

Rituals of the past in the context of the present

The role of Remembrance Day and Liberation Day in Dutch society

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Cover illustrations	Erik Voncken
Cover design	Betekende Wereld
Printing	Ridderprint BV
ISBN	978-90-393-6937-1

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Rituals of the past in the context of the present

The role of Remembrance Day and Liberation Day in Dutch society

Rituelen uit het verleden in de context van het heden

De rol van Dodenherdenking en Bevrijdingsdag in de Nederlandse samenleving

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de
Universiteit Utrecht op gezag van de rector magnificus,
prof. dr. G. J. van der Zwaan, ingevolge het besluit van het
college voor promoties in het openbaar te verdedigen
op 16 maart 2018 des middags te 12.45 uur

door

Manja Coopmans

geboren op 22 juni 1989
te Nijmegen

Promotoren: Prof. dr. ir. A. G. van der Lippe
Prof. dr. M. Lubbers

Copromotor: Dr. E. Jaspers

This thesis was (partly) accomplished with financial support from the National Committee 4 and 5 May as part of the research project 'Freedom and lack of freedom across generations'. This book has been printed with financial support from the J. E. Jurriaanse Stichting.

Contents

Chapter 1. Studying national commemorations in contemporary society	1
1.1. The relevance of studying national commemorations	2
1.2. Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day	5
1.3. Theoretical background and previous research	6
1.4. Contributions of this dissertation	10
1.5. Research questions and main findings	11
1.6. Data sources	14
1.7. Overall conclusions	16
1.8. Practical implications	19
1.9. Directions for future research	23
Chapter 2. What is ‘needed’ to keep remembering? War-specific communication, parental exemplar behaviour and participation in national commemorations	27
2.1. Introduction	28
2.2. The Dutch context: Remembrance Day and Liberation Day	29
2.3. Theory	30
2.4. Methods	33
2.5. Results	37
2.6. Conclusion and discussion	44
Chapter 3. Participation in national commemorations amongst citizens with a migration background: the role of previous familiarity with commemorating	49
3.1. Introduction	50
3.2. Remembrance Day and Liberation Day in the Netherlands	51
3.3. Theory	52
3.4. Methods	55
3.5. Results	59
3.6. Conclusion and discussion	65
Chapter 4. To whom do national commemorations matter? A comparison of national belonging across generations and ethnic groups	69
4.1. Introduction	70
4.2. National commemorations and celebrations in the Netherlands	71
4.3. Theory	72

4.4. Methods	75
4.5. Results	77
4.6. Conclusion and discussion	82
Chapter 5. Dutch Liberation festivals: a vehicle to more politically active young citizens, or merely the same selective audience?	87
5.1. Introduction	88
5.2. Theory	89
5.3. Methods	94
5.4. Results	97
5.5. Conclusion and discussion	101
Appendices	107
Nederlandse samenvatting	119
References	131
Dankwoord	145
Curriculum Vitae	151
ICS dissertation series	155



Chapter 1

**Studying national commemorations
in contemporary society**

1.1. The relevance of studying national commemorations

Every society has its own commemorations and celebrations: institutionalised, annual rituals during which important historical events specific for that nation are commemorated or celebrated (Schwartz, 2015). National celebrations include the anniversary of a nation's independence or monarchy, such as Independence Day in the United States (4 July), Greece (25 March), and Finland (6 December), or King's Day in the Netherlands (27 April) and Belgium (15 November). Prevailing in a battle or war is another example of an occasion typically celebrated nationally, such as Victory Day in Russia (9 May) and Turkey (30 August). In addition, many countries have national commemorations, the commemoration of the Second World War being perhaps the most widely recognised one due to its major impact worldwide, with over 60 million people killed. On top of the universal Holocaust Memorial Day (27 January), the Second World War is, for instance, commemorated in the Netherlands and Denmark on 4 May (Remembrance Day) and 5 May (Liberation Day), in Italy on 25 April, and in France on 8 May (Krimp & Reiding, 2014a).

Even though the year 2015 marked the 70th anniversary of the end of the Second World War, studies on collective memory (i.e. shared memories of past events) demonstrate that most citizens – living in countries ranging from France, Australia, and the United States to Japan and Hong Kong – still consider the Second World War the single most important historical event of the 20th century (Liu et al., 2005, 2009; Schuman & Corning, 2012; Schuman & Scott, 1989; Scott & Zac, 1993). At the same time, many of these studies also find evidence of a so-called 'critical period effect': Historical events have most impact on individuals when experienced in adolescence and early adulthood, also referred to as the critical period.¹ As a result, generations born in time periods that are further removed from a historical event attach less importance to this event. Less clear is what this means for the role of national commemorations, initiated to commemorate the historical event in question. To what extent do later generations, for instance, still participate in national commemorations dedicated to the Second World War?

In addition to *when* one was born, *where* one was born can also be expected to play a role in collective memory processes in contemporary societies. Due to increased migration flows, many European countries now consist of a population with varying ethnic backgrounds (De Valk, 2010). Many of these people do not share the same national history (Castles, 2000; Messina, 2007), and can therefore be expected to vary in their collective memories, as well as their levels of commemorative participation. Literature on commemorations is, however, mainly comprised of contemplative writings focusing on the potential of commemorations at the societal level, whilst large-scale studies utilising representative data to address

¹ In the literature on political socialisation and the life course, this phenomenon is often labelled the 'impressionable years' effect (Alwin et al., 1991; Rekker, Keijsers, Branje, & Meeus, 2015), whilst, in psychological literature, the concept is known as the 'reminiscence bump' (Conway, Wang, Hanyu, & Haque, 2005).

explanations of varying levels of commemorative participation at the level of the individual have, until now, remained largely absent. This is unfortunate, as knowledge on who participates and in what way tells us a lot about the role of national commemorations in a society, one important aspect being whether a commemoration can be considered inclusive, or, instead, whether it attracts only a very selective audience, thereby running the risk of stimulating segregation within a society (Collins, 2004; Steidl, 2013).

A first aim of the present dissertation is to shed more light on (individual-level) explanations of variation in commemorative participation, thereby paying specific attention to explanations of commemorative participation amongst citizens further removed from the historical event that is commemorated, either in time (i.e. later generations) or in geographical distance (i.e. citizens with a migration background). It does so by focusing on the Second World War commemorations in the Netherlands, organised by the National Committee 4 and 5 May, on Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day. Annual surveys conducted by the committee, referred to as the 'National Freedom Enquiries' (*'Nationaal Vrijheidsonderzoek'*), show that the percentage of people taking part in the activities organised on Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day is considerably lower amongst younger citizens (Koenen, Breet, & Verhue, 2015; Verhue, Jorritsma, & Koenen, 2014; Verhue & Koenen, 2013, 2016). Figure 1.1 shows that only 5 per cent of respondents between 18 and 24 years old visit a commemoration ceremony on Remembrance Day, compared to 13 per cent of those 65 years and older. Moreover, whereas more than half of those who are 50 years and older follow the activities organised on Liberation Day, only a third of the respondents between 18 and 24 years old do so. The Liberation festivals organised on 5 May form an exception, being attended most often by the younger age group.

Information on commemorative participation amongst citizens from various ethnic origins is limited in the National Freedom Enquiries. However, discontent with the organised commemorations amongst citizens with a migration background became the topic of a heated public debate last year, when a small group of young activists initiated '#geen4meivoormij' (*'no 4 May for me'*), an online social media campaign meant to convince people that Remembrance Day – with its specific focus on Dutch victims – is outdated and in need of a new perspective. One of the initiators, a Dutch girl from Javanese-Surinamese origin, mentioned that her ancestors should also be acknowledged on Remembrance Day (Volkskrant, 2016). In 2017, an initiative to commemorate asylum seekers who died in the crossing to Europe on Dutch Remembrance Day sparked heated discussions on who should and should not be commemorated (Trouw, 2017). These examples highlight the relevance of paying specific attention to varying levels of commemorative participation amongst citizens from different time periods and ethnic origins.

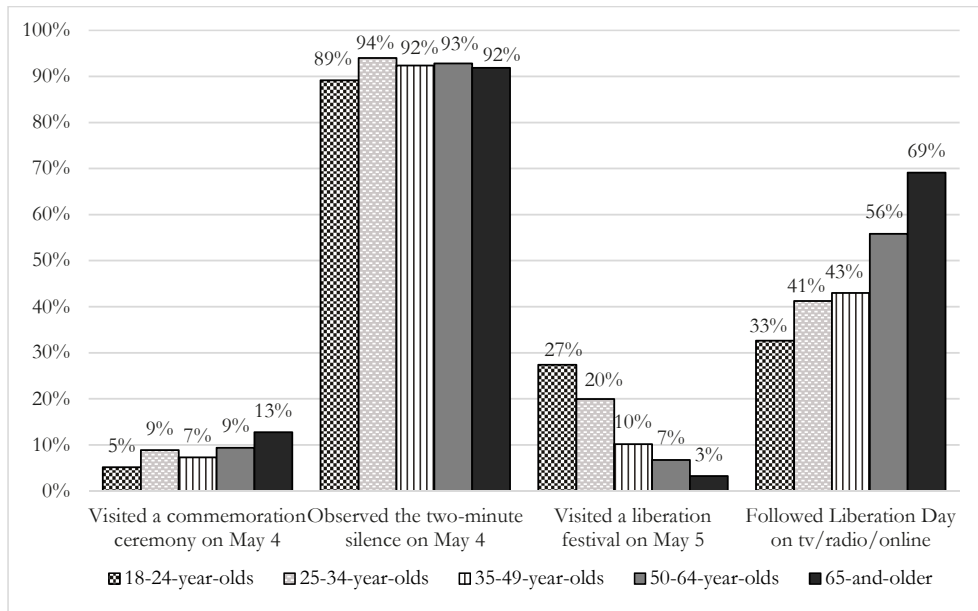


Figure 1.1. Average participation in Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day activities in the past year, by age. Own calculations based on data from the National Freedom Enquiries 2013-16.

A second aim of this dissertation is to address the *broader* function of contemporary Second World War commemorations, since, as Schwartz (2015) puts it, “commemoration is only skin-deep when it preserves but fails to instruct and inspire” (p. 238). Although originally initiated to remember and honour victims of the Second World War, national commemorations are also considered one of the ways through which nations strengthen feelings of national belonging amongst its citizens (Gillis, 1994; Spillman, 1997). The past decades have seen various politicians stressing the need for an amplified emphasis on the national past (Duyvendak, 2011). This idea dates back to Durkheim ([1912] 1995), who believed that rituals reinforce shared beliefs and social solidarity by producing a so-called ‘collective effervescence’. More recent literature on the function of national commemorations has, however, questioned this assumption (Collins, 2004; Etzioni, 2000; Fox, 2014; Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008). To keep with Schwartz (2015): “At question is whether traditional reverence for the past is destined to disappear or whether it remains because it is not traditional at all but rather a fundamental requirement of societal continuity” (p. 241). The annual surveys conducted by the National Committee 4 and 5 May indicate that most Dutch citizens believe that Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day increase, amongst others, feelings of solidarity and national identification. It is, however, unclear to what extent these feelings can truly be considered a *consequence* of commemorative participation, as was suggested by Durkheim, since empirical studies on the topic are largely

absent. Utilising representative Dutch data, the current dissertation addresses this caveat by examining the consequences of participating in the nationally organised Second World War commemorations in the Netherlands for citizens' feelings of national belonging.

In addition to debates on the role of national commemorations in national belonging, another discussion on the function of national commemorations that has resurfaced over the last decade is their connection to (democratic) citizenship (Elgenius, 2011b; Haskins, 2015; Liu & Hilton, 2005; Woods & Tsang, 2014). Although several reports have been published on the topic (Cowan, Kenig, & Mycock, 2014; Van Nieuwenhuysse & Wils, 2012), large-scale empirical research is limited. An exception are the studies by Cowan and Maitles. Based on comparisons of students' attitudes and behaviours before and after they studied the Holocaust, they conclude that the commemoration of the Holocaust in an educational setting (i.e. 'remembrance education') has the ability to promote young Scottish citizens' citizenship values, as well as practices (Cowan & Maitles, 2007, 2011). This is especially relevant considering the assumed decline in numbers of young people in Western societies actively partaking in (traditional) political activities, which form an important part of democratic citizenship (Fieldhouse, Tranmer, & Russell, 2007; Putnam, 2000; Russo & Stattin, 2017; Sloam, 2014). Unfortunately, the small selective sample of students and lack of explanatory analyses in the studies by Cowan and Maitles prevent us from generalising these findings to other contexts. Moreover, systematic research on the impact of commemorative activities in non-educational settings is, to the best of my knowledge, non-existent. As an additional contribution, this dissertation therefore uses recently collected data from an adolescent panel to zoom in on the commemorative and political activities of young people in the Netherlands.

The present dissertation is part of a larger research project titled 'Freedom and lack of freedom across generations', initiated by the National Committee 4 and 5 May to examine how different generations develop their attitudes and behaviours related to freedom, lack of freedom, and commemorating. This first chapter synthesises the conclusions of the four empirical studies that will be presented in Chapters 2 to 5. After a brief introduction to Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day in Section 1.2, I continue with a description of relevant theories and previous research on which my theoretical framework is based in Section 1.3, and a summary of the main contributions of this dissertation in Section 1.4. In section 1.5, I discuss the data sources that are used for my four empirical studies. The main research findings and the overall conclusions are presented in Sections 1.6 and 1.7 respectively. The chapter ends with a discussion of the practical implications in Section 1.8 and directions for future research in Section 1.9.

1.2. Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day

Dutch Remembrance Day is held annually on 4 May and is centred on a two-minute silence held at 8:00 p.m. The day was originally initiated in 1945 to remember and honour the Dutch

victims of the Second World War and to help reconstruct the nation and boost national identity (Vermolen, 1995). Since 1961, the commemoration on Dutch Remembrance Day also includes Dutch victims from subsequent wars or peacekeeping missions abroad. Traditionally, flags are flown at half-staff, and commemoration ceremonies are organised throughout the country, the main one taking place at the Dam, where the National Monument in commemoration of the Second World War is located. This ceremony is, amongst others, attended by the monarch, members of parliament, and cabinet members. Since Dutch Remembrance Day is not a public holiday, ceremonies and other activities are organised in the evening, so everyone is able to attend (for more information on Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day, see Keesom, 2012). The events are also broadcast live on national radio and television.

Dutch Liberation Day, celebrated on 5 May, was officially introduced in 1954 as a day to celebrate the liberation of the nation from the Nazi German occupation in 1945. Nowadays, attention is also paid to current issues relating to war, freedom, and resistance to injustice, both in the Netherlands and abroad. The day starts with an address on the fragility of freedom, functioning as a link between the commemorations on 4 May and the festivities on 5 May. Flags are flown, and municipalities throughout the country organise a range of celebrative activities. Liberation festivals take place in each of the 12 Dutch provinces. Besides musical acts, festival visitors can listen to speeches on war- and freedom-related topics, and visit organisations such as Amnesty International and the Red Cross at the ‘Square of Freedom’.

The annual surveys conducted by the National Committee 4 and 5 May show that most Dutch citizens follow the organised activities on television, radio, or online (see also Figure 1.1). On average, 68 and 48 per cent of the respondents use media channels to follow Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day respectively. The number of people physically attending the organised activities is much lower. The celebrative activities on Liberation Day appear more popular than the commemorative activities on Remembrance Day: whilst the former are attended by around 25 per cent of the respondents, the latter are attended by less than 10 per cent.

1.3. Theoretical background and previous research

The present dissertation gains more insight in the role of national commemorations in contemporary societies by (empirically) examining the determinants and the consequences of individuals’ participation in national commemorations. To gain a better understanding of the *determinants* of commemorative participation, I combine previous insights from literature on the transmission of collective memory with more general socialisation theories. As knowledge of one’s past and the associated rituals to remember this past has been argued to be a vital aspect of political socialisation (Sapiro, 2004), I concentrate mainly on political socialisation theories. Since the socialisation of commemorative practices is often labelled

‘mnemonic socialisation’ (Zerubavel, 1996), which refers to the socialisation processes designed to aid (collective) memory, I will use this term throughout my dissertation to discuss the determinants of commemorative participation. To examine the *consequences* of commemorative participation in contemporary societies, I build upon a wide variety of literature, ranging from studies on rituals, commemorations, and national identities, to scholarship on civic engagement, citizenship, and political participation. What follows is a summary of the literature on which the hypotheses that are examined throughout this dissertation are based.

1.3.1. Determinants of commemorative participation

Over the last two decades, numerous overview studies have been published about research on collective memory (Corning & Schuman, 2015; Erll & Nünning, 2008; Olick & Robbins, 1998). Much of the research on the transmission of collective memory has built upon the work of Halbwachs (1992). Halbwachs particularly emphasises the role of family in the transmission of collective memory – as well as the commemorative practices associated with these memories – to subsequent generations. The stories told by parents and grandparents are supposed to not only teach children facts about historical events, but are also an opportunity to hear about the first-hand experiences and emotions of those involved in an event. Moreover, it is within the family context that children learn the behaviours that are considered appropriate when it comes to commemorating. More general socialisation theories, focusing on the learning processes through which people acquire the norms, values, and skills necessary to participate and function in society (Parsons & Bales, 1956), also highlight the key role played by family members, and the primary caregivers in particular. Numerous studies examining political socialisation processes of young citizens provide evidence for the crucial role played by communication, showing that adolescents who more frequently discuss politics and current events with their parents, for instance, are more intent on becoming politically active citizens (Kuhn, 2004; Quintelier, 2015b). Empirical studies that test whether these findings also hold true for mnemonic socialisation are, however, limited (for an exception, see Lubbers & Meuleman, 2016; Meuleman & Lubbers, 2013).

In their work on communicative and cultural memory, Jan and Aleida Assmann also stress the essential role of communication with family members who witnessed a historical event for the transmission of collective memories of that particular event (see, e.g. Assmann, 2008). At the same time, they acknowledge that this type of ‘communicative memory’ has a limited time span: normally no more than 80 years, the time span of three interacting generations. Hence, to be able to explain commemorative participation amongst citizens born further removed from a historical event, we need to look at other forms of socialisation. A more indirect way through which socialisation takes place according to more general socialisation theories is ‘role modelling’, that is observing appropriate behaviours of social others and copying these behaviours, often to fit in a group or society and to avoid social exclusion

(Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986). Although less often examined in the literature on the transmission of collective memory and commemorative practices, a study by Lubbers and Meuleman (2016) – one of the few studies that empirically examined the role of parental commemorative behaviour – found that both flying the flag on Dutch Liberation Day and observing the two-minute silence on Remembrance Day were substantially affected by parental exemplar behaviour. Explanations of commemorative participation can thus be expected to depend upon how important others in one's family environment communicate about *and* behave in relation to commemorating. To be able to formulate conclusions regarding the relative importance of different forms of mnemonic socialisation, it is therefore vital to take into account both.

