was natural and very much a part of the way the research developed. This confirmed the overall vision of First World Studies in Belgium as a strongly internationally embedded field (much more, for example, than Second World War Studies in Belgium).

5. DISSEMINATION AND VALORISATION

6. PUBLICATIONS

1/ Academic, peer-reviewed publications

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2/ Project-organisations of conferences, workshops, seminars:

- 'The Great War from Below. Entre parcours individuels et expériences collectives. Nouvelles sources, nouvelles perspectives', International conference organized by the Great War from Below project in the State Archives in Belgium, 3 March 2015.
- 'War & Gender', a conference co-organized by Dr. Hin on 5-6 October 2017 at the KU Leuven with Dr. Sandra Brée (EHESS-CNRS, France).
- 'Presenting WWI publications in Belgium: closing public conference', book presentations (and closing debate) at CegeSoma-State Archives, 19 November 2018. with: 'De Overlevenden' by Antoon Vrints and Martin Schoups; 'Vulnérables' of Benoît Majerus and Anne Roekens. 'Congo during WWI' (thematic issue of the Journal of Belgian History), edited

by Enika Ngongo, Bérengère Piret and Nathalie Tousignant, 'La Belgique et la Grande Guerre' the thematic issue of Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains edited by Laurence van Ypersele, Geneviève Warl and Michael Amara; 'Experience and Memory of the First World War in Belgium' edited by Geneviève Warland; 'Femmes à boches' by Emmanuel Debruyne; 'En territoire ennemi (1914-1949)' edited by Emmanuel Debruyne, James Connolly, Elise Julien and Matthias Meirlaen; 'Du café liégeois au soldat inconnu' edited by Chantal Kesteloot and Laurence van Ypersele; 'De Groote Oorlog voorbij (België 1918-1928)' edited by Pierre Lierneux and Natasja Peeters, 'Der Erste Weltkrieg und die Menschen im Vierländerland' by Herbert Ruland.

- 'Looking in the Mirror', closing international workshop on research and commemorations, 14 December 2018, CegeSoma-State Archives, with: John Horne (Trinity College Dublin), Sophie De Schaepdrijver (Penn State University), Gerhard Hirschfeld (Universität Stuttgart), Sofie Onghena (State Archives of Belgium), Piet Chielens (In Flanders Fields Museum), Pierre Purseigle (University of Warwick), Laurence van Ypersele (UCLouvain), Nicolas Offenstadt (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne).

3/ Participation to conferences, workshops, seminars and other valorisation activities

Amara, M., « La Cour militaire belge durant la Première Guerre mondiale ou le difficile exercice de la Justice sur le front belge » au Colloque Les Juristes européens durant la Première Guerre mondiale, organisé en octobre 2018, par le Laboratoire d'Histoire du Droit et des Idées Politiques de l'Université de Toulouse I Capitole (Actes publiés en 2019)

Amara, M., Exposé « Replacer les migrations dans le contexte de guerre : le cas belge », à la Journée d'études Première Guerre mondiale et migrations, organisée par le Laboratoire IRHiS de l'Université Lille III (CNRS), le 4 février 2016.

Amara, M., Exposé et présidence de séance « Les industries belges délocalisées à l'étranger durant la Grande Guerre » au Colloque Composer avec l'ennemi en 14-18 ? La poursuite de l'activité industrielle en zones de guerre. Colloque européen, organisé à Charleroi (Espace Meeting européen), les 26/27 octobre 2017.

Charon, A., « L'évolution du Service de Santé de l'Armée et des principes sanitaires au cours de la Première Guerre mondiale ». Conférence donnée au CHU Tivoli de La Louvière le 1^{er} avril 2014.

Charon, A., « Un médecin dans la Grande guerre. Le journal de guerre du Dr Marcel Alexander (1887-1979) ». Conférence donnée lors de la journée « jeunes historiens » au CEGESOMA le 25 avril 2014.

Charon, A., $10^{\text{ème}}$ Congrès de l'Association des Cercles francophones d'Histoire et d'archéologie de Belgique à Arlon les 18-20 août 2016. Titre de la communication: « Les déportations dans la Province du Luxembourg pendant la Première Guerre mondiale ».