Another relatively little examined form of mnemonic socialisation is that of communication with and participation of people *outside* the family environment. Whilst studies on the transmission of collective memory often focus on the importance of familial socialisation (i.e. via one's parents or grandparents), more general socialisation theories emphasise the role of *multiple* socialisation agents in the shaping of attitudes and behaviours of young people, including not only the primary caregivers, but also more distant family members, peers, and teachers (Alwin, Cohen, & Newcomb, 1991; Parsons & Bales, 1956). Communicating with peers, for instance, has been found to play a particularly important role in political socialisation processes of young citizens (Klofstad, 2010; Kuhn, 2004). Also the social interactions with and behaviours of important others outside the family environment can thus be expected to play a role in mnemonic socialisation processes, for instance at school, in the neighbourhood, or at work. In one of the few empirical studies on commemorative behaviours addressing this issue, Lee and Chan (2013) show that peers are one of the most important sources of influence in adolescents' participation in Hong Kong's 4 June commemorations of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre. Unfortunately, more systematic research on non-familial forms of mnemonic socialisation seems to be largely absent. Taking these into account is therefore an important next step when examining determinants of commemorative participation.

1.3.2. Consequences of commemorative participation

Much of the literature on the broader function of commemorative rituals and the consequences of participating in national commemorations draws its arguments from Durkheim's famous ([1912] 1995) theory on the role of religious rituals in heightening a 'collective effervescence', or notion of we-ness. According to Durkheim, rituals produce a momentarily shared reality amongst its participants, thereby generating solidarity and emphasising group membership. This temporary state of collective effervescence is supposed to translate into a more permanent feeling, which, when experienced amongst enough citizens, increases cohesion on a societal level. Building upon Durkheim's terminology, abundant literature exists on the assumed role played by national commemorations in

strengthening feelings of national belonging in more advanced, industrial societies (e.g. Gillis, 1994; Lukes, 1975; Spillman, 1997). Collins (2004) – in the introduction to his theory on interaction ritual chains – provides an overview of the numerous authors who have followed up on Durkheim, although mainly from a sociological point of view. Bell (1992) and Verkuyten (1990) offer some insight in the broader, interdisciplinary field of ritual and symbol studies. Empirical studies testing the consequences of individuals' participation in commemorative rituals are, however, largely absent.

Several authors have argued that the impact of commemorative rituals on citizens' feelings of group membership – and, by extension, societal cohesion at large – depends upon several factors, including the specific type of ritual, as well as the type of audience (Etzioni, 2000; Fox, 2014; Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008). Smith (2014) – following up on Renan ([1882] 1990) – argues, for instance, that rituals commemorating a national tragedy, such as the two-minute silence on Dutch Remembrance Day, have a larger impact on individuals' feelings of national belonging than rituals celebrating a national victory, of which the Dutch Liberation festivals are an example. Other aspects that have been mentioned as characteristic of 'successful' nation-promoting rituals are the visibility of national symbols such as a national flag or anthem (Geisler, 2009), and the extent to which the nation is the centre of attention (Elgenius, 2011b). Expectations concerning the type of *audience* are more often discussed in collective memory studies. One of the most frequently mentioned factors here is time of birth. Apart from the critical period effect that was already shortly mentioned in the introduction (Schuman & Scott, 1989; Schwartz, 1982), the context in which one was born can also be expected to impact the form of commemoration one was socialised with. Following this line of argumentation, not only *time* of birth but also *place* of birth is likely to affect the role of national commemorations for an individual, especially in today's multi-ethnic society. Again, studies providing empirical evidence for these claims are scarce.

Apart from heightening feelings of collective effervescence, commemorative rituals have been argued to work as civic lessons or 'lessons from the past' by staging experiences that reinforce shared beliefs within a society, teach fundamental democratic values, and increase an urge to contribute to society (Collins, 2004; Haskins, 2015). Following behavioural theories such as Ajzen's (1991) theory of planned behaviour, this urge to act can be expected to translate into concrete 'pro-democracy' actions, of which political participation is considered a key aspect (Putnam, 2000). Although empirical evidence is limited, collective memory studies in the US have shown that memories of past events, such as the civil rights movement or the Vietnam War, are able to affect political attitudes (Griffin & Bollen, 2009; Schuman & Rieger, 1992). Based on the above argumentation, collective memory practices – amongst which participation in national commemorations – can be expected to have a similar effect. Some evidence for this reasoning was found in the studies by Cowan and Maitles (2007, 2011), on the role of remembrance education on young people's citizenship attitudes and behaviours. Systematic research on the impact of commemorative activities in non-educational settings is, however, almost non-existent.

1.4. Contributions of this dissertation

The present dissertation has three main contributions. First, to answer the question on *explanations* of citizens' participation in the activities organised on Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day, this dissertation not only expands, but also empirically examines existing theories on mnemonic socialisation, paying specific attention to citizens further removed from the event that is commemorated, either in time or geographical distance. In addition to an empirical test of the role of familial communication in the socialisation of commemorative practices – often emphasised in literature on the socialisation of collective memory but rarely structurally examined – it uses more general socialisation theories. These are combined with findings from studies on political socialisation processes to formulate and test expectations on determinants of commemorative participation that are more applicable for later birth cohorts – such as the earlier discussed exemplar behaviour and non-familial communication – or for citizens born in a different country, such as commemorative practices in the country of origin. In doing so, this dissertation contributes to the construction of a theoretical framework of mnemonic socialisation tailored for contemporary (Western) societies.

As a second contribution, this dissertation answers the question on *consequences* of commemorative participation by expanding existing theories on the broader function of commemorative rituals and empirically testing these theories at the level of the individual. One of the main caveats in the literature on the consequences of commemorative rituals is that it consists mainly of theoretical contributions. In these, much attention is paid to the potential of national commemorations in boosting feelings of national belonging and civic engagement in a society, whilst the focus is less on testing actual attitudes and behaviours associated with participation in national commemorations. A first way through which the present dissertation expands previous literature on this topic is by empirically examining the impact of commemorative participation on feelings of national belonging in contemporary society, and providing comparisons across birth cohorts and citizens of various ethnic origins. As the continuance of a democratic system depends not only on citizens' feelings towards one's nation, but also on what is often labelled 'active citizenship behaviour' (Geboers, Geijssel, Admiraal, & ten Dam, 2014; Geijssel, Ledoux, Reumerman, & ten Dam, 2012), this dissertation continues with a test of the potential of national commemorations in impacting one of the aspects of citizenship behaviour, namely political participation – a subject that has popped up more than once in discussions on young citizens' civic engagement over the past years (see, e.g. Cowan, Kenig, & Mycock, 2014; Van Nieuwenhuyse & Wils, 2012).

Considering the limited number of large-scale, quantitative studies utilising representative data to address the determinants and consequences of commemorative participation, the systematic, empirical approach used in this dissertation can be considered a third important contribution. As part of the research project 'Freedom and lack of freedom across generations', extensive data were collected on commemorative participation, not only

amongst a representative sample of the Dutch population, but also amongst two subpopulations that are often under-represented in studies on the topic: younger citizens (in this case aged 19-20 years old), and citizens with a migration background. Utilising the rich data that are the result of this data collection, this dissertation is able to provide strict tests of attitudes and behaviours closely associated with participation in national commemorations.

1.5. Research questions and main findings

1.5.1. *Mnemonic socialisation amongst the general population*

In Chapter 2, I examine how post-war generations, that are citizens born after the Second World War, are socialised into participating in national commemorations organised in honour of this (major) historical event. The main research question in this chapter is: *To what extent is familial communication necessary for the socialisation of commemorative practices?* To answer this question, I compare the explanatory role of communication about past war experiences with family members with two alternative forms of mnemonic socialisation: communication with non-relatives (i.e. friends, colleagues, acquaintances), and parental exemplar behaviour. I am particularly interested in substitutive relationships: What happens when one source of socialisation is less prevalent, does another take over? Considering the limited time span of communicative memory (Assmann, 2008), this study could not be timelier, as the Second World War ended a little over 70 years ago.

I find that people who more frequently communicate with their parents or grandparents about past war experiences also participate more often in the commemorative activities organised on Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day – either by visiting a commemoration ceremony or Liberation festival, or by following the activities via media channels. The fact that both parental and grandparental communication about past war experiences contribute to commemorative participation not only highlights the importance of (war-specific) familial communication for mnemonic socialisation, but also emphasises the importance of multigenerational socialisation mechanisms. At the same time, I find evidence of *substitutive* relationships. Whereas non-familial communication (i.e. communication with friends, colleagues, or acquaintances) is not associated with commemorative participation amongst the total sample, it forms an important explanation of commemorative participation amongst people who never communicate with their parents about their parents' past war experiences or who do not have parents who experienced a war. A similar effect is found for parental exemplar behaviour: Although already playing a significant role for mnemonic socialisation regardless of familial communication, parental commemorative patterns are even more important amongst those with lower levels of parental (war-specific) communication. This chapter thus identifies several alternative forms of mnemonic socialisation, thereby showing that familial communication is not a prerequisite for the socialisation of commemorative practices.

1.5.2. *Migrant-specific mnemonic socialisation*

In Chapter 3, I provide a further extension of theories on mnemonic socialisation by specifying and analysing determinants relevant for the socialisation of commemorative practices amongst citizens with a migration background, and comparing commemorative behaviours of citizens from Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, Indonesian, South African, native Dutch, other Western, and other non-Western origin. The main research question in this chapter is: *To what extent does previous familiarity with commemorating and celebrating in the country of origin explain participation in host national commemorations?* To answer this question, I consider historical connections between the host country and the various countries of origin (i.e. countries with and without a colonial past), previous war experiences (i.e. citizens with and without a personal connection to the Second World War), and participation in holidays (i.e. commemorations or celebrations) that are organised in, or that are specific for, the country of origin. I then compare the explanatory power of these aspects with that of socio-cultural aspects related to the current country of residence, including age of migration, length of stay, Dutch language use, and number of native Dutch contacts.

The results show that differences in commemorative practices are small to non-existent when comparing native Dutch citizens with citizens from a Surinamese, Antillean, Indonesian, and South African origin – all former Dutch colonies. Commemorative participation rates are substantially lower amongst citizens originating from more recent immigration countries such as Turkey and Morocco, especially when compared to citizens from native Dutch, Indonesian, or another Western origin. The found ethnic group differences in commemorative participation are best explained by a combination of previous participation patterns that originated in the country of origin, and current levels of integration in the host country. One of the most interesting findings is the role played by country-of-origin-specific commemorations or celebrations. More frequent participation in these country-of-origin-specific holidays – such as the commemoration of war battles and the celebration of war victories in Turkey, the celebration of independence in Suriname or Indonesia, or so-called ‘National Flag and Anthem’ days in the former Netherlands Antilles – is associated with more frequent participation in the activities organised on Dutch Remembrance and Liberation Day. These findings suggest that previous familiarity with commemorating and celebrating in the country of origin forms an important explanation of participation in the national commemorations organised by the current country of residence.

1.5.3. *Feelings of national belonging*

In Chapter 4, I focus on the broader function of national commemorations for contemporary societies by examining the consequences of commemorative participation. The main research question in this chapter is: *To what extent is participation in national commemorations associated with feelings of national belonging?* As an additional contribution, I test whether the nation-promoting function of national rituals depends on the type of activity and

the type of audience. For the former, I include a comparison between various national rituals, amongst which the activities organised on Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day. For the latter, I compare associations between commemorative participation and national belongingness across generations (i.e. birth cohorts) and citizens from various ethnic origins.

The results indicate that feelings of national belonging are stronger amongst citizens who more frequently take part in national commemorations. At the same time, comparisons across birth cohorts and ethnic backgrounds reveal that this is not the case for *all* citizens. Amongst citizens born immediately after the Second World War (1945-1955), I find a positive association between participation in Remembrance Day and national belonging, but not between participation in Liberation Day and national belonging. Amongst those born *after* 1955, the results are exactly opposite: associations are present for Liberation Day, yet absent for Remembrance Day. This generational difference could be ascribed to the fact that Liberation Day was only introduced in 1954, and initially not very successful. Moreover, the original focus of Remembrance Day on boosting national belongingness in its early years has gradually made room for a more globalised content (Keesom, 2012), which could explain the absence of feelings of national belonging amongst later generations participating in the activities on Remembrance Day.

Associations between commemorative participation and national belonging are substantially stronger amongst citizens from non-Western origin than amongst citizens from native Dutch or other Western origin. On the one hand, these results suggest that commemorative rituals play a larger role for feelings of national belonging amongst those for whom the rituals have not yet become 'ordinary', as suggested by Fox and Miller-Idriss (2008). Another explanation is that citizens who do not (yet) feel a strong connection to the Netherlands have more to gain from participating in national commemorations, providing them with an opportunity to reaffirm their Dutch identity, both to themselves and to their environment. All in all, the findings in this chapter highlight that more attention should be paid to potential group differences in the relationship between national commemorations and national belonging.

1.5.4. Young adults' voting intentions

In Chapter 5, I continue with a test of the potential of national commemorations in impacting political behaviours. Following up on debates regarding declining levels of political engagement amongst later generations, I focus on a form of commemoration popular amongst young people: Dutch Liberation festivals. The main research question in this chapter is: *To what extent is participation in Dutch Liberation festivals associated with young people's inclinations to vote?* This type of informal commemoration, which combines musical performances of famous artists with raising awareness of core democratic rights and values, is particularly interesting considering its ability to reach a large, heterogeneous segment of the Dutch population. At the same time, the fact that the festivals are most known for their music makes it questionable to what extent they can truly impact political behaviours. To test

if the association is not caused by other factors predicting *both* commemorative and political participation (i.e. spurious), I account for two factors previously identified as important determinants of young citizens' broader civic engagement: parental communication about civic issues, and citizenship education offered at school. In addition, I consider various sociodemographic characteristics to examine selection processes as an alternative explanation.

The results indicate that Dutch Liberation festivals are a popular form of commemorating amongst youth between 18 and 19 years old; almost 60 per cent of the respondents attended a festival at least once in the past years. The association found between festival attendance and young people's inclination to vote is partially explained by more frequent civic communication with one's parents. Nevertheless, even after accounting for the above-mentioned factors, the findings indicate that participating in Dutch Liberation festivals is positively associated with young people's voting intentions. Although the effect is relatively small, these findings provide tentative support for Sapiro's (2004) claim that the commemoration of a national past is a relevant part of the political socialisation process. Moreover, festival attendance is not affected by level of education or socioeconomic status, suggesting that individuals with different educational trajectories or socioeconomic backgrounds have similar chances of participating. These findings highlight the potential of Dutch Liberation festivals to reach a heterogeneous segment of the (young) population, and support previous research emphasising the success of implementing 'popular culture' elements when targeting young citizens (Van Eijck & Knulst, 2005), also in national commemorations (Fricke, 2013). Chances of visiting a festival were, however, negatively affected by ethnic identification.

1.6. Data sources

1.6.1. *Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social sciences*

For Chapters 2, 3, and 4, I use data of the Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social sciences (LISS) panel administered by CentERdata (Tilburg University, the Netherlands) and a representative sample of the Dutch population of 16 years and older. The LISS panel is based on a true probability sample of 10,150 households drawn from the population register by Statistics Netherlands in 2007, of which around half registered as panel member, resulting in a little over 8,000 actively participating persons. In addition to the regular LISS panel, a separate immigrant panel (LISS-I) was established in 2010. The aim of the LISS-I panel was to build a panel including proportional representations of the four major non-Western immigrant groups in the Netherlands (persons of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese, and Antillean origin). Of the 6,849 households that were drawn from the population register, 28 per cent registered as panel member, corresponding to around 1900 households. Of the roughly 3000 eligible panel members, a little over 2500 individuals were willing to participate,

of which a little over 1700 of non-Dutch origin (for more information on recruitment methods and response rates, see www.lissdata.nl).

The LISS panel is structured as such that its panel members participate in so-called Core Studies: annual Internet surveys designed to follow changes in the life courses and living conditions of the panel members. In addition, researchers are provided with the opportunity to design their own questionnaires, which are administered amongst the panel members once a month. This opportunity has resulted in two (publicly available) datasets including information on commemorative participation. In 2011, Meuleman and Lubbers developed the ‘Nationalism and the National Dimension of Cultural Consumption’ questionnaire, one of the first questionnaires with information on commemorative participation amongst a representative sample of Dutch citizens. These data are used in Chapter 4. The questionnaire was administered in the regular LISS panel and completed by 4,761 panel members (70.9%). The number of questions focusing explicitly on commemorative participation was, however, limited. To be able to address the research questions addressed in Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation, the members of the ‘Freedom and lack of freedom across generations’ research project developed the ‘Freedom and Liberation Day in the Netherlands’ questionnaire. This questionnaire was administered in both the regular LISS panel and the LISS-I panel in 2014, allowing a closer look at commemorative participation, including commemorative activities of citizens with a migration background. In the regular panel, 6,296 panel members filled out the complete questionnaire (71.9%). In the immigrant panel, 1,325 panel members responded (78.0%).²

1.6.2. Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in the Netherlands

To be able to zoom in more closely on commemorative participation amongst young citizens (Chapter 5), I decided to collect additional data in the adolescent panel ‘Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in the Netherlands’ (CILSNL), which is the Dutch follow-up of the longitudinal panel study ‘Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries’ (CILS4EU). The main aim of the CILS4EU was to explore the structural, cultural, and social integration of children with and without a migration background in Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands. The first wave was collected in the school year 2010-2011, amongst 14-year-old adolescents in their third grade of secondary school. A stratified three-stage sampling design was applied, leading to an oversampling of schools with a high proportion of children with a non-Western migration background (for more information on recruitment methods and response rates, see CILS4EU, 2016). In total, 4,963 pupils in 252 classes in 118 schools participated in the first wave. As changes in class composition between the third and fourth year of secondary

² Since the chapters differ in the combination of modules used, sample sizes also differ across chapters. More information on chapter-specific sample selection can be found in the Data section of the corresponding chapter.

school are common in the Netherlands, in the second wave, schools were asked to participate with all fourth-grade classes that held initial first wave respondents. Consequently, 2,118 additional students were interviewed. In subsequent waves, all 7,081 respondents were approached.

The additional information needed for this dissertation was collected in two ways. Firstly, the module ‘Celebrations and Commemorations’ was developed, with questions on respondents’ commemorative participation. This module was collected in the fifth wave of CILSNL (Jaspers & van Tubergen, 2015). In this fifth wave, 3,833 respondents participated (54.13%), all around the age of 19 or 20. In the same year, I initiated an additional school-level data collection, which resulted in the ‘CILSNL Citizenship Education’ dataset (Coopmans, 2016). The main goal of this data collection was to collect more information on the extra-curricular citizenship activities offered at the CILSNL schools in the school year 2010-2011 (the year in which the CILSNL respondents were all still in school). In total, 105 schools were approached, of which 59 participated (56.19%). This school-level information on citizenship education could be matched to 1,969 adolescents participating in the fifth wave of CILSNL.³

1.7. Overall conclusions

1.7.1. *The variety in determinants of commemorative participation*

This dissertation constructs and tests a more comprehensive theoretical framework on the determinants and consequences of citizens’ commemorative participation, tailored for contemporary (Western) societies. To start off with the *determinants* of commemorative participation, it is clear that there is no lack of choice: A large number of mnemonic socialisation forms is identified as being effective in increasing chances of people participating in the commemorative activities organised on Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day. A first example is communication. Throughout this dissertation, three types of communication can be distinguished that positively influence commemorative participation: war-specific communication with family members, war-specific communication with non-family members, and civic communication. Not only is evidence found for the frequently made claim in collective memory literature that communicating about the war experiences of (close and more distant) family members is an important form of mnemonic socialisation (Halbwachs, 1992; Zerubavel, 1996), it is shown that institutions *outside* the family environment also play a significant role in the socialisation of commemorative practices. Once parental communication is absent, talking with non-family members (i.e. friends, acquaintances, or colleagues) about their war experiences becomes highly relevant for commemorative participation. Fewer possibilities for intergenerational communication

³ For access to the CILS4EU data of waves 1, 2, and 3, see <https://dbk.gesis.org>; for access to the CILSNL data of waves 4, 5, 6, and 7, as well as the CILSNL Citizenship Education data, see <https://easy.dans.knaw.nl/ui/datasets/id/easy-dataset:65866>.

within the family do thus not necessarily mean that commemorative practices are no longer socialised. Instead, other socialisation mechanisms take over. This is a valuable extension of theories on mnemonic socialisation, especially for generations further removed from the event that is commemorated.

Talking about previous war experiences of others – whether family or non-family members – is, however, not the only form of communication determining commemorative behaviour. A third type of communication that is identified in this dissertation as a potentially interesting form of mnemonic socialisation is that of *civic* communication. Having more frequent talks about civic topics with one's parents, for instance on current political debates or on social issues, is found to be positively associated with commemorative participation – at least when examining Dutch Liberation festival attendance amongst young adults. Theories on the determinants of commemorative participation could thus be further broadened by including not only forms of communication that are directly related to the historical event that is commemorated, but also communication types that familiarise people with civic, political, and social issues that play a role in contemporary societies.

Another relevant determinant of commemorative participation is parental exemplar behaviour, especially in situations in which familial communication is absent. This is in line with an earlier study on the topic (Lubbers & Meuleman, 2016). Although this dissertation was only able to examine one type of exemplar behaviour, the findings highlight that it is not only important to include the sharing of stories in theories on mnemonic socialisation, but also the sharing of *behaviours*. Considering that the copying of other people's behaviours is often thought of as a strategy to 'fit in' (Glass et al., 1986), it would be interesting to further study how the (commemorative) behaviours of various social groups affect someone's commemorative participation. The relevance of previous familiarity with commemorative behaviours is also visible amongst citizens with a migration background, for whom participation in country-of-origin-specific holidays is found to be one of the key explanations of participation in national commemorations in the current country of residence. This finding is in line with earlier studies on the transferability of previous civic and political skills and experiences in one's country of origin (Voicu & Comşa, 2014; Voicu & Rusu, 2012).

Moreover, the relevance of country-of-origin-specific holidays emphasises that participation in rituals related to one's country of origin in no way undermines participation in commemorative activities organised by the host country, but rather promotes it. The relatively low participation rates amongst citizens with a non-Western migration background – both those born abroad and those identifying with a non-Dutch ethnic group – make this insight particularly valuable. At the same time, it is important to emphasize that there is also a large group of citizens with a migration background, mainly originating from previous Dutch colonies, who do *not* participate any less frequent in Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day activities than citizens with a native Dutch background. These findings highlight that, to be able to explain determinants of commemorative participation in today's

multi-ethnic society, and the role of the context in which one was born and socialised, we need to look not merely at *time* of birth, but also more explicitly at factors relating to *place* of birth – another extension of theories on mnemonic socialisation.

1.7.2. *Cautious evidence for the impact of commemorative participation*

One of the main conclusions regarding the *consequences* of commemorative participation is that Durkheimian theories on the role of commemorative rituals for the lives of individuals and society at large are in need of some readjustment. This dissertation has, for instance, shown that the impact of participating in national commemorations on feelings of national belonging varies depending upon both the type of ritual and the type of audience, thereby serving as proof for claims made by other authors regarding the multivalence of national commemorations (Etzioni, 2000; Fox, 2014; Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008). Interestingly, it is not necessarily later generations who show less strong associations between commemorative participation and national belongingness, nor is the commemoration of national traumas more closely related to feelings of national belonging than the commemoration of national victories (Smith, 2014). Rather, it seems that, whilst earlier generations' feelings of national belonging are impacted most strongly by partaking in Remembrance Day activities, for later generations, the Liberation Day activities have more impact, a possible explanation for this being the changing content and importance of the national days over time (Vermolen, 1995).

At the same time, effects are small and group differences are large, questioning the consistency, as well as the causality, of the found associations. One example is the role of place of birth, which was addressed earlier with respect to theories on mnemonic socialisation. I find that, whilst originating from a non-Western country decreases chances of participating in the activities organised on Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day, it seems to amplify the impact of commemorating on feelings of national belonging for citizens who *do* choose to participate in the organised events. An alternative interpretation is that these ethnic differences do not reflect a stronger *impact* of commemorative participation amongst citizens with a non-Western background, but that it is instead a sign that feelings of national belonging play a bigger role in decisions to participate in Dutch commemorations than amongst native Dutch citizens. This interpretation is not only in line with my own research, in which I show that the level of integration in the current country of residence plays an important role for commemorative participation amongst citizens with a migration background, but is also in line with studies arguing that participation in national commemorations can be considered an *expression*, or manifestation, of feelings of national belonging (Meuleman & Lubbers, 2013).

In two recent empirical studies conducted by De Regt – one of the other researchers involved in the project 'Freedom and lack of freedom across generations' – the causality of the relationship between commemorative participation and national belongingness is also questioned (De Regt, 2017; De Regt & Van der Lippe, in press). Instead, the authors suggest

that the found association is the result of a selection effect: stronger feelings of national belonging result in more frequent participation in national commemorations. Even though the respondents in the studies by De Regt are not a randomly drawn, representative sample of the Dutch population, the results highlight the importance of further research into the consequences of commemorative participation. Yet, in my examination of Dutch Liberation festivals, I am unable to rule out a potential influence of festival attendance on young people's voting intentions, even after considering several alternative explanations of positive associations between young people's commemorative and political participation. The Liberation festivals are particularly interesting considering their 'inclusive' element: Instead of targeting a very selective audience and risking reinforcing societal segregation (see, e.g. Collins, 2004), they attract – and thereby have the potential to impact – a large, heterogeneous segment of the population, at least when it comes to socioeconomic background. This dissertation thus provides cautious evidence for theories on the impact of commemorative rituals, whilst at the same time highlighting that the potential of national commemorations to positively impact citizens' broader civic engagement is both activity-, audience-, and outcome-specific.

1.8. Practical implications

The current dissertation identifies numerous promising ways to familiarise citizens – young people in particular – with (participating in) national commemorations. As such, this dissertation holds valuable information for policies aimed at the continuance of national commemorations, especially those related to the Second World War. In addition, the conclusions of this dissertation shed more light on the practical implications regarding the potential consequences, or impact, of national commemorations.

1.8.1. *Promoting participation in national commemorations*

One of the main messages of this dissertation is that *sharing stories* is crucial for the transmission of commemorative participation to next generations. Moreover, the findings show that this does not have to be with family members, but that sharing stories with people outside the family environment also increases commemorative participation. One way through which schools could thus further promote mnemonic socialisation is by creating opportunities to share such stories. An example of an approach that is currently used in Dutch schools is that of guest speaker programmes: programmes in which volunteers visit primary and secondary schools to talk to students about their personal war experiences. Several organisations exist that organise guest lectures about the Second World War in the Netherlands, but also about more recent conflicts and peacekeeping missions (see, e.g. the 'National Support Centre Eyewitnesses World War II – Present' (*Landelijke Steunpunt Gast sprekers WOII-II-heden*) or the 'Netherlands Veterans Institute' (*Veteraneninstituut*).

According to an inventory by the National Committee 4 and 5 May, a third of the secondary school teachers and four out of 10 primary school teachers use guest lecturers in their classes on the Second World War (Koenen & Jorritsma, 2014). Based upon the results of the research conducted for this dissertation, this seems a promising way to promote commemorative participation, especially amongst children whose family environment does not provide opportunities to communicate on the topic.

Considering the Second World War ended over 70 years ago, using eyewitnesses to talk about this war will not be possible much longer. More and more organisations therefore focus on *mediated* messages, for instance via video stories told by eyewitnesses who passed away, an example of a local initiative being the educational project ‘Monuments Speak’ (*‘Monumenten Spreken’*). The project offers primary and secondary schools mini-documentaries and digital classes about 28 Second World War monuments in the Zaanstreek, located in the province of North-Holland. Whether mediated messages have a similar impact on commemorative participation as actual communication remains a question for future research. What is, however, important to keep in mind for organisations aimed at the continuance of national commemorations – whether in honour of the Second World War specifically or another war or conflict – is that the promotive role of communication for commemorative participation is not limited to war-specific topics, but can involve a broader range of political and social topics. Hence, it seems most important to provide people with opportunities to *talk* to each other – whether about past events such as the Second World War, or current conflicts. There are, regrettably, plenty of people who have experienced other wars in other parts of the world – not only veterans who fought in conflicts abroad, but also refugees who fled from a war situation in their country of origin. A foundation that currently organises guest lectures in which refugees visit school classes to tell their stories is ‘Refugee Ambassadors’ (*‘Vluchtelingen Ambassadeurs’*). Looking at what this dissertation shows us, this seems a promising alternative.

What this dissertation also shows is that there is a large variety in potentially effective forms of mnemonic socialisation. As was already shortly mentioned, not only sharing stories is important, but sharing behaviours is as well. Although the present study focuses specifically on *parental* exemplar behaviour (i.e. whether people were aware of their parents’ commemorative activities), the visibility of other people’s participation in national commemorations can also be expected to promote awareness, and may motivate people to partake in the organised activities. One way in which the visibility of national commemorations in the Netherlands is promoted amongst primary and secondary school-aged children is through the project ‘Adopt a Monument’ (*‘Adopteer een Monument’*). The project enables schools to adopt a local Second World War monument, after which students discover the story behind the adopted monument and the many ways in which it is used by other citizens in commemorative rituals. Moreover, students are invited to organise and digitalise their own commemorative ritual, thereby creating new opportunities to pass on commemorative behaviours. Similar mediated messages showing the diverse ways in which

other people participate in the organised commemorations might also be effective when aimed at a broader audience. Although many of the activities organised on Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day are already broadcast live on Dutch radio and television, visualising more personal stories of the everyday activities of people attending might make it easier for those watching to connect with.

One group that, as this dissertation shows, deserves specific attention when it comes to the promotion of commemorative participation is that of citizens (identifying) with a non-Western background, specifically Turkish and Moroccan. Considering the positive influence that is found of participating in country-of-origin-specific holidays amongst this group, organisers could think of emphasising resemblances between commemorative rituals organised in the current country of residence and those organised in citizens' countries of origin to promote commemorative participation. One way to do this is by embedding the organised commemorations more explicitly in the larger commemorative culture worldwide – something Ribbens (2004) refers to as a 'multicultural historical culture' – instead of introducing them as nation-specific entities, for instance by paying more attention to similarities and differences with the commemorations of World War I battles in Turkey, or by emphasising the role of Morocco in the Second World War. This is, for instance, done in the book 'War on 5 Continents' (*Oorlog op 5 Continenten*; Ribbens, Schenk, & Eijckhoff, 2008). Another way is by listening more closely to the personal stories of citizens with a migration background, their family histories, their own experiences with wars and conflicts, and their interpretation of the Second World War commemorations in the Netherlands. Even though addressing this topic may sometimes lead to challenging conversations, for instance, when discussing the Holocaust in classrooms with students with a Muslim background (see, e.g. Jikeli & Allouche-Benayoun, 2013), this dissertation shows that communication is an important asset for mnemonic socialisation. For children of immigrants who do not identify with the country of origin of their parents, grandparents, or even great-grandparents, this approach might be less effective. Here, linking the commemorations with current societal issues seems a more promising way to promote commemorative participation, as was shown for the Dutch Liberation festivals.

1.8.2. Increasing the impact of commemorative participation

Practical implications concerning the consequences of commemorative participation are, of course, to a considerable extent dependent upon the stakeholder in question, and goal(s) can be expected to differ between – and amongst – organisations that have a specific interest in the topic, institutions such as schools, and politicians, to name just a few. If one is interested in boosting feelings of national belonging amongst its participants, there are several elements that are relevant to consider. First, this dissertation shows that there is no such thing as a 'general impact' of commemorative participation. Rather, comparisons across generation and ethnic origin reveal that its (potential) impact varies between groups. If what we are seeing

here are indeed *effects* of commemorative participation, this selective impact could have far-reaching consequences for national belongingness at the societal level (Collins, 2004; Steidl, 2013). Secondly, when comparing Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day with King's Day, for instance, partaking in the latter – even in a very passive way – seems far more effective in promoting feelings of national belonging than participating in the activities organised on the former two days. Thirdly, as was already brought up in the overall conclusions section of this chapter, it is unclear whether the found associations represent an actual impact. Rather, it was concluded, we are looking at selective groups of people who *express* their feelings of national belonging through partaking in national commemorations. Hence, focusing on convincing people to attend the Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day activities might not be the best approach when trying to boost national belongingness amongst the general Dutch population.

Since there is no hard evidence for the impact of commemorative participation, I, when discussing practical implications, will focus on steps that could be taken to increase the potential of national commemorations in impacting people's attitudes and behaviours. Throughout this section, I will use the example of Dutch Liberation festivals and young people's political engagement. This dissertation shows that the Liberation festivals succeed in attracting a heterogeneous group of visitors, and therefore have the potential of also *impacting* a diverse group of people. The question that remains is how to effectively reach these people once they decide to attend. Since national commemorations are multivalent (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008), the more room one leaves for diverse meanings, the higher the risk of 'misinterpretations' (Etzioni, 2000). A strategy to increase the impact of national commemorations on a certain attitude or behaviour could therefore be to be more explicit about that specific aim. One way to do this would be through communication, discussed already rather extensively above as a tactic to promote commemorative participation. At Dutch Liberation festivals, visitors can, for instance, 'date a veteran'. During these dates, they have the opportunity to listen to and ask questions about the veteran's war experiences. To more explicitly link these conversations with political engagement, one could incorporate present-day political issues in the interviews, or organise a similar type of dialogue session with refugees or politicians. A comparable strategy is applied at Lowlands, a popular Dutch music festival, where debates are organised between politicians and musical artists under the name 'Coolpolitics'.

Yet another way would be to increase the visibility of other people – preferably role models (i.e. people other people look up to) – *acting upon* their political engagement. This links to the sharing of behaviours that was discussed earlier: people are inspired or motivated by the actions of others. At the moment, the content-related activities at Liberation festivals are limited, and often located in parts of the festival terrain that are less frequently visited than the locations where the musical performances take place (De Regt & Van der Lippe, 2015). One example is the 'Freedom Stage, where freedom-related lectures take place. Another example is the 'Square of Freedom', where non-governmental organisations such as the

Netherlands Veteran Institute present themselves. Organising mobile, interactive activities that take place at various parts of the terrain heightens chances of visitors noticing the activities, observing other visitors partaking in the activities, and as a result becoming more motivated to participate themselves. Considering that the audience of Dutch Liberation festivals is relatively young, one could, for instance, think of hiring actors who invite visitors in a playful way to join them in political actions that have a war- or freedom-related theme; signing a petition to declare 5 May a public holiday (which, according to Elgenius (2011), is a prerequisite for equal participation in national commemorations amongst all citizens), or partaking in a debate on how to raise awareness of wars or conflict situations abroad (followed, for instance, by an election).

1.9. Directions for future research

1.9.1. Contexts and conditions of commemorative participation

If we look at studies on civic or political participation, in addition to socialisation mechanisms, socioeconomic characteristics can also be expected to play a role in processes of participation (Brady, Verba, & Scholzman, 1995; Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). Throughout this dissertation, I therefore control for characteristics such as income, employment status, and level of education, often jointly referred to as ‘resources’. This is an important contribution, as it provides an indication of how inclusive commemorative activities really are: Can everyone participate? None of the socioeconomic characteristics is found to substantially affect commemorative participation once I consider the various forms of mnemonic socialisation. However, resources may become more relevant once we look more closely at diverse types of commemorating. In Chapter 2, for instance, I compare more public ways of commemorating (e.g. attending a ceremony) with more private practices (e.g. via media). Even though I find no significant differences when comparing the effects of socioeconomic resources on the several types of commemorating, one can wonder whether I truly succeed in distinguishing between public and private activities. Following the commemorations via media, for instance, does not necessarily mean one does this at home. To be able to draw more firm conclusions concerning the role of socioeconomic characteristics, future studies would therefore profit from applying a more extensive measure of commemorative activities, including not only more in-depth information on *how* one participates, but also *where* (e.g. at home, close to home, or across the country) and *with whom* (e.g. alone, with family members, friends, or colleagues).

Another interesting avenue for further study is the provision of a more comprehensive picture of generational and age differences in commemorative participation. In other words, are we looking at changes in participation due to the replacement of pre-war generations with post-war generations, or is the variation in participation that we see when comparing birth cohorts merely a characteristic of ageing? Even after controlling for mnemonic socialisation

forms, the findings in Chapter 2 show that later birth cohorts participate significantly less often in national commemorations. A study by De Regt, Jaspers, and Van der Lippe (2016) – three of the other researchers who were members of the research project ‘Freedom and lack of freedom across generations’ – shows that one of the main reasons why older persons are more supportive of Dutch Liberation Day is that they associate the national commemorations with the Second World War more often than younger persons do. The results in Chapter 4 indicate that the extent to which feelings of national belonging are associated with commemorative participation also differs between birth cohorts. Moreover, birth cohorts vary in what *types* of commemorative activity they associate with feelings of national belonging. Although these findings could point at a generational effect similar to what is found in the study by Schuman and Corning (2012), longitudinal data is needed to truly distinguish between generational and age effects, containing observations of commemorative activities over multiple time points for the same individuals and including both early and late birth cohorts (see also Alwin & Krosnick, 1991).

1.9.2. A further test of the scope of impact of national commemorations

One of the main conclusions of this dissertation is that participating in national commemorations has the *potential* to impact feelings of national belonging and voting intentions. Yet, effects are small and – in the case of national belonging – highly dependent upon (sociodemographic) characteristics of the participant. Unfortunately, the cross-sectional nature of the data prevented me from drawing strict conclusions on the causality of this relationship. An interesting way to further disentangle this issue – other than collecting longitudinal data, as was already suggested earlier – would be to conduct a large-scale experimental study to examine the impact of the earlier mentioned ‘Dating a veteran/refugee/politician’ activity, as well as the success factors of impactful commemorative activities. Ideally, the study would consist of two types of experiments: a lab experiment and a field experiment. Whereas the first experiment would enable one to test different conditions of the ‘Dating a veteran/refugee/politician’ activity (e.g. the expert in question, the topic, the strictness of the structure) in a controlled setting with randomised sampling designs, the second experiment would provide an opportunity to test the most successful conditions in a realistic setting. This could be at (one of) the Liberation festivals, or, for instance, in an educational setting, enabling one to also experiment with the ideal number of classes or amount of supervision or guidance.