Charon, A., Colloque européen « Composer avec l'ennemi en 14-18? La poursuite de l'activité industrielle en zones de guerre » les 27-28 octobre 2017 à Charleroi. Titre de la communication : « Les déportations des ouvriers belges durant la Première Guerre mondiale : logique industrielle ou improvisation ? L'impact sur la population belge ».

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Charon, A., Colloque international à l'ULB "Defeating impunity, promoting international justice. The Belgian experiences, 1870-2015" les 9 et 10 mars 2015. Titre de la communication : « Deportees claim Justice : the trial proceeding of Jacques Pirenne before the Germano-Belgian Mixed Arbitral Tribunal (1924) ».

Charon, A., Colloque international The Great War from Below: between individual life courses ans collectives experiences – New sources, new perspectives aux Archives générales du Royaume le 3 mars 2015. Titre de la communication: « Le travail forcé durant la Première Guerre mondiale. Focus sur les déportations de la population belge ».

Charon, A., Conférences sur les déportations durant la Première Guerre mondiale à Quiévrain (27 octobre 2016), à Soignies (7 novembre 2016), à La Bruyère (16 novembre 2016), à Waulsort (16 décembre 2016), à Namur (30 janvier 2017), à Mons (22 mars 2017) et à Jodoigne (6 novembre 2018).

Charon A., Rédaction de panneaux et référent scientifique pour l'exposition « 14-18 le grand brassage des populations » (Province de Namur).

Charon, A., Coordination d'un projet Démocratie ou Barbarie (Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles) : plusieurs écoles travaillent sur les déportations de leur commune, en vue de commémorer le centenaire des déportations (consultations d'archives avec les élèves, exposés, visites des AGR). Résultats :

- AR René Magritte à Lessines : http://www.lessines-14-18.be
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Charon, A., support for the course HIST-B4225 (prof. Serge Jaumain) : Séminaire de recherche : Epoque contemporaine (ULB) (2014-2015).

Charon, A., Visite des Archives générales du Royaume pour des étudiants, réponses aux questions de chercheurs, tenue de la salle de lecture, activités spécifiques en rapport avec les missions des Archives générales du Royaume.

Charon, A., Workshop entre doctorants anglais et belges sur la Première Guerre mondiale, organisé par John Horne (Trinity College – Dublin), à Oxford les 30 novembre et 1^{er} décembre 2017.

Charon, A., Workshop international « Forced and coerced labour : comparing colonial spaces and global conflicts » au CEGES le 19 mars 2015. Titre de la communication : « The forced labour of the Belgian people during the First World War : the daily life through the sources ».

Charon, A., Workshop sur les migrations et la Première Guerre mondiale à Lille, le 4 février 2016. Titre de la communication : « Les déportations de la population belge durant la Première Guerre mondiale ».

het wetenschappelijk onderzoek dienstbaar zijn?, SLO/OSGG, Gent, 19.02.2014. Hin, S., presenration of the research at the World Population Conference in Capetown, South Africa (nov. 2017), (Saskia Hin was nominated for a poster award there).

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Schoups, M., Oxford University. Anglo-Belgian WWI Exchange, 30 november – 1 december, Oxford.

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Vrints, Antoon, De betekenis van het Belgisch oorlogsnationalisme, studiedag KVAB Oorlog en Nationale Identiteit. België en Vlaanderen in de Eerste Wereldoorlog, Brussel, 07.05.2014.

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Vrints, Antoon, De von Bissing-universiteit en de Duitse Flamenpolitik, De Faculteit Geneeskunde tijdens WOI, avondcolloquium, Faculteit Geneeskunde, Gent, 5.11.2014.

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ANNEXES

- 1/ Final Research Report of Arnaud Charon
- 2/ Final Research Report of Florent Verfaillie
- 3/ Conference Programme 2015
- 4-6/ Follow-up-Committee Reports (4 March 2015; 21 April 2016, 13 December 2017)