Another quest for future research would be to gain a better, more comprehensive understanding of the scope of impact of national commemorations for contemporary societies. One way to achieve this is by examining a broader range of outcomes. In this dissertation, I specifically focus on two outcomes: feelings of national belonging and political participation, or more specifically, intentions to vote. To answer larger theoretical questions concerning the role of national commemorations in processes of group formation, in- and

exclusion, and societal cohesion, however, one would need to include not only a wider range of social, civic, and political activities, but also look at more negative outcomes of commemorative participation. Smeekes and colleagues, for instance, show how different representations of and feelings towards a nation's past affect current reactions to immigrants (Smeekes, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2015; Smeekes, Verkuyten, & Poppe, 2011, 2012). Whereas Meuleman and Lubbers (2013) found no evidence of a relationship between chauvinistic feelings (i.e. the feeling that one's nation is superior to others, which is often closely associated with negative stereotypes about outgroup members; Coenders & Scheepers, 2004) and participation in national commemorations, a recent study by Ariely (2017), examining the impact of exposure to Israeli Remembrance Day on national sentiments amongst Israeli Jews, found the opposite. These results suggest that effects may not only differ depending on the content, but also on the (national) context of the commemorative activity, an interesting starting point for further (cross-national) research.



Chapter 2

What is ‘needed’ to keep remembering? War-specific communication, parental exemplar behaviour and participation in national commemorations *

ABSTRACT Given the abundance of literature on commemorative practices, there is relatively little empirical research on the socialisation processes explaining the transmission of such practices. This chapter examines the extent to which familial and non-familial communication about past war experiences, together with parental exemplar behaviour, explain participation in national commemorations. Utilising data from an online survey conducted in 2014 ($N = 2,309$), we focus on participation in the activities organised on Remembrance Day and Liberation Day in the Netherlands in remembrance of the Second World War. We distinguish between public and private practices. Our findings indicate that different forms of socialisation substitute for one another; whereas communication with non-relatives is particularly relevant for citizens communicating less frequently with parents about their war experiences, parental exemplar behaviour, such as participating in the two-minute silence on Remembrance Day, plays a bigger role amongst those with lower levels of war-specific communication with either relatives or non-relatives.

* This chapter has been published as: Coopmans, M., Van der Lippe, T., and Lubbers, M. (2017). What is ‘needed’ to keep remembering? War-specific communication, parental exemplar behaviour and participation in national commemorations. *Nations and Nationalism*, 23, 746-769. Coopmans wrote the main part of this manuscript and conducted the analyses. Van der Lippe and Lubbers substantially contributed to the manuscript with detailed feedback on several earlier versions. An earlier version of this manuscript was presented at the ‘Migration and Social Stratification’ seminar at the ICS. The authors thank all participants, as well as the anonymous reviewers, for their comments and suggestions. Special thanks to Jeroen Weesie and Duane Alwin for the insightful conversations on the topic.

2.1. Introduction

Ample research has focused on the importance of national and world events experienced early in life for attitudes and behaviours in later life (Schuman & Corning, 2012; Schuman & Scott, 1989; Scott & Zac, 1993; Steidl, 2013). Much of this research has concentrated on the transmission of shared memories of past events, referred to as collective memory (Halbwachs, 1992; Schwartz, 1982). Relatively little attention has been paid to the transmission of what Olick and Robbins (1998) label ‘mnemonic’ practices, designed to aid collective memory. Classic manifestations of mnemonic practices are the commemorative observances organised by a nation in remembrance of crucial moments in its history as a nation. National commemorations are one of the ways by which nations attempt to maintain a connectedness with the past and strengthen national identities (Gillis, 1994; Irwin-Zarecka, 1994; Schwartz, 1982, 2015). Although the exact direction of the relationship between commemoration and national identification remains ambiguous, scholarship seems to agree upon the fact that the two are closely related (Assmann, 2008; Elgenius, 2011b; Etzioni, 2000; McCrone & McPherson, 2009).¹

Yet empirical research on individual-level processes of socialisation explaining the transmission of participation in national commemorations across generations is limited. The current contribution examines to what extent various forms of socialisation, namely, individuals’ war-specific communication and parental commemorative participation, can explain own participation in institutionalised commemorations. In doing so, we follow up on Heinrich and Weyland (2016), who provided an important building block for collective memory research by introducing what they refer to as a ‘meso-level’ explanation. This explanation focuses on the intra-group interactions by which individuals share and negotiate their memories, functioning as a mediator between the collected memories of individuals and society’s cultural or collective memory (see also Assmann, 2008; J. K. Olick, 1999). Whilst the meso-level in Heinrich and Weyland’s paper is exemplified by the public discourse within the Web 2.0, we examine communication processes with both relatives and non-relatives.

In addition, we look at interactions between the different forms of socialisation. What happens when one form of socialisation is less available? Does another take over? To do so, we focus on two commemorative events in the Netherlands: Remembrance Day and Liberation Day. Both days were originally initiated in remembrance of the Second World War. Given the major impact of the war, most countries that experienced the Second World War have introduced some sort of institutionalised form of remembering (Liu et al., 2005; McCrone & McPherson, 2009), making Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day excellent examples to study (for a comparison of war commemorations across Europe, see Krimp & Reiding, 2014).

¹ Although certainly not for everyone, as argued by amongst others (Fox, 2014; Geisler, 2009; Uzelac, 2010). See also Chapter 4 of this dissertation for a more extensive discussion on this topic.

The current timing is also ideal for our study. Communicative memory has a limited time span that normally reaches no further back than eighty years, the time span of three interacting generations (Assmann, 2008). With the Second World War now more than seventy years ago, forms of socialisation are changing. People who directly experienced the war are replaced by people familiarised with the war indirectly through stories told by family members. For some, even this is no longer possible. Recent reports suggest that interest and participation in Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day is declining (Verhue & Koenen, 2016), highlighting the urge to research what is ‘needed’ to keep remembering. Considering our interest in the socialisation of mnemonic practices amongst birth cohorts further removed from the historical events that define such practices, we concentrate on the commemorative behaviour of those who have not experienced a war themselves.

We consider three forms of socialisation that we think are relevant for participation in national commemorations: war-specific communication with relatives, war-specific communication with non-relatives and parental exemplar behaviour. The importance of parental exemplar behaviour for commemorative participation was already shown by Lubbers and Meuleman (2016), but they did not consider communicative forms of socialisation. Moreover, even though parents are often considered the main agents of socialisation, most socialisation theories also highlight the role of agents outside the immediate family environment. We argue that communication with extended family members and non-relatives also merits attention. This is particularly relevant for cohorts born further removed from a historic event. Whilst their parents may have been born after the Second World War, they may have grandparents who experienced this war, or friends, colleagues or acquaintances who experienced a different war.

In sum, the present paper addresses to what extent different forms of socialisation interact to explain participation in national commemorations. We must keep in mind that commemoration can take place in many ways. Where some people may prefer to commemorate in a more private sphere and follow the activities surrounding these events from home, others may consider commemorating a public matter and choose to attend ceremonies organised by their community. Distinguishing between public and private activities can be argued to be especially relevant when looking at more distant forms of socialisation, such as communication with non-relatives, which may have a stronger influence on public activities than on private ones. As a final contribution, we therefore explore to what extent the distinguished forms of socialisation affect public versus private commemorative practices differently.

2.2. The Dutch context: Remembrance Day and Liberation Day

Remembrance Day in the Netherlands, held annually on 4 May, was initiated in 1945 to remember and honour the Dutch victims of the Second World War. Since 1961, 4 May is dedicated to all Dutch civilians and soldiers killed or murdered in the Kingdom of the

Netherlands or anywhere else in the world in war situations or during peace-keeping operations since the outbreak of the Second World War (for more information on the history of Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day, see Keesom, 2012; Vermolen, 1995). Remembrance Day is centred around two minutes of silence held at 8:00 p.m., in memory of the victims of war. Traditionally, flags are flown at half-staff, and commemoration ceremonies are organised throughout the country, the main one taking place in the capital and attended by the monarch, members of parliament and cabinet members. There is also plenty of opportunity to follow the organised activities in a more private matter, as the main events are broadcast live on national radio and television.

On Liberation Day, introduced in 1954, the Netherlands celebrates its enduring freedom. Although originally meant as a day to celebrate the liberation of the nation from the Nazi German occupation, nowadays the day is also used to reflect upon current issues, such as the lack of freedom in other countries. Liberation Day starts on 5 May with an address on the fragility of freedom in the Netherlands and abroad, functioning as a link between the commemorations on 4 May and the festivities on 5 May. Flags are flown, and festivals take place in the twelve Dutch provinces and two major cities. Besides musical acts, festival visitors can visit organisations such as Amnesty International and the Red Cross at the ‘Square of Freedom’ and listen to stories told by people who lived or are still living without freedom (for more information on the content of Dutch Liberation festivals, see Regt & Van Der Lippe, 2015). The day’s festivities conclude with a concert on the river Amstel. Like Remembrance Day, many of the activities on Liberation Day are broadcast live so that people can follow the activities via television, radio or online.

2.3. Theory

2.3.1. *War-specific communication with relatives*

Socialisation refers to the learning process through which people acquire the norms, values and skills necessary to function in society. An important part of socialisation consists of learning what is considered ‘appropriate’ behaviour. This happens through a variety of mechanisms, both directly through the explicit teaching and reinforcing of behaviours, and more indirectly by observing and imitating behaviours. Most socialisation theories have highlighted the family, and in particular the primary caregivers, as the main agents of socialisation (Glass et al., 1986; Parsons & Bales, 1956). Abundant empirical research has provided support for the influence of parents on their children’s attitudes and behaviours throughout the life course, in particular during the period ranging from childhood to early adulthood (Hooghe & Boonen, 2015; Jaspers, Lubbers, Vries, & De Vries, 2008).

One way socialisation takes place within the family environment is through communication (Kuhn, 2004; Schönflug, 2001). Communicating about a specific issue or event with other family members – whether as a child or an adult – not only actively teaches basic facts about

important political, historical or social issues but also heightens the visibility of the values, attitudes and beliefs of family members (Jennings, Stoker, & Bowers, 2009; Mayer & Schmidt, 2004). As a consequence, people may become more interested in and motivated to participate in events related to the topic discussed, and consciously or unconsciously adapt their own behaviours to match that of their family (Kuhn, 2004).

Also in the collective memory literature, communicating with relatives about their war experiences is considered an important explanation of the transmission of memories to subsequent generations, providing people with an opportunity to hear first-hand about the personal experiences and emotions involved in a particular event (Halbwachs, 1992; Zerubavel, 1996). As such, groups can produce memories in individuals of events they never experienced in any direct sense (Olick, 1999). The role of communication in memory processes is also discussed by Welzer (2005, 2008). Quoting Welzer (2008): “When families get together (...) there is an historical associative space (...). Such social interaction transports history en passant, casually, and unnoticed by the speaker” (p. 289). Communication can thus be considered the mechanism through which autobiographical memories are passed on to new generations to form collective memory. It serves as a link connecting history, that is the remembered past to which we no longer have an ‘organic’ relation, and collective memory, that is the active past that forms our identities (Olick, 1999, p. 335).

Considering that most people in the Netherlands who experienced the Second World War now have grandchildren, and even great-grandchildren, this provides an opportunity to not only study socialisation from one generation to the next, but focus additionally on multigenerational family relationships. Extended family members such as grandparents may function as important communication channels, being able to not only directly socialise their grandchildren but also indirectly, via their grandchildren’s parents (i.e. their own children). This is also suggested by Heinrich and Weyland (2016), who state that “members are convinced of the specific story because it has been told and retold within their group context again and again” (p. 29). At the same time, having grandparents who experienced a war may be less influential for someone’s own commemorative behaviours than having parents who experienced a war – as the former suggests a longer distance from the historical events that define national commemorations. Finding an effect of grandparental communication could thus be considered even stronger evidence for a socialisation mechanism. We therefore hypothesise that: *People who communicate more often with their parents (H1a) or grandparents (H1b) about the past war experiences of their parents or grandparents respectively participate more frequently in national commemorations.*

2.3.2. War-specific communication with non-relatives

Although less often examined, important socialising agents can be found outside the family. Early studies on socialisation already made clear that children are never socialised merely by

their family environment (Alwin et al., 1991; Parsons & Bales, 1956). Throughout adolescence and early adulthood, peers – friends at school in particular – have been found to influence a wide variety of attitudes and behaviours (Brechwald & Prinstein, 2011; Dahl & van Zalk, 2014). One of the main mechanisms through which peer influence takes place is communication. For instance, in two studies on political socialisation it was found that more frequent discussions of politics with peers stimulated political participation amongst both adolescents (Kuhn, 2004) and undergraduate students (Klofstad, 2010). Quintelier (2015) revealed political discussions with peers to be even more influential in boosting political participation than discussions with parents.

Research on collective memory has also highlighted the role of non-familial socialisation (Halbwachs, 1992; Lee & Chan, 2013). In a study on the commemoration of the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident in Hong Kong, peers were found to be the most important source of influence for young participants, whilst family was less important in the process of participation (Lee & Chan, 2013). Given that non-relatives are often around the same age (e.g. schoolmates, partner), this reduces chances of knowing non-relatives who experienced the Second World War for later birth cohorts. We must keep in mind, however, that Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day commemorate not only victims of the Second World War but also victims of other war situations or peace-keeping operations. Hence, also communication about more recent wars can be expected to influence commemorative participation. We thus hypothesise that: *People who communicate more often with non-relatives about the past war experiences of these non-relatives participate more frequently in national commemorations (H2).*

In fact, war-specific communication with friends, colleagues or acquaintances may be especially influential for those who perceive less input from their family on this matter, either because there are no family members alive to share their experiences or because they do not wish to communicate about the topic. This is what we call a substitutive relationship: when one form of socialisation disappears is less available, another takes over and grows in importance. The first argument (i.e. no communication possible) relates closely to what was earlier discussed as the limited time span of communicative memory (Assmann, 2008), and may be particularly true for birth cohorts further removed from a historical event, in this case the Second World War. We therefore hypothesise that: *The positive relationship between war-specific communication with non-relatives and participation in national commemorations is stronger for people with lower levels of war-specific communication with parents (H3a) or grandparents (H3b).*

2.3.3. Parental exemplar behaviour

Even without having the opportunity to communicate with family members about their war experiences, the family – and the parents in particular – can still serve an important role in the socialisation process as so-called role models. In addition to communication, attitudes and behaviours are also learned through observation of parental ‘appropriate’ behaviour. This is often referred to as imitation or role modelling (Glass et al., 1986). Children may, for

instance, watch their parents observe the two-minute silence on Dutch Remembrance Day or listen to the radio broadcast on Liberation Day. By observing their parents' commemorative behaviour, children learn about "the socially appropriate narrative forms for recounting the past as well as the tacit rules of remembrance" (Zerubavel, 2003, p. 5; see also Lubbers & Meuleman, 2016). We therefore hypothesise that: *People with parents who participated more often in national commemorations will themselves also participate more frequently in national commemorations (H4).*

Here we also think that the different forms of socialisation substitute for one another. For people without any relatives or non-relatives to communicate with about their past war experiences, parental exemplar behaviour may become more of a necessity to draw attention to commemorative practices related to past events. Hence, we formulate the hypothesis that: *The positive relationship between parental participation and own participation in national commemorations is stronger for those with lower levels of war-specific communication with parents (H5a), grandparents (H5b) and non-relatives (H5c).*

2.3.4. Private versus public commemorative practices

When examining the role of socialisation for national commemorations, an important distinction is that between public and private activities. Public activities are those organised by the community, often in public squares, where large crowds gather and the activities involved are 'shared by and visible to all' (Etzioni, 2000, p. 51). Private activities, on the other hand, take place in people's homes and are attended mainly by family members or close friends. Familial socialisation can be expected to affect a wide range of commemorative behaviours, as people observe their family members both in a more private context at home, as well as in more public settings, for instance, when jointly visiting a ceremony or festival. Socialisation by friends, colleagues or acquaintances, on the other hand, can be argued to be more restricted to public activities, as private events will be held at home with only someone's closest friends and family. We therefore expect that: *Whilst socialisation by relatives is positively associated with both public and private commemorations (H6a), socialisation by non-relatives is more closely related to public commemorations than to private commemorations (H6b).*

2.4. Methods

2.4.1. Data

Data were used from the Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social sciences (LISS) panel, collected by CentERdata (Tilburg University, The Netherlands) as part of the Measurement and Experimentation in the Social Sciences (MESS) project funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research. The LISS panel is a representative sample of Dutch individuals (sixteen years and older) who participate in monthly Internet surveys. The panel is based on a true probability sample of households drawn from the population register. The yearly retention rate is about ninety per cent, and refreshment samples are drawn to maintain

the representativeness of the panel. Questionnaires are answered online, taking fifteen to thirty minutes in total, and respondents are paid fifteen euros per hour for each completed questionnaire. More information on the LISS panel can be found at: www.lissdata.nl.

Data on the main variables of interest were collected in the Freedom and Liberation Day in the Netherlands module in April 2014. In total, 7,957 panel members were invited to participate, of whom 6,350 responded (79.8%) and 6,296 filled out the complete questionnaire (79.1%). This sample was merged with data on parental participation in commemorative activities, collected in September 2011 in the Nationalism and the National Dimension of Cultural Consumption module. Of the 6,717 panel members invited to participate in this module, 4,785 responded (71.2%) and 4,761 filled out the complete questionnaire (70.9%). After merging the two datasets, we were left with 3,517 respondents who filled out both questionnaires.

As we were interested only in respondents who did not experience a war themselves, respondents born before 1946 (i.e. before the end of the Second World War) or who reported they had directly experienced a war were excluded from the analysis ($N = 842$). Because of this selection, respondents above the age of sixty-five were under-represented compared to the Dutch population, whereas those aged between forty and sixty-five years of age were over-represented (Statistics Netherlands 2015). This is in line with the aim of our research, namely, the examination of socialisation processes related to commemorative practices amongst later birth cohorts. Moreover, given our specific focus on the Dutch history related to the Second World War, respondents without a native Dutch background were also excluded ($N = 366$). The final sample consisted of 2,309 respondents within 1,744 households. Respondents were aged between eighteen and sixty-eight, with an average age of forty-nine.

2.4.2. Measures

Participation in national commemorations, our dependent variable, was measured by asking respondents how often in the past five years (i.e. between 2009 and 2014) they had participated in the following activities: (a) visiting a commemoration ceremony on 4 May; (b) following Remembrance Day on television, radio or online; (c) visiting a Liberation festival on 5 May; and (d) following Liberation Day proceedings on television, radio or online. The response categories ranged from (0) 'never' to (5) 'every year'. A sum score was created by adding the values of the four items.² In addition, we distinguished between private variables

² We do not think of the examined activities as a scale, but rather as a range of possibilities, where participating in one activity is not necessarily related to participating in another activity.

(item (b) and (d) on media usage), and public variables (items (a) and (c) on festival and ceremonial attendance).³

War-specific communication was measured by first asking respondents whether they knew people who personally experienced a war. The response categories were: (a) 'no'; (b) 'yes, myself'; (c) 'yes, grandparents'; (d) 'yes, parents'; (e) 'yes, brothers, sisters, nephews or nieces'; (f) 'yes, children or grandchildren'; and (g) 'yes, friends, acquaintances, colleagues'. More than one answer was possible. For each answer given, we then asked respondents: 'How often do you talk with this person about their war experiences?' Response categories comprised: (1) 'never'; (2) 'rarely'; (3) 'sometimes'; (4) 'often'; (5) 'very often'. Respondents who responded with 'I do not know' were recoded to missing. As we are interested mainly in familial communication with previous generations (i.e. parents or grandparents), we only considered answers on these categories.⁴ A distinction was made between communication with parents, communication with grandparents, and communication with non-relatives (i.e. friends, acquaintances and colleagues). For all three communication variables, respondents who answered not to know anyone who experienced a war were assigned the value zero.⁵ Moreover, three dummy variables were added to distinguish between respondents who did and did not know parents, grandparents or non-relatives with war experiences.

Parental participation in national commemorations was measured using two items. We asked respondents: "To what extent did your parents perform the following activities when you were around 15 years old?" The two statements that followed were: (a) "my parents always flew the flag on Liberation Day"; and (b) "my parents always observed the two-minute silence on 4 May, during the Remembrance of the Dead". Response categories were: (0) 'not true at all'; (1) 'not true'; (2) 'somewhat true'; and (3) 'entirely true'. After respondents who responded with 'I do not know' were recoded to missing, a sum score was created.

Control variables included birth cohorts, level of education, and religious attendance. Research on collective memory has found birth cohorts further removed from a historical event to less easily recall this event, as well as participate less often in commemorations (Schuman and Corning 2012; Schuman and Scott 1989). These findings suggest that the effects of our socialisation measures on commemorative practices may differ across birth cohorts. We therefore included five different *birth cohorts*, ranging from 1946 to 1995, and grouped in ten-year intervals. The earliest birth cohort (i.e. 1946–55) acted as the reference category.

³ We chose to include only activities that have a very clear public or private content. Activities like flying a flag or attending the two minutes of silence were therefore left out, since these can be argued to be both public and private events. Unfortunately, for parental participation we only had information on a very limited number of activities. We are therefore not able to distinguish between private and public events, but look at overall levels of commemorative participation.

⁴ Respondents with brothers, sisters, nephews or nieces, or respondents with children or grandchildren who experienced a war comprised only 3.42 per cent and 0.22 per cent of our sample, respectively.

⁵ Alternative ways of analysing (e.g. applying the full-information maximum likelihood (FIML) missing data estimation approach for respondents who indicated not to know any family members that experienced the Second World War) resulted in similar findings.

Formal socialisation (i.e. schooling) and religious integration have also been found to play a role in the transmission of a wide range of attitudes and behaviours (Hooghe & Boonen, 2015; Jaspers et al., 2008), including commemorative participation (Lubbers & Meuleman, 2016). We therefore controlled for *level of education*, consisting of six categories: (1) ‘primary education’; (2) ‘intermediate secondary education’; (3) ‘higher secondary education’; (4) ‘intermediate vocational education’; (5) ‘higher vocational education’; and (6) ‘university’. Respondents with university education acted as the reference group.

Religious attendance was also included as a control variable, measured with the item: “Aside from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious gatherings nowadays?” As response categories ranged from (1) ‘every day’ to (7) ‘never’, the variable was recoded so that higher values corresponded with a higher frequency of attendance. Considering almost sixty per cent answered ‘never’, a dummy variable was created for those respondents attending religious gatherings.

2.4.3. *Analytical strategy*

Analyses were conducted using Stata, version 13 (StataCorp, 2013). As we are dealing with clustered data (2,309 individuals within 1,744 households), non-independence of observations was considered by computing standard errors using the generalised Huber/White/sandwich estimator, which allows for correlations between errors within clusters (Rogers, 1993; Williams, 2000). Moreover, using the full-information maximum likelihood (FIML) missing data estimation approach, we could include also observations with missing values in our analyses. FIML uses all observed variables in the model to estimate the means and covariances of item nonresponse and outperforms listwise deletion and simpler substitution methods (Cheung, 2015; Enders & Bandalos, 2001).⁶ As FIML is only available in Stata when using structural equation modelling (SEM), SEM analyses were conducted. After inspection of the descriptive statistics of our variables, we started with a model including the different forms of socialisation, as well as our control variables. In subsequent models, interactions between the different forms of socialisation were added. In a final step, we examined the proposed explanations for participation in public and private commemorations separately.⁷

⁶ Listwise deletion ($N = 2,104$) produced comparable results with slightly increased significance levels.

⁷ Since our dependent variables were rather skewed once separating them into private and public activities, we initially conducted multinomial logistic analyses, in which we distinguished between ‘never participating’ (0), ‘sometimes participating’ (1, 2, 3) and ‘often participating’ (4, 5). Since these results were, however, comparable to those obtained when using a continuous dependent variable, we decided to depict the latter to improve readability.

2.5. Results

2.5.1. Descriptive results

Descriptive statistics of the dependent, independent and control variables can be found in Table 2.1. Respondents participated most frequently in the organised commemorations by following the activities via radio, television or online. Actual attendance at a commemoration ceremony or Liberation festival was considerably less popular. The frequency of parental participation in national commemorations when respondents were around the age of fifteen was quite high, whilst the frequency of war-specific communication was rather low. Communication about previous war experiences was least frequent with non-relatives, slightly more frequent with grandparents, and most frequent with parents – although this was on average still very rarely. Appendix A2.1 contains the descriptive statistics per birth cohort. In total, sixty-five per cent of our sample reported to know family members who experienced a war, whereas only eight per cent of the respondents reported to know friends, acquaintances or colleagues with past war experiences. Although most respondents who knew relatives or non-relatives who experienced a war reported that this war was the Second World War ($N = 1510$), other wars were also mentioned ($N = 364$). Most often mentioned were the Indonesian War of Independence ($N = 275$), the Yugoslavian Wars ($N = 103$) and the Gulf War ($N = 96$). Other wars mentioned were the war in Afghanistan ($N = 83$), the Korean War ($N = 83$) and the war in Iraq ($N = 80$).

2.5.2. Explanatory results

Tables 2.2 and 2.3 give the results of the structural equation models. In all tables, unstandardised regression coefficients are shown. Where relevant, we have included standardised regression coefficients (β s) in the text, to simplify comparisons of the various effects. In total, Model 1 (Table 2.2) explains fifteen per cent of the variance in participation in national commemorations, of which ten per cent by our four main explanatory variables. In line with expectations, the frequency of communication about previous war experiences of both parents and grandparents is significantly and positively associated with commemorative participation. These results provide support for Hypothesis 1: people who communicate more often with parents or grandparents about their past war experiences participate more frequently in national commemorations.

Although the effect of parental communication ($\beta = 0.145$) is somewhat larger than that of grandparental communication ($\beta = 0.090$), Wald chi-square tests of parameter equalities do not reveal a significant difference. Parental communication does not seem to play a larger role for commemorative participation than grandparental communication.

Table 2.1. *Descriptive statistics of the variables (N = 2,309).*

Variables	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD	Valid N
Commemorative participation	0	20	8.33	4.58	2294
- Remembrance Day: media	0	5	3.73	1.81	2294
- Liberation Day: media	0	5	2.84	2.08	2293
- Liberation festival	0	5	0.94	1.51	2293
- Commemoration ceremony	0	5	0.82	1.45	2294
War-specific communication					
- Parents	0	5	1.53	1.68	2294
- Grandparents	0	5	0.89	1.39	2289
- Non-relatives	0	5	0.24	0.84	2309
Parents' commemorating	0	6	3.95	1.74	2150
No parents with war experience	0	1	0.51		2309
No grandparents with war experience	0	1	0.66		2309
No non-relatives with war experience	0	1	0.92		2309
Birth cohorts					
- 1946-55	0	1	0.33		2309
- 1956-65	0	1	0.26		2309
- 1966-75	0	1	0.18		2309
- 1976-85	0	1	0.12		2309
- 1986-95	0	1	0.11		2309
Educational level					
- Primary education	0	1	0.05		2305
- Intermediate secondary	0	1	0.23		2305
- Higher secondary	0	1	0.11		2305
- Intermediate vocational	0	1	0.27		2305
- Higher vocational	0	1	0.25		2305
- University	0	1	0.09		2305
Religious attendance	0	1	0.38		2309

Model 1 furthermore shows a positive, borderline significant association between the frequency of communication with non-relatives and commemorative participation. This finding is, however, not substantial enough to support Hypothesis 2, in which we expected people who communicated more often with non-relatives about their past war experiences to participate more frequently in national commemorations. Wald tests comparing this findings with the other forms of socialisation reveal that although the effect of communication with non-relatives on commemorative participation ($\beta = 0.112$) is less strong than that of parental communication and slightly stronger than that of grandparental communication, none of the differences are significant.

Table 2.2. *Models for commemorative participation (unstandardised coefficients; N = 2,309).*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Intercept	2.670*	1.240	2.337†	1.263	2.657*	1.321
Communication parents	.394*	.156	.450**	.150	.394**	.150
Communication grandparents	.298*	.145	.292**	.148	.300†	.159
Communication non-relatives	.614†	.346	.984**	.364	.623	.398
Participation parents	.696***	.058	.695***	.057	.696***	.058
Comm. non-rel.*comm. parents			-.126*	.052		
Comm. non-rel.*comm grandparents					-.005	.063
Particip. parents*comm. parents						
Particip. parents*comm. grandparents						
Particip. parents*comm. non-rel.						
No parents with war experience	1.165*	.536	1.251*	.503	1.165*	.510
No grandparents with war experience	-.134	.435	-.168	.464	-.132	.485
No non-relatives with war experience	1.225	1.073	1.485†	1.029	1.234	1.176
Birth cohorts (ref. 1946-55)						
- 1956-65	-1.097***	.265	-1.107***	.258	-1.097***	.265
- 1966-75	-1.546***	.297	-1.560***	.263	-1.546***	.291
- 1976-85	-2.292***	.375	-2.309***	.368	-2.293***	.325
- 1986-95	-1.804***	.387	-1.833***	.366	-1.805***	.396
Educational level (ref. university)						
- Primary education	1.182*	.550	1.185*	.562	1.183*	.583
- Intermediate secondary	1.260***	.337	1.248***	.355	1.261***	.339
- Higher secondary	.995*	.384	1.014**	.357	.996*	.385
- Intermediate vocational	.779**	.294	.777*	.323	.779*	.337
- Higher vocational	1.035**	.339	1.023**	.338	1.035**	.346
Religious attendance	.961***	.189	.944***	.186	.962***	.182

† $p < .10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; two-tailed p -values are reported.

Table 2.3. *Models for commemorative participation (unstandardised coefficients; N = 2,309).*

	Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	2.220†	1.184	2.657*	1.246	2.322†	1.253
Communication parents	.713**	.217	.394*	.160	.392*	.151
Communication grandparents	.300†	.157	.310	.238	.304†	.164
Communication non-relatives	.583†	.319	.614†	.342	1.154**	.407
Participation parents	.805***	.079	.699***	.070	.729***	.061
Comm. non-rel.*comm. parents						
Comm. non-rel.*comm. grandparents						
Particip. parents*comm. parents	-.071*	.034				
Particip. parents*comm. grandparents			-.003	.040		
Particip. parents*comm. non-rel.					-.120*	.055
No parents with war experience	1.290*	.544	1.164*	.555	.165*	.527
No grandparents with war experience	-.127	.459	-.130	.502	-.112	.466
No non-relatives with war experience	1.147	1.010	1.226	1.058	1.426	1.058
Birth cohorts (ref. 1946-55)						
- 1956-65	-1.116***	.249	-1.097***	.261	-1.102***	.277
- 1966-75	-1.563***	.275	-1.547***	.287	-1.549***	.280
- 1976-85	-2.330***	.340	-2.292***	.376	-2.285***	.370
- 1986-95	-1.865***	.348	-1.802***	.377	-1.804***	.390
Educational level (ref. university)						
- Primary education	1.162*	.531	1.181*	.588	1.168†	.612
- Intermediate secondary	1.262***	.400	1.260***	.340	1.264***	.340
- Higher secondary	.985*	.405	.994**	.375	.988*	.415
- Intermediate vocational	.782*	.328	.779*	.335	.761*	.349
- Higher vocational	1.038**	.317	1.034**	.329	1.043**	.353
Religious attendance	.960***	.202	.961***	.188	.969***	.184

† $p < .10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; two-tailed p -values are reported.

In support of Hypothesis 3a, we find a significant negative interaction between war-specific communication with parents and war-specific communication with non-relatives (Model 2, Table 2.2). From Model 2, we can infer that for people who do not communicate with their parents at all, a one-unit increase in the frequency of communication with non-relatives is related to a 0.984-unit increase in commemorative participation (on a 0-20 scale), whilst for someone with the maximum score on parental communication (i.e. 5), a one-unit increase in communication with non-relatives is associated with a 0.354 increase in commemorative participation. This finding suggests that war-specific communication with non-relatives plays a bigger role for participation in national commemorations amongst those with less frequent communication with parents about their past war experiences.

No significant interaction is found between war-specific communication with grandparents and war-specific communication with non-relatives (Model 3, Table 2.2), refuting Hypothesis 3b. It thus seems war-specific communication with non-relatives does not play a bigger role for those who communicate less with their grandparents about their past war experiences.

Finally, as can be seen in Model 1 (Table 2.2), a significant positive association exists between parental commemorative behaviour and respondents' own participation in national commemorations. This finding supports Hypothesis 4: people with parents who during their youth more frequently participated in the two-minute silence on Remembrance Day, or flew the flag on Liberation Day, participate more often in national commemorations. Of the four socialisation mechanisms examined, parental participation at the age of fifteen seems to have the largest effect ($\beta = 0.265$). Wald tests reveal that the difference in effect size with parental participation is significant for grandparental communication and communication with non-relatives, and borderline significant for parental communication. These findings suggest that watching others' commemorative behaviour (i.e. role modelling), has more effect on someone's own participation than talking with others about topics related to the commemorative events.

In line with Hypothesis 5a, a significant negative interaction is present between parental participation and war-specific communication with parents (Model 4, Table 2.3). From Model 4, we can deduce that the effect of parental commemorative participation on own participation is almost twice as strong for someone who never communicates with their parents on this topic compared to someone with the maximum score on parental communication. This finding indicates that parental exemplar behaviour plays a bigger role for own participation in national commemorations amongst those who communicate less frequently about their parents' past war experiences. The interaction between parental participation and war-specific communication with non-relatives is also significant and negative (Model 6, Table 2.3), supporting Hypothesis 5c. Here, the difference is even larger: the effect of parental participation on own commemorative behaviour is six times stronger for someone who never communicates on this topic with non-relatives compared to someone who often does. Parental exemplar behaviour thus seems to become more

important once other forms of socialisation, in this case communication with non-relatives, are less available. Overall, these results demonstrate that the different forms of socialisation substitute for one another. No significant interaction was found between parental participation and war-specific communication with grandparents (Model 5, Table 2.3), refuting Hypothesis 5b.

As for our control variables, we find that later birth cohorts participate significantly less often in commemorative events than earlier birth cohorts, people with a university degree participate significantly less often in commemorations than all other educational levels, and people attending religious gatherings participate significantly more often in national commemorations than those who never attend religious gatherings.

Table 2.4 shows the results of our analysis in which we distinguished between public and private commemorations. In total, our model predicts thirty per cent of the variation in the four types of commemorative participation, of which nineteen per cent by our main explanatory variables. Levels of explained variance are highest for the private forms of commemorating. War-specific communication with parents is significantly and positively associated with private and public commemorative activities, yet on Remembrance Day only ($\beta_{\text{private}} = 0.115$; $\beta_{\text{public}} = 0.144$). Wald chi-square tests of parameter equalities reveal no significant differences in effect size for the four types of commemoration. War-specific communication with grandparents, on the other hand, is significantly and positively associated with attending liberation festivals ($\beta = 0.134$). Again, the effect size does not significantly differ compared to the other types of commemorative participation.

Parental participation is positively associated with all types of commemorative activities, both on Remembrance Day ($\beta_{\text{private}} = 0.265$; $\beta_{\text{public}} = 0.121$) and on Liberation Day ($\beta_{\text{private}} = 0.217$; $\beta_{\text{public}} = 0.122$). Here, Wald tests indicate that the effects are significantly stronger for private events. Our findings therefore provide only partial support for Hypothesis 6a, in which we hypothesised socialisation by relatives to be positively associated with both public and private commemorations.

Finally, communication with non-relatives is borderline significant and positively related only to media usage on Liberation Day ($\beta = 0.136$). No differences in effect size are found when comparing the four types of commemorating. This finding contradicts our initial expectation, namely, that war-specific communication with non-relatives is more closely related to public commemorations than to private commemorations. Hypothesis 6b therefore had to be refuted.

Table 2.4. Models for public and private commemorative participation (unstandardised coefficients; $N = 2,309$).

	Remembrance Day				Liberation Day			
	Public		Private		Public		Private	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	.089	.438	2.206***	.461	-.483	.357	.713	.571
Communication parents	.124* ^a	.059	.124* ^a	.060	.076 ^a	.049	.062 ^a	.069
Communication grandparents	.069 ^a	.060	.011 ^a	.062	.145* ^a	.060	.073 ^a	.076
Communication non-relatives	.050 ^a	.124	.134 ^a	.130	.094 ^a	.097	.336 ^{ab}	.172
Participation parents	.100*** ^a	.017	.274*** ^{ab}	.025	.105*** ^a	.018	.258*** ^{ab}	.027
No parents with war experience	.418*	.185	.361†	.216	.316†	.170	.055	.231
No grandparents with war experience	.190	.161	-.481**	.183	.322†	.169	-.154	.233
No non-relatives with war experience	-.072	.387	.372	.392	.253	.280	.674	.513
Birth cohorts (ref. 1946-55)								
- 1956-65	-.320**	.093	-.250**	.096	-.144†	.086	-.378**	.112
- 1966-75	-.375***	.096	-.317**	.121	-.254*	.103	-.570***	.131
- 1976-85	-.530***	.110	-.716***	.139	.015	.120	-1.030***	.160
- 1986-95	-.356**	.130	-.949***	.142	.483**	.151	-.995***	.161
Educational level (ref. university)								
- Primary education	-.026	.180	.183	.207	.125	.179	.929***	.227
- Intermediate secondary	-.130	.119	.429**	.139	.144	.108	.835***	.156
- Higher secondary	-.120	.141	.429**	.161	.177	.141	.514**	.176
- Intermediate vocational	-.118	.123	.120	.145	.187	.119	.592***	.155
- Higher vocational	-.061	.119	.311*	.135	.197†	.102	.594***	.156
Religious attendance	.383***	.071	.138†	.083	.024	.069	.396***	.091

† $p < .10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; two-tailed p -values are reported; ^{a,b} coefficients with different superscripts differ significantly from each other according to Wald chi-square tests of parameter equalities (comparisons are per row, p one-sided).

2.6. Conclusion and discussion

Given the abundance of literature on collective memory practices, there is relatively little empirical research on the individual-level processes of socialisation explaining the transmission of these practices over generations. This article examined to what extent different forms of socialisation interact to explain participation in national commemorations. In doing so, the current study builds on Assmann (2008), as well as Olick (1999), examining the relationship between the collected memories of individuals and society's cultural or collective memory – thereby making considerable progress in collective memory research. Examination of this relationship is first of all relevant considering that collective memory practices are thought to be closely related to processes of national identification (Assmann, 2008; Elgenius, 2011b; Etzioni, 2000; McCrone & McPherson, 2009). Second, previous studies have found lower levels of interest and participation in Dutch commemorations amongst later birth cohorts (Verhulst & Koenen, 2016); a finding that was replicated in the present study.

Considering earlier claims suggesting that this decline in commemorative participation might be caused by the limited reach of what Assmann (2008) referred to as communicative memory, the present study's main aim was to study to what extent familial communication is necessary for the socialisation of commemorative practices. To do so, we focused on participation in the commemorative activities organised annually in the Netherlands on Remembrance Day and Liberation Day, using an online survey conducted in 2014. We studied four forms of socialisation that we believe to play a significant role in explaining the variation found in frequencies of participation in national commemorations: war-specific communication with parents, grandparents and non-relatives, and parental exemplar behaviour, of which the first three have not been empirically investigated before. Our main interest was in substitutive relationships: If one form of socialisation disappears, does another take over?

Our findings indicate that amongst those who have not experienced a war themselves, more frequent communication with parents or grandparents about their war experiences is associated with more frequent commemorative participation. These findings support the claim made in collective memory literature that familial communication is an important form of socialisation (Halbwachs, 1992; Zerubavel, 1996) and are in line with studies on the transmission of other types of attitudes and behaviours via communication (Kuhn, 2004; Schönplugh, 2001). Moreover, the fact that both parental and grandparental communications play a role in people's commemorative behaviour emphasises the importance of multigenerational socialisation mechanisms. Familial communication can thus be considered what Heinrich and Weyland (2016) label a meso-level explanation, functioning as the link between collected and collective memories.

In addition to war-specific communication with relatives, communication with non-relatives is found to stimulate commemorative participation, but only for those who receive less input

from their family members on this matter through parental communication. This conclusion is in line with previous studies on commemorative participation highlighting the role of 'horizontal' socialisation by, for instance, peers (Lee & Chan, 2013), as well as research on other forms of participation, such as political activities (Kuhn, 2004). Moreover, our results indicate that social others, whether it be relatives or non-relatives, play an important part in the participation process of individuals.

Parental exemplar behaviour seems to be most strongly associated with commemorative behaviours. Citizens who more vividly remember their parents participating in commemorative activities when they were young also participate more frequently in national commemorations themselves. These findings support previous research on socialisation of a wide range of attitudes and behaviours, arguing that parents serve as key role models (Hooghe & Boonen, 2015; Jaspers et al., 2008). Moreover, our results suggest that parental exemplar behaviour plays an especially significant role for commemorative behaviour amongst those less frequently communicating about past war experiences of relatives or non-relatives. These results are especially relevant to people further removed from the historical events that define national commemorations and provide an important addition to Assmann's (2008) argument on the limited time span of communicative memory.

When distinguishing between private and public commemorations, we find that only parental exemplar behaviour lives up to our expectations and is associated with both types of commemorating. This is not the case for war-specific communication. A possible explanation lies in the measurement of our private and public activities: whilst our public activities are both active forms of participation, private activities are measured by asking respondents whether they follow the activities via various media channels (i.e. more passive). Building on the assumption that family is more influential than non-relatives in the socialisation process (Glass et al., 1986; Parsons & Bales, 1956), distinguishing between more active versus passive forms of participation would lead to the expectation that communication with non-relatives relates more closely to activities that require less 'convincing' (i.e. more passive forms of participation), whilst socialisation by family impacts more active forms of participation. The difference between parental and grandparental communication, where the former is associated mainly with ceremonial attendance and the latter with visiting a festival, may point at a cohort effect, with later birth cohorts commemorating in different ways than earlier cohorts.

We must keep in mind, however, that the current results are based on cross-sectional data. Longitudinal data are therefore essential, not only to address potential cohort effects but also issues of reversed causality or feedback loops. War-specific communication may not only lead to more frequent commemorative participation, attending commemorations may also result in more communication on this topic. Whilst cross-sectional data may not show us whether one truly causes the other – given the retrospective aspect of our measure of commemorative participation – it is an important first step, as it enables us to examine the

extent to which the two forms of memory are interrelated, something Olick already advocated in 1999.

In the current article, communication was restricted to people who knew family members or non-relatives who personally experienced a war. There are of course many more possibilities for communication to play a role in the socialisation of commemorative practices. For one, even though later cohorts have less opportunity to talk with family members who experienced the Second World War, it is still possible to talk about this topic with people who did not experience this war. Unfortunately, we were not able to examine this with the data at hand. Moreover, relatively little is known about the persons who experienced the Second World War, and the exact topics of the conversations. Were they resistance fighters or 'merely' living under occupation? Did they only discuss the role of German Nazis or also of Dutch collaborators? And, can we expect stronger effects in countries that fought in the war, considering there might be more 'heroic' stories to be told there? All interesting questions to take up in future research.

Finally, collective memory draws not only from commemorative symbols but also from the written word. Previous studies have shown that history transmitted through intergenerational communication is quite different from history told in textbooks (Welzer, 2005). Measures of other – potentially even rival – forms of socialisation are necessary to be able to draw firmer conclusions on what is 'needed' to keep remembering, and the relative importance of communication and parental exemplar behaviour. For instance, what is addressed at school and what is told by the media? The role of religious organisations should also be examined further, especially seeing that it was of similar importance as some of the forms of socialisation currently under investigation.

Our findings highlight that both communication and exemplar behaviour play a key role in the socialisation of commemorative practices. Moreover, the different forms of socialisation substitute for one another: when a form of socialisation is less available, another takes over and grows in importance. Whereas communication with non-relatives is particularly relevant for those communicating less frequently with parents about past war experiences, parental exemplar behaviour, such as participating in the two-minute silence on Remembrance Day, plays a bigger role amongst those with lower levels of communication with either relatives or non-relatives. This conclusion is particularly relevant in view of the limited time span of specific types of memory and indicates that distinct forms of socialisation play a role in the process of commemorating for people further removed from the historical events that define national commemorations.



Chapter 3

Participation in national commemorations amongst citizens with a migration background: the role of previous familiarity with commemorating *

ABSTRACT. This chapter explores the extent to which varying levels of commemorative participation amongst citizens with a migration background can be explained by previous participatory experiences related to the country of origin, in addition to socio-cultural factors related to the current country of residence. Utilising data from a large online immigrant panel, we concentrate on two prominent Second World War commemorations in the Netherlands: Remembrance Day and Liberation Day. Our results indicate that commemorative participation among citizens with a migration background is determined largely by previous familiarity with commemorating and celebrating through participation in rituals specific to their country of origin. These findings highlight the need to place more emphasis on the role of previous participatory experiences amongst citizens with a migration background when examining current patterns of participation in the host society.

* This chapter has been published as: Coopmans, M., Jaspers, E., and Lubbers, M. (2016). National day participation among immigrants in the Netherlands: the role of familiarity with commemorating and celebrating. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42, 1925-1940. Coopmans wrote the main part of this manuscript and conducted the analyses. Jaspers and Lubbers substantially contributed to earlier versions of the manuscript, which were presented at the 'ECSR Spring School 2015' in Turin, and at the 'Dag van de Sociologie 2015' in Amsterdam. The authors thank all audiences, as well as the anonymous reviewers, for their valuable suggestions.

3.1. Introduction

Over the past few decades, increasing inflows of immigrants have led many European societies to introduce stricter integration requirements for naturalisation (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010). Language requirements have been expanded and mandatory integration courses now often include a cultural section focusing on the most important norms and values of the host society. In addition, growing emphasis is being placed on national history (Duyvendak, 2011; Miller & Ali, 2013). Knowledge of one's past and the associated rituals to remember is supposed to help a nation understand "who we are" (Sapiro, 2004, p. 10), and is therefore thought to be a vital aspect of successful political socialisation. One example is participation in national commemorations, that is the activities organised on designated dates on which a nation commemorates a defining event in its history as a nation (Schwartz, 2015). Recent research has shown that even though more frequent participation in national commemorations is not associated with stronger feelings of national belonging amongst all citizens, this association is certainly present amongst citizens from non-Western origin (Coopmans, Lubbers, & Meuleman, 2015).

At the same time, citizens from non-Western origin were in this study found to participate significantly less frequently in national commemorations than the native population. This is not surprising, considering that large-scale immigration to most European countries did not start until after the Second World War (Messina, 2007). Many of the national commemorations referring to a 'common' past therefore only reflect the history of the native population. National commemorations relating to a restricted audience do, however, run the risk of reinforcing societal segregation (see Collins (2004) on ritual insiders and outsiders). More research is therefore needed into the citizens with a migration background who do decide to participate in national commemorations, and the reasons why some citizens with a migration background participate more frequently than others.

Building upon insights from research on other forms of participation (e.g. voting, volunteering), this study aims to answer these questions by examining to what extent commemorative participation by citizens with a migration background can be explained by previous participatory experiences related to their country of origin, in addition to socio-cultural factors related to their current country of residence. We follow a recent line of research suggesting that to understand immigrants' political participation, not only immigrants' current situation should be taken into account, but also – and perhaps even more so – the 'previous participatory context', in other words, experiences related to immigrants' country of origin (B. Voicu & Comşa, 2014; M. Voicu & Rusu, 2012).

Utilising data from a large online immigrant panel, this study concentrates on two prominent national commemorations in the Netherlands, both dedicated to the commemoration of the Second World War: Remembrance Day and Liberation Day. The multi-ethnic context of the Netherlands, which has several large immigrant groups, is ideal for examining ethnic group differences. Moving beyond mere comparisons between natives and non-natives, we

distinguish between citizens originating from Turkey, Morocco, the former Netherlands Antilles, Suriname, Indonesia, and South Africa. As such, we can examine whether similar explanations for participation in Dutch national commemorations hold for different ethnic groups with varying migration histories.

To account for previous familiarity with national commemorations, we begin by focusing on the different historical connections between the host country and the various countries of origin, and distinguish between countries with and without colonial ties with the Netherlands. Second, we look at previous war experiences. Wars figure prominently in national commemorations worldwide, especially the Second World War (Liu et al., 2005; McCrone & McPherson, 2009). Hence, having a personal connection to this war – either directly or indirectly via family members – makes it more likely that someone with a different national background has already participated in (institutionalised) commemorative activities like those organised on Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day.

Finally, we look at citizens' participation in (institutionalised) commemorations and celebrations specific to their country of origin. Although such activities may be unrelated to the content of Remembrance Day and Liberation Day, participation in them implies socialisation with institutionalised forms of commemorations and celebrations in general. We argue that all three aspects result to some extent in familiarity with Dutch national commemorations. Using unique individual-level information, this study is the first to examine empirically how diverse types of previous participatory experiences among citizens with a migration background relate to participation in national commemorations organised by the host country.

3.2. Remembrance Day and Liberation Day in the Netherlands

On Dutch Remembrance Day, held every year on 4 May, Dutch society commemorates civilians and members of the armed forces of the Kingdom of the Netherlands who died in a war or on a peace-keeping mission since the outbreak of the Second World War. Although originally initiated in 1945 to commemorate the Dutch victims of the Second World War, this was changed in 1961 to include also more recent casualties of war (Vermolen, 1995). The main event of the day is the two minutes of silence held at 8:00 p.m. Commemoration ceremonies are organised throughout the country, the largest one taking place in the capital. There is also plenty of opportunity to participate in a more private matter, as the main events are broadcast live on national radio and television. Traditionally, people that own a flag will have their flags flown at half-staff, honouring the victims of war.

On Dutch Liberation Day, which falls on the 5th of May, the nation celebrates its liberation from German Nazi occupation (1940–1945), and draws attention to current issues related to freedom (or its absence) worldwide (Vermolen, 1995). On Liberation Day, citizens are invited to raise their flags and festivities are organised throughout the whole country. The

day starts with an address on the fragility of freedom, functioning as a link between the 4 May commemorations and the 5 May festivities. In the afternoon, liberation festivals take place in the 12 Dutch provinces and 2 major cities. Many of the activities are broadcast live, so that people can follow the activities via television, radio, or online.

3.3. Theory

3.3.1. *Previous familiarity with national commemorations*

Whilst much of the research on immigrants focuses on socialisation processes in the host country, that is the learning of norms, values, and skills necessary to function in society, experiences in the immigrant's country of origin can also be considered relevant for immigrant participation (Quintelier, 2009; B. Voicu & Șerban, 2012). This may be particularly true for their participation in Dutch national commemorations owing to the historical connections between the Netherlands and some countries of origin of the largest immigrant groups. Suriname, the former Netherlands Antilles, and Indonesia (the former Dutch East Indies) are all former Dutch colonies (Castles & Miller, 2003). It has been argued that these countries have more in common with the Netherlands than more recent immigration countries such as Turkey or Morocco (Hagendoorn, Veenman, & Volleberg, 2003), because of the – forced – introduction of Dutch institutions and educational curricula in these countries. Hence, citizens originating from former colonies are more likely to be familiar with the Dutch culture, and even with specific Dutch national commemorations, such as Remembrance Day and Liberation Day. We therefore expect that: *Citizens with a migration background from former Dutch colonies will participate more frequently in Dutch national commemorations than citizens originating from other countries (H1a).*

At the same time, also when comparing countries that do share a colonial past, differences can be expected in commemorative participation patterns, one important reason being the timing of their independence from the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Indonesian independence was formally recognised by the Netherlands in 1949, four years after Indonesia's declaration of independence.¹ Suriname was part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands until 1975, and still retains close political, economic, and cultural relationships with its former coloniser. The former Netherlands Antilles were dissolved in 2010. Curacao and St Maarten became independent countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, whereas Bonaire, St Eustatius, and Saba were granted a status comparable to Dutch municipalities. Antillean immigrants therefore still have the Dutch nationality (Huijnk, Gijssberts, & Dagevos, 2014). Hence, we hypothesise that: *Citizens with a migration background*

¹ Although one could argue that Indonesia's history with the Netherlands and the Second World War is slightly more complex than for the other countries, not only considering their extended occupation by Japan (which ended on 15 August and is annually commemorated in the Netherlands at the Indies Monument in The Hague) but also considering the War of Independence that followed.

from more recent former Dutch colonies participate more frequently in Dutch national commemorations than citizens from countries with less recent colonial ties (H1b).

Moreover, since we are looking specifically at national commemorations that celebrate freedom and commemorate victims of war, we argue that citizens who have experienced war in some manner (either directly or indirectly via family members) will be more motivated to participate in the organised activities than those without any personal connection to war. This can be explained by what is often referred to as ‘mnemonic socialisation’ (Zerubavel, 1996): Having parents or grandparents who have experienced a war will result not only in more knowledge of the topic, but also in more familiarity with the ‘appropriate’ ways to commemorate the event, including participating in nationally organised commemorations and celebrations. This is especially true of those who have experienced the Second World War (either directly or indirectly), as this war is the focus of the activities organised on Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day (Vermolen, 1995). We therefore expect that: *Citizens with a migration background who have a personal connection to the Second World War will participate more frequently in Dutch national commemorations (H2).*

Finally, familiarity with other (institutionalised) commemorative or celebrative rituals (or: holidays; see, e.g. Etzioni, 2000), unrelated to the content of Remembrance Day and Liberation Day, may also play a role in explaining commemorative participation amongst citizens with a migration background. Based upon the assumption that previous experiences in the country of origin can be transferred, adapted, and used once immigrants arrive in their country of destination, previous studies have argued that immigrants from countries that have a civic or political environment similar to the host country integrate more easily than immigrants from countries with a very different environment (B. Voicu & Comşa, 2014; M. Voicu & Rusu, 2012; White et al., 2008). This is explained by the acquisition of civic or political skills that are more compatible with those needed in the country of destination. A similar argument can be expected to hold for commemorative participation. Citizens’ participation in commemorative or celebrative rituals specific to their country of origin – either because they used to live there or because their parents taught them – implies a socialisation process that is characterised by a more general familiarity with institutionalised rituals. As a result, these citizens may be more inclined to also participate in national commemorations organised by the host country, even though the actual content may very well differ. We thus hypothesise that: *Citizens with a migration background who participate more frequently in commemorative and celebrative rituals specific to their country of origin will participate more often in Dutch national commemorations (H3).*

Following our earlier argumentation on differences in national commemorative participation based upon the country of origin, also the association between commemorative and celebrative rituals specific to the country of origin and participation in host national commemorations can be expected to vary depending on the country of origin under examination. The former Netherlands Antilles, for instance, have probably the highest

number of national rituals that resemble those in the Netherlands, one of which is the celebration of King's Day. In addition, they have numerous 'National Flag and Anthem' days, which recognise the discovery of the different islands. At the same time, no national war commemorations or celebrations are found here, except those related to the abolition of slavery. This is similar for Indonesia and Suriname, where in addition to days of independence, a lot of religious days can be found. Morocco and Turkey do know national war commemorations. In Turkey, these are focused mainly on the Turkish War of Independence after the First World War, such as the commemoration of Atatürk on May 19, and Victory Day on August 30. In Morocco, several national commemorations and celebrations are dedicated to the return of territory, such as the Green March on November 6, and the King and People's Revolution on August 20. Furthermore, both countries know various religious holidays and days of independence (Krimp & Reiding, 2014b). An additional goal of the present study is therefore to explore whether the relationship as formulated in Hypothesis 3 is dependent upon country of origin.

3.3.2. Exposure to national commemorations and celebrations in the host country

Although concepts of linear processes of assimilation (Gordon, 1964; Park & Burgess, 1921) have been criticised as being too simple (Alba & Nee, 1997), the general idea underpinning socialisation theory is that immigrants who migrated at an earlier age adapt more easily to their new environment than immigrants who migrated at a later age. In addition to the age at migration, also the time spent in the host society is considered a key factor for immigrant participation (White et al., 2008). We expect this to hold for national commemorative participation as well. Immigrants who migrated to the Netherlands before the age of 12 (i.e. the age at which children in the Netherlands start secondary school) have had classes in Dutch history, and have therefore had the chance to learn about the Dutch past, including the Second World War. Moreover, through education they have had the opportunity to learn about the activities involved in Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day. For example, many elementary schools in the Netherlands have 'adopted' war monuments, and organise daytrips to attend commemoration ceremonies (Koenen & Jorritsma, 2014). We therefore expect that: *Citizens with a migration background that were born in the Netherlands, or who migrated to the Netherlands before the age of twelve, will participate in Dutch national commemorations more frequently than citizens who migrated at a later age (H4a)*. Moreover, we expect that: *The frequency of commemorative participation increases with length of stay in the Netherlands (H4b)*.

Research has identified two other immigrant characteristics that are closely linked to immigrants' participation in the host society. First, proficiency in the host country language is thought to be crucial to encourage familiarity with the host country culture (Huijnk, Verkuyten, & Coenders, 2012). Knowledge of the host country language not only enables immigrants to acquire practical information on how and where to participate in organised events, but also allows them to understand why people participate by talking to others or

reading about it. Abundant research supports this line of reasoning, indicating that host country language is positively associated with all kinds of civic and political activities, ranging from membership of voluntary associations to voting behaviour (Aleksynska, 2011; Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkenfeld, 2007; M. Voicu & Rusu, 2012). We expect host country language use to also play a role in Dutch national commemorative participation. Not only is all the practical information on the activities organised on these days provided mainly in Dutch, but it is also easier to communicate with others about the actual content of these days if they know the Dutch language. We therefore hypothesise that: *Citizens with a migration background who more often use the Dutch language will participate more frequently in Dutch national commemorations (H5).*

A second way to become more familiar with the host country's culture is via one's social network. Social capital, such as the size and strength of one's social network, has long been considered one of the main ways to gather information (Granovetter, 1973; Putnam, 2000). Moreover, social networks can assumedly function as 'recruitment networks', through which people are invited to become a member of a civic association or participate in political activities (De Rooij, 2012). Especially social contacts with native Dutch citizens – who are more likely to be familiar with Dutch history and its commemoration – in one's social network are thought to play a key role for immigrants' integration (Heath, Rothon, & Kilpi, 2008; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). Having more native contacts in one's network has indeed been found to be associated with more frequent participation in political activities (Quintelier, 2009). Following this line of argumentation, contact with native Dutch citizens will most likely also increase familiarity with Dutch commemorations and celebrations. Hence, we expect that: *Citizens with a migration background with a larger number of native Dutch contacts in their social network will participate more frequently in Dutch national commemorations (H6).*

3.4. Methods

3.4.1. Data

This paper makes use of data taken from the LISS (Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social sciences) migrant panel, administered by CentERdata (Tilburg University, The Netherlands) through its MESS project funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research. The migrant sample was drawn from the population register by Statistics Netherlands and was stratified by ethnic groups and weighted by household size. More information about the LISS panel sampling procedure can be found at www.lissdata.nl. Panel members who could not participate otherwise were provided with a computer and Internet connection. The sample included the four major non-Western immigrant groups in the Netherlands, namely persons of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese, and Antillean origin. Additionally, persons of Indonesian and South African origin were included, as well as persons of not further specified Western European, Western non-European, and non-Western origin, and a control group of persons of Dutch origin.

Data on the main variables of interest were collected in the 'Freedom and Liberation Day in the Netherlands' survey in April 2014. In total, 1705 household members were approached, of which 78% responded, resulting in a sample of 1325 respondents in 958 households. Given our interest in country of origin, respondents without information on their home country were deleted ($N = 25$). Of the 1300 respondents in total, 5.08% had a Turkish background, 5.77% a Moroccan background, 4.46% was from the former Netherlands Antilles, 4.77% from Suriname, 8.92% from Indonesia, 4.39% from South Africa, 26.23% had another Western background (not further specified), 7.15% another non-Western background, and 33.23% a native Dutch background. Whilst we do present comparisons with native Dutch respondents in our descriptive results, only those from a non-native Dutch background were retained for our explanatory analyses ($N = 868$). Due to the oversampling of respondents from a non-Western background, non-Western respondents were over-represented compared to the Dutch population, where only 12.06% is from non-Western origin (Statistics Netherlands, 2015).²

3.4.2. Measures

Participation in Dutch national commemorations, our dependent variable, was comprised of several activities organised on Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day. We included activities that the literature on political participation might consider 'low cost' activities, as well as 'high cost' activities (De Rooij, 2012; B. Voicu & Comşa, 2014). To measure participation in Remembrance Day, we asked respondents: "How often in the past five years, on 4 May (Remembrance Day), did you: (a) fly a Dutch flag at half-staff; (b) observe two minutes of silence; (c) attend a memorial event; (d) follow Remembrance Day proceedings on television, radio or online?" To measure participation in Liberation Day, respondents were asked: "How often in the past five years, on 5 May (Liberation Day), did you: (a) fly a Dutch flag; (b) visit a Liberation Festival; (c) follow Liberation Day proceedings on television, radio or online?" Response categories were: (0) 'never', (1) 'once', (2) 'twice', (3) 'three times', (4) 'four times', and (5) 'every year'. Two mean scores were created: one for Remembrance Day and one for Liberation Day.

Ethnic origin was measured using the country of birth of the respondent and his or her parents. When either the respondent or at least one parent was born abroad respondents were classified as having an immigrant background. This is a commonly used definition in the Netherlands, based on Statistics Netherlands (www.cbs.nl). A distinction was made between respondents from Turkish, Moroccan, Antillean, Surinamese, Indonesian, South

² Of the in total 12.06%, 2.35% Dutch citizens from non-western origin has a Turkish background, 2.25% a Moroccan background, 0.88% is from the former Netherlands Antilles, 2.06% is from Suriname, and 4.52% has another non-western background (not further specified) (Statistics Netherlands, 2015).

African, other Western, and other non-Western origin.³ This distinction was then used to examine potential differences in Dutch national commemorative participation between respondents with and without a colonial past.

Personal connection to the Second World War was measured by asking respondents whether they had experienced a war or whether they knew people who had personally experienced a war. Respondents were then asked: “Which war did this person experience?” Given the emphasis of Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day on the Second World War (and its Dutch victims) (Vermolen, 1995), only experiences related to the Second World War were considered. A dummy variable was created to distinguish between respondents with and without a personal connection to the Second World War. Both direct and indirect experiences within the family environment were considered a personal connection, whilst the experiences of non-relatives were not counted as such (since not necessarily connected with the country of origin).

Participation in commemorations or celebrations specific to the country of origin was measured by asking respondents: “Do you ever celebrate national holidays of your country of birth / your parents’ country of birth?” Respondents could answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’. In a follow-up question, respondents were asked which national holiday they participated in (if ‘yes’). Responses indicating a Dutch holiday were set to missing. A dummy variable was created to distinguish between respondents who did and did not participate in holidays specific to their country of origin.

Age at migration was calculated by subtracting the year of birth from the year the respondent first came to live in the Netherlands. A distinction was made between respondents who indicated that they had lived in the Netherlands all their lives, respondents who moved to the Netherlands before they were 12 years old, and respondents who moved to the Netherlands at the age of 12 or older. The latter group functioned as the reference category.

Length of stay was operationalised as a continuous variable, and calculated by subtracting the age at migration from the age during the time of the interview.

Dutch language use at home was measured as a combination of the items: “Do you speak Dutch with your partner?”, “Do you speak Dutch to your child(ren)?”, “Do you speak Dutch with your father?”, and “Do you speak Dutch with your mother?” Answer categories comprised: (0) ‘no, never’; (1) ‘yes, sometimes’; (2) ‘yes, often’; and (3) ‘yes, always’. For respondents who did not have a partner, child, father, or mother, responses were set to missing. An average score was created based upon the answers available.

³ Due to their socio-economic and cultural position, panel members from an Indonesian background – mainly people born in the former Dutch East Indies to (a) native Dutch parent(s) – were considered ‘western’ immigrants. Furthermore, it was assumed that most panel members from a South African background belong to the white, Afrikaans-speaking group.

The *number of native Dutch contacts* in the respondents' social network was based on the five most important persons in their lives (i.e. those with whom they discussed important matters) over the past six months. Respondents were given one point for every native Dutch contact that was mentioned, provided the contact was not one of their parents, siblings, children, or other family members. This sum score was then divided by the total number of non-family members mentioned by the respondent and multiplied by 100, resulting in the percentage of native Dutch contacts in his or her (close) social network.

Several *control variables* were included. First, considering the close relationship between participation in national commemorations and feelings of national belonging found in earlier studies (Coopmans et al., 2015; Lubbers & Meuleman, 2016), we controlled for *national belonging* by asking respondents to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the following four items: 'Being Dutch is an important part of who I am'; 'I feel connected to other Dutch people'; 'Whenever I talk about Dutch people I often say "We"'; and 'I am proud to be Dutch'. Answer categories ranged from (0) 'totally disagree' to (4) 'totally agree'. A mean score was created by averaging the scores of the four items (Cronbach's alpha = .86).

Second, immigrants' motivation to participate in the host society has been found to also depend upon resources, potential time constraints (De Rooij, 2012; Putnam, 2000; B. Voicu & Șerban, 2012), and the reaction of the host society (De Vroome, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014; Maxwell, 2009). As we expect these constructs to be similarly important for participation in national commemorations, we controlled for level of education, employment status, and perceived level of discrimination. *Educational level* consisted of seven categories: (0) 'not yet started any education'; (1) 'primary school'; (2) 'intermediate secondary school'; (3) 'higher secondary education'; (4) 'intermediate vocational education'; (5) 'higher vocational education'; and (6) 'university'.

Employment status consisted of three categories: 'employed', 'unemployed', and 'other' (including students, retired, and disabled people). Employed respondents acted as the reference category.

Discrimination was measured by asking respondents: "In the past 12 months, have you been discriminated against, for instance because of your religious beliefs, sexual orientation, appearance, or age?" Response categories were: (1) 'no'; (2) 'yes, sometimes'; and (3) 'yes, often'. A dummy variable was created for respondents who reported being discriminated against either sometimes (21.10%) or often (3.40%).

Finally, following previous studies on commemorative participation (Meuleman & Lubbers, 2013), also *gender* was considered, operationalised as a dummy variable for female.

3.4.3. *Analytical strategy*

Multivariate structural equation modelling with bootstrapping was applied using Stata, version 13 (StataCorp, 2013). As we are dealing with clustered data (i.e. 868 individuals within 748 households), we took the non-independence of observations into account by computing standard errors using the generalised Huber/White/sandwich estimator, which allows for correlations between errors within clusters (Rogers, 1993; Williams, 2000). Moreover, using the full-information maximum likelihood (FIML) missing data estimation approach, we could include observations with missing values in our analyses. FIML uses all observed variables in the model to estimate the means and covariances of item nonresponse, and outperforms listwise deletion and simpler substitution methods (Cheung, 2015; Enders & Bandalos, 2001).

3.5. Results

3.5.1. *Descriptive results*

An overview of the descriptive statistics for the dependent, independent, and control variables amongst the immigrant sample can be found in Table 3.1. Appendix A3.1 contains the descriptive statistics per ethnic origin, including native Dutch. Respondents participate most often in Remembrance Day by observing the two-minute silence or following the events via media. Flying the flag – either on Remembrance Day or on Liberation Day – is one of the least popular activities, together with attending a memorial, which is on average done almost never. Liberation festival, on the other hand, are attended slightly more often, although still not very frequently; on average once every five years.

Although not depicted in Table 3.1, the country-of-origin specific holidays that respondents participate in are by and large comparable to the ones mentioned in the theory section. Respondents with a Turkish background most frequently mention Victory Day and the commemoration of Atatürk, respondents with an Antillean background mention Flag Day, and many respondents with a Surinamese or Indonesian background mention the celebration of independence. Ketikoti, the celebration of the abolition of slavery, is also frequently mentioned by respondents with a Surinamese background. As for respondents with a Moroccan background, religious holidays such as Eid ul-Fitr and Eid ul-Adha are most often mentioned.

Table 3.1. *Descriptive statistics of the variables (N = 868).*

Variables	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD	Valid N
Remembrance Day	0	5	2.26	1.23	855
- Two-minute silence	0	5	3.81	1.89	855
- Attend via media	0	5	3.46	1.92	855
- Flag at half-staff	0	5	0.94	1.83	855
- Attend memorial	0	5	0.82	1.48	855
Liberation Day	0	5	1.68	1.25	857
- Attend via media	0	5	2.93	2.08	857
- Visit Liberation festival	0	5	1.16	1.66	857
- Fly a flag	0	5	0.97	1.83	857
Ethnic origin					
- Turkish	0	1	0.08		868
- Moroccan	0	1	0.09		868
- Antillean	0	1	0.07		868
- Surinamese	0	1	0.07		868
- Indonesian	0	1	0.13		868
- South African	0	1	0.06		868
- Other Western	0	1	0.39		868
- Other non-Western	0	1	0.11		868
Second World War	0	1	0.54		853
Holidays country of origin	0	1	0.39		738
Age at migration					
- >12 years old	0	1	0.34		867
- < 12 years old	0	1	0.17		867
- Born in the Netherlands	0	1	0.49		867
Length of stay	4	88	37.34	18.22	866
Dutch language use at home	0	3	2.12	1.02	839
Native Dutch contacts (%)	0	100	42.77	46.03	868
National belonging	0	4	2.44	0.82	520
Level of education	0	5	2.72	1.59	855
Employment status					
- Employed	0	1	0.50		868
- Unemployed	0	1	0.07		868
- Other	0	1	0.43		868
Discrimination	0	1	0.25		853
Gender (female)	0	1	0.55		868

Table 3.2. *Mean comparisons of participation in national commemorations between ethnic groups (N = 1300).*

	Remembrance Day			Liberation Day		
	Mean	SD	Group comparison	Mean	SD	Group comparison
1. Native Dutch	2.67	1.14	6,7,8,9	2.06	1.34	8,9
2. Indonesian	2.54	1.20	8,9	1.87	1.33	8,9
3. Other Western	2.48	1.15	8,9	1.84	1.22	8,9
4. Surinamese	2.32	1.07	8,9	1.84	1.22	-
5. South African	2.28	1.16	9	1.64	1.20	-
6. Other non-Western	2.24	1.26	1,9	1.65	1.34	-
7. Antillean	2.07	1.40	1	1.53	1.22	-
8. Turkish	1.66	1.22	1,2,3,4	1.17	1.04	1,2,3
9. Moroccan	1.46	1.16	1,2,3,4,5,6	1.20	1.10	1,2,3

Note: Group comparisons show those groups that significantly differ at the 5% level, based upon a Tukey-Kramer pairwise comparison test.

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) demonstrates that significant ethnic group differences are present in both the level of participation in Remembrance Day ($F(8, 1274) = 13.36$, $p < .001$, adjusted $R^2 = .072$) and Liberation Day ($F(8, 1276) = 6.79$, $p < .001$, adjusted $R^2 = .036$). The mean levels of commemorative participation per ethnic group, ranging from high to low, can be found in Table 3.2. As expected, native Dutch respondents participate most frequently in national commemorations, closely followed by respondents from an Indonesian background, respondents with another Western background, and respondents from a Surinamese background. Tukey–Kramer pairwise comparisons furthermore showed that these respondents participated significantly more often in Remembrance Day than respondents from a Turkish or Moroccan background. Respondents from a Moroccan background also participated significantly less frequently in Remembrance Day than respondents from a South African or other non-Western background. Ethnic group differences in the participation rates for Liberation Day were less remarkable. Respondents from a Turkish and Moroccan background reported significantly lower participation rates than native Dutch respondents, as well as respondents from an Indonesian or other Western background.

3.5.2. *Explanatory results*

Table 3.3 and Table 3.4 display the results of the multivariate structural equation models for Remembrance Day and Liberation Day, in which we controlled for national belonging, level of education, employment status, perceived discrimination, and gender. As we were interested in (migrant-specific) predictors of participation in national commemorations amongst citizens from a non-native Dutch background, native Dutch respondents were excluded from these analyses. Since our descriptive analyses indicated respondents from an

Indonesian background to score highest on national commemorative participation, they acted as the reference category. In total, our model explained 34% of the variance in commemorative participation (R^2 (Remembrance Day) = .246; R^2 (Liberation Day) = .156). Additional analyses showed that 16% was explained by our measures of previous participatory experiences (R^2 (Remembrance Day) = .121; R^2 (Liberation Day) = .052), 17% by our socio-cultural indicators (R^2 (Remembrance Day) = .114; R^2 (Liberation Day) = .071), and 23% by our control variables (R^2 (Remembrance Day) = .155; R^2 (Liberation Day) = .107).

As can be seen in Model 1, the initial ethnic group differences in commemorative participation identified in our descriptive analyses between citizens of Indonesian origin versus citizens of Turkish and Moroccan origin remain, regardless of feelings of national belonging, level of education, employment status, perceived discrimination, and gender. Hypothesis 1a, in which we expected that citizens from former Dutch colonies would participate more frequently in national commemorations than citizens from other countries, could therefore be confirmed. No differences in commemorative participation were, however, found between citizens originating from more and less recent former Dutch colonies, refuting Hypothesis 1b.

In Model 2, the role of previous familiarity with commemorative rituals was considered. Differences in commemorative participation between citizens with and without a personal connection to the Second World War – either because they directly experienced the war or because family members experienced the war – were only found for Dutch Remembrance Day.

Hypothesis 2, on the role of previous war experiences, could therefore only be confirmed for Remembrance Day. In line with our expectations, respondents who reported to participate in holidays specific to their country of origin participated in both Remembrance Day and Liberation Day significantly more often than respondents who did not participate in any such activities. This result confirms Hypothesis 3, on the importance of previous familiarity with (institutionalised) commemorative and celebrative rituals. No differences were found in the effect of participation in rituals specific to the country of origin on participation in host national commemorations when comparing respondents from different ethnic origins. The results of this additional analysis can be found in Appendix A3.2.

As for our indicators of exposure to national commemorations in the host country – which were added in Model 3 – it was found that citizens with a migration background who were born in the Netherlands participated less often in national commemorations than citizens who migrated after the age of 12. The difference between citizens who migrated before the age of 12 (but were not born in the Netherlands) and those who migrated after the age of 12 proved only significant for Liberation Day. Comparable results were found when including age at migration as a continuous variable in our model.

Table 3.3. *Models for participation in Dutch Remembrance Day (N = 868).*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	1.154***	.302	.962**	.278	.339	.308
Ethnic origin (ref. Indonesian)						
- Turkish	-.528*	.253	-.487*	.244	-.091	.254
- Moroccan	-.834**	.261	-.688**	.257	-.341	.260
- Antillean	-.196	.304	-.133	.286	.117	.272
- Surinam	.061	.280	.026	.262	.091	.266
- South African	-.377	.322	-.380	.293	-.001	.289
- Other Western	-.001	.192	-.052	.191	.109	.181
- Other non-Western	-.168	.245	-.114	.215	.211	.226
Second World War			.268*	.112	.185†	.099
Holidays country of origin			.389***	.110	.456***	.104
Age at migration (ref. >12 years)						
- Migrated < 12 years					-.237†	.132
- Born in the Netherlands					-.295**	.100
Length of stay					.011***	.003
Dutch language use at home					.163**	.063
Native Dutch contacts					-.001	.001
National belonging	.481***	.075	.469***	.076	.418***	.085
Level of education	-.021	.029	-.033	.028	-.031	.030
Employment status (ref. employed)						
- Unemployed	-.082	.179	-.106	.159	-.120	.172
- Other	.157	.095	.143†	.085	.061	.088
Discrimination	-.043	.111	-.099	.098	-.052	.104
Gender (female)	.199*	.077	.151*	.077	.194*	.077

† $p < .10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; two-tailed p -values are reported.

Table 3.4. *Models for participation in Dutch Liberation Day (N = 868).*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Intercept	.866**	.311	.759*	.310	.308	.329
Ethnic origin (ref. Indonesian)						
- Turkish	-.421†	.215	-.398	.254	-.059	.231
- Moroccan	-.477*	.231	-.395	.257	-.165	.249
- Antillean	-.096	.264	-.061	.288	.092	.255
- Surinam	.236	.280	.208	.262	.210	.284
- South African	-.312	.300	-.320	.316	-.030	.291
- Other Western	.032	.185	-.003	.205	.124	.185
- Other non-Western	-.092	.236	-.059	.238	.164	.231
Second World War			.151	.111	.109	.108
Holidays country of origin			.224*	.111	.280**	.105
Age at migration (ref. >12 years)						
- Migrated < 12 years					-.324*	.144
- Born in the Netherlands					-.445***	.119
Length of stay					.009**	.003
Dutch language use at home					.167**	.064
Native Dutch contacts					-.002	.001
National belonging	.407***	.078	.400***	.085	.376***	.092
Level of education	-.060*	.030	-.068*	.028	-.066*	.032
Employment status (ref. employed)						
- Unemployed	-.111	.184	-.124	.177	-.139	.181
- Other	.164	.091	.157†	.091	.088	.090
Discrimination	-.051	.107	-.084	.097	-.046	.104
Gender (female)	.041	.083	.014	.085	.060	.082

† $p < .10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; two-tailed p -values are reported.

These findings reject Hypothesis 4a, on the role of age at migration. Interestingly, additional analyses showed that the association found between age at migration and commemorative participation was in fact initially negative, only becoming positive after the addition of national identification and Dutch language use. Moreover, in line with Hypothesis 4b, a significant positive association was found between length of stay in the Netherlands and participation in national commemorations.

Our results furthermore revealed a significant positive association between Dutch language use and commemorative participation. In line with Hypothesis 5, respondents who, on average, spoke more Dutch at home were found to participate more frequently in both Remembrance Day and Liberation Day. In contrast, a higher number of native Dutch contacts in one's (close) social network was not associated with more frequent commemorative participation, refuting Hypothesis 6.

As for our control variables, a positive association was found between national belonging and participation in national commemorations. Furthermore, female respondents participated more frequently in Remembrance Day than male respondents, and respondents with a higher level of education participated more often in Liberation Day than respondents with a lower level of education.

Finally, an examination across models reveals that the ethnic group differences initially found in Model 1 are no longer present in Model 3: Ethnic group differences in participation in Liberation Day lose their statistical significance after the addition of our measures on previous participation patterns in Model 2, and ethnic groups differences in participation in Remembrance Day lose their significance after the inclusion of our measures on integration in the host country in Model 3. All in all, these results suggest that the final model presented in Table 3.3 fully explains the lower levels of commemorative participation found among respondents with a Turkish and Moroccan background.

3.6. Conclusion and discussion

Using unique information on participation in national commemorations drawn from a large online immigrant panel, the current study examined to what extent participation in national commemorations organised amongst citizens with a migration background is associated with previous participatory experiences related to the country of origin, alongside socio-cultural aspects related to the current country of residence. We concentrated on two prominent national commemorations in the Netherlands, Remembrance Day and Liberation Day. In doing so, we contribute to more general literature on immigrants' participation by introducing what has been a little-researched topic until now, namely that of participation in commemorations organised by the host country. We build on a recent line of research that emphasises the importance of the country of origin's participatory context when examining immigrants' patterns of participation in their host society.

To examine familiarity with national commemorations, we focused on three factors that we believe are potential indicators of previous participatory experiences related to the country of origin. First, we distinguished between countries with and without a colonial past. Second, given that the national commemorations under examination focus mainly on commemorating the Second World War, we distinguished between citizens with and without a personal connection to this war. Third, we took participation in commemorative and celebrative rituals specific to the country of origin into account. Differences in commemorative practices were small to non-existent when comparing native Dutch citizens with citizens from a Surinamese, Antillean, Indonesian, and South African origin – all former Dutch colonies. Commemorative participation rates were, however, substantially lower amongst citizens originating from more recent immigration countries such as Turkey and Morocco.

Previous familiarity with commemorating and celebrating formed an important explanation of the variation found in Dutch national commemorative participation among citizens with a migration background: citizens who participated in holidays specific to their country of origin participated in the activities organised on Remembrance Day and Liberation Day more frequently than other citizens. A personal connection with the actual content of the national commemorations, in this case the Second World War, played a less crucial role. This is an important finding, as it implies that participation in activities related to country of origin in no way undermines participation in activities organised by the host country. Instead, our results indicate that participating in country of origin specific holidays contributes to participation in national commemorations organised by the host country. This effect was found regardless of the country of origin in question.

These results are in line with recent literature on immigrants' political participation showing that a highly participatory previous context promotes involvement in political activities, even more so when immigrants are still involved in political activities in their country of origin (B. Voicu & Comşa, 2014; M. Voicu & Rusu, 2012). We believe further research should therefore focus more explicitly on the diverse types of commemorative and celebrative activities that citizens (with and without a migration background) participate in – including both institutionalised and more private activities – as well as their motivation for participating.

In line with previous studies (De Rooij, 2012), our results furthermore showed that Dutch language use plays a more significant role in the frequency of participation in national commemorations amongst citizens with a migration background than economic aspects such as employment or education. Citizens with a migration background who more often use the Dutch language at home were found to participate more frequently in the activities organised on Dutch national commemorations. The time spent in the Netherlands was also positively related to commemorative participation. This is in line with classic assimilation theories (Gordon, 1964; Park & Burgess, 1921). Participation in national commemorations amongst

citizens with a migration background thus seems to follow a pattern comparable to other forms of participation, such as membership of civic associations or voting behaviour (Aleksynska, 2011; Torney-Purta et al., 2007; M. Voicu & Rusu, 2012).

Surprisingly, a higher number of native Dutch contacts in one's (close) social network did not increase the frequency of participation in host national commemorations. A possible explanation concerns the content of this participation: as opposed to civic or political participation, participating in national commemorations might be a more personal or private choice, and therefore less dependent upon one's social environment. It could also be, however, that the measurement currently used (i.e. the five most important persons) is too narrow. We would advise future research to focus more on the role of weak ties, which are thought to play a more significant role in information gathering (Granovetter, 1973).

Since the design of the present study was cross-sectional, no strong causal claims can be made. In addition to the need for longitudinal research on commemorative participation among citizens with a migration background, this study has several other limitations. For one, we focus on a very specific type of participation, namely participation in national commemorations and celebrations related to the Second World War. As mentioned earlier, further research would profit from including a wider range of national holidays, as well as more private rituals. Second, the specific focus of the Remembrance Day and Liberation Day activities changes each year. Stories of immigrants are more central to the overall theme in some years than in others, and this too may affect how the commemorations are experienced by citizens with a migration background – another argument in favour of longitudinal data. These limitations also make it difficult to generalise our findings to national commemorations in other countries. Future research would therefore benefit from studying the determinants of a broader spectrum of national commemorations across different countries.

In sum, our study shows that participation in (host) national commemorations amongst citizens with a migration background is determined largely by previous familiarity with commemorating and celebrating. An important predictor is participation in holidays specific to the country of origin. Policies aimed at increasing participation in national commemorations amongst citizens with a migration background could therefore profit from focusing more explicitly on the link between commemorative and celebrative rituals in the host country and the country of origin. Moreover, these findings highlight the need to emphasise the role of previous participatory experiences when examining immigrants' current patterns of participation in the host society.



Chapter 4

To whom do national commemorations matter? A comparison of national belonging across generations and ethnic groups^{*}

ABSTRACT. This chapter studies the extent to which participation in national commemorations is associated with feelings of national belonging, compares these effects with those of participation in a national celebration (King's Day), and tests the extent to which associations between participation in national commemorations and celebrations and feelings of national belonging are comparable across generations and ethnic groups. Utilising data from a Dutch survey ($N = 4,505$), three major national days in the Netherlands are examined: Remembrance Day, Liberation Day, and King's Day. The results show that whereas participation in King's Day is associated with national belonging for all generations, for Remembrance Day this holds only for the generation born between 1945 and 1955, and for Liberation Day for the generations born after 1955. Moreover, for citizens from non-Western origin, participating in national commemorations and celebrations is associated with national belonging more strongly than for citizens with a native Dutch or other Western background. These findings highlight the importance of paying attention to potential group differences in the association between participation in national commemorations and celebrations and feelings of national belonging.

^{*} This chapter has been published as: Coopmans, M., Lubbers, M., and Meuleman, R. (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, 2037 – 2054. Coopmans wrote the main part of this manuscript and conducted the analyses. Lubbers and Meuleman substantially contributed to the manuscript, and are also responsible for the collection of one of the LISS modules used in this study. An earlier version of the manuscript was presented at the 'Dag van de Sociologie 2014' in Antwerp, and at the 'Collective Memory, National Identity and Commemorations' symposium in Utrecht. The authors thank all audiences, as well as the anonymous reviewers, for their helpful comments and suggestions.

4.1. Introduction

Over the last decades, processes of globalisation have given rise to concerns about national identity in many Western European societies. A national identity – shared awareness by citizens of a society that they are members of a nation – has been theoretically argued to play a role in increasing feelings of solidarity and unity (David & Bar-Tal, 2009). Although research on the topic provides mixed results (see, e.g. Ariely, 2012; Bekhuis, Lubbers, & Verkuyten, 2014), politicians in various countries have proposed an amplified emphasis on national history in an attempt to strengthen feelings of national belonging (Duyvendak, 2011; Miller & Ali, 2013). In the Netherlands, the site of the current study, a recent example is the development of a national historical ‘canon’ to teach students more about the Dutch past (Grever, 2007; WRR, 2007). A more established attempt to stimulate feelings of national belonging through shared representations of history are national commemorations and celebrations – institutionalised, annually organised activities during which the nation commemorates or celebrates a defining historical event (Schwartz, 2015).

A vast amount of literature is available on the assumed relationship between national commemorations and celebrations and national belonging (for an overview, see Woods & Tsang, 2014). Much of the canonical (often historical) work on this topic focuses on the top-down (elite) production of national commemorations, and assumes that the organisation and experience of national commemorations are effective in generating national attachments (Gillis, 1994; Spillman, 1997). This supply-side assumption, which Fox (2014) refers to as ‘the view from above’, has long gone unchallenged. More recent literature has, however, taken a more critical stance, emphasising that the extent to which national commemorations are associated with feelings of national belonging depends upon how they are perceived by the intended audience (Elgenius, 2011a; Etzioni, 2000; Fox, 2014; Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008; Geisler, 2009; Uzelac, 2010). This demand side of the equation is rather neglected in the field; and when it is studied, this is typically done with qualitative methods (for an exception, see Meuleman & Lubbers, 2013). The current study is one of the first quantitative analyses to empirically test the assumed relation between national commemorations and national belonging on the level of the individual.

While it is often assumed that the nation resonates evenly across the population, the nation is not a homogeneous whole. Instead, it is comprised of a highly fragmented population in terms of, for instance, ethnicity, age and gender. Even though national commemorations and celebrations have been argued to mean different things to different people (Fox, 2014; Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008; Geisler, 2009), little is known about how national commemorations and celebrations are perceived by different groups (Elgenius, 2011a). Later generations, as well as citizens with a foreign background, have been found to participate less in national commemorations and celebrations than earlier generations and citizens with a native background (Coopmans, Jaspers, & Lubbers, 2016; Verhue & Koenen, 2013). Unknown is whether the traditional ceremonies that accompany national commemorations and

celebrations – originally intended for a different audience than that of today – also function differently for different individuals. This is of crucial importance as national commemorations and celebrations that relate to national belonging for only a selective group of people could reinforce societal stratification by including some while excluding others (see Collins (2004) on ritual insiders and outsiders). The present study thus adds to the existing literature on rituals and national belonging by investigating the relationship between participation in national commemorations and celebrations and national belonging among different generations, as well as among different ethnic groups.

Finally, this study focuses not only on whether, but also which national commemorations and celebrations are associated with feelings of national belonging. Following previous work on the role of national commemorations and celebrations (Renan [1882] 1990; Smith, 2014), a distinction is made between commemorative and celebrative activities, as they may relate differently to national belonging. Furthermore, the implications of differentiating between national commemorations and national celebrations with a specific national focus and national commemorations and celebrations with a more global content are studied. Utilising data from a national survey, we focus on three national days in the Netherlands: Remembrance Day, Liberation Day and King's Day. The current study thus aims to answer the question: To what extent are different national commemorations and celebrations related to feelings of national belonging, and to what degree is this comparable across generations and ethnic groups?

4.2. National commemorations and celebrations in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, Remembrance Day, Liberation Day and King's Day are characteristic examples of days on which the nation commemorates or celebrates a historical event. Wars are prominent in national commemorations worldwide, especially the Second World War (Liu et al., 2005; McCrone & McPherson, 2009). In the Netherlands, Remembrance Day (*Dodenherdenking*) is held every year on 4 May and is a typical illustration of a national war commemoration. It was originally initiated to remember and honour the victims of the Second World War, and to help to reconstruct the nation and boost national identity (Vermolen, 1995). Since 1961, all civilians and members of the armed forces of the Kingdom of the Netherlands who have died during wars or peacekeeping missions since the outbreak of the Second World War are commemorated. Every year, commemoration ceremonies take place throughout the country and all citizens are invited to join in two minutes of silence at 8.00pm.

Liberation Day (*Bevrijdingsdag*), officially introduced in 1954 and held annually on 5 May, was intended as a day to celebrate the liberation of the nation from the German occupation of 1940–45. Nowadays, attention is also paid to current issues such as freedom and resistance to injustice worldwide (Vermolen, 1995). Although 5 May is only an official public holiday once every five years, the Dutch are invited to raise their flags annually and festivities are organised

every year throughout the whole country. King's Day (*Koningsdag*) is another example of a national celebration, but in honour of the head of the state. Similar celebrations are hosted annually as a major event in many countries (Zerubavel, 2003). King's Day has been declared a public holiday. Its content has remained similar over the years: at the end of April, the Dutch celebrate the birthday of the head of the state, and with it the existence of the monarchy, with a variety of festivities such as markets, music performances and gatherings for drinks. A highlight of the day is that the royal family visits several Dutch towns, which is nationally broadcasted.

4.3. Theory

4.3.1. *National commemorations and feelings of national belonging*

The scientific acknowledgement of rituals as an impulse for feelings of group solidarity and belonging dates back to Durkheim ([1912] 1995). According to Durkheim, rituals heighten a so-called 'collective effervescence' by producing a momentarily shared experience among its participants. Although this concerns a temporary state, collective effervescence assumedly carries over into more prolonged feelings of group solidarity (see Collins (2004) for a review). Even though many studies depart from this theoretical framework, Durkheim's work was based upon religious rites in small pre-industrial societies and does not necessarily apply to (post) modern societies. In the current study, we therefore build upon literature that has developed a more nuanced stance on the role of commemorations (Gillis, 1994; Spillman, 1997) and national days (Elgenius, 2011a; Etzioni, 2000; McCrone & McPherson, 2009; Uzelac, 2010; Woods & Tsang, 2014) for feelings of national belonging. It is argued that national symbols (e.g. flags, anthems) and ceremonies (e.g. national commemorations and celebrations) can visualize the nation and remind people of why they belong together. As such, they may function as rituals and might be associated with feelings of national belonging. This more recent research suggests that rituals can be carried out privately as well, whereas Durkheim assumed that physical co- presence was necessary for the integrative function of rituals. It is therefore expected that, regardless of whether carried out publicly or privately: *Participation in national commemorations is positively related to feelings of national belonging (H1).*

4.3.2. *Distinct types of rituals*

At the same time, it has been argued that no uniform impact of participation in national commemorations and celebrations on feelings of national belonging can be expected as these days are open to diverse and sometimes non-national meanings (Elgenius, 2011a; Geisler, 2009; Uzelac, 2010). The function of national commemorations and celebrations for the construction of national identities has been claimed to depend on the specific type of ritual. According to Smith (2014), it is important to distinguish between commemorative and

celebratory events. This argument is based upon Renan's ([1882] 1990) claim that "periods of mourning are worth more to national memory than triumphs because they impose duties and require a common effort" (p. 19). This is especially the case for cultural traumas, caused by events so terrible that they leave an irrevocable mark upon a group's consciousness and memories (Alexander, 2004). Considering the appalling events that happened in the Netherlands during the Second World War, with over 210,000 Dutch citizens lost to the war (Statistics Netherlands, 1949), this period can be considered a major cultural trauma for the country. Applying Renan's claim to the current research context therefore leads us to expect that: *Participation in Remembrance Day is related more strongly to feelings of national belonging than participation in Liberation Day (H2a) and King's Day (H2b).*

It is furthermore relevant to consider the extent to which the nation is the centre of attention on the day itself. Many national commemorations and celebrations have shifted focus over the years to adapt to changing societies (Elgenius, 2011b). This has also been the case in the Netherlands, where the 'national' aspect of Remembrance Day and Liberation Day has been replaced by a more differentiated way of commemorating, no longer focusing only on (Dutch) victims of the Second World War, but on freedom and resistance to injustice worldwide (Vermolen, 1995). Both days have thus gained a more global focus, creating room for a multiplicity of meanings. Instead of being associated with feelings of national belonging, participating may be more strongly related to feelings of solidarity with members of other nations. In contrast, King's Day still focuses solely on the celebration of the nation and the centrality of the monarchy, leaving less room for other meanings. Following this line of reasoning, we formulate an alternative hypothesis, namely: *Participation in King's Day is related more strongly to feelings of national belonging than participation in Remembrance Day (H3a) and Liberation Day (H3b).*

4.3.3. *Distinct types of audiences*

The ultimate outcome of national commemorations and celebrations has been claimed to depend upon how it is received by the (intended) audience (Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008; Geisler, 2009; Uzelac, 2010). Both generational cohort and ethnic origin are expected to be relevant in this context. Different birth cohorts recall different historical events, and these memories are derived mainly from events experienced in adolescence and early adulthood. Earlier generations, especially those who were between the ages of ten and thirty during the Second World War, were found to indicate this war as more important than were later cohorts (Schuman & Corning, 2012; Schuman & Scott, 1989). Hence, when participating in Remembrance Day and Liberation Day, earlier generations may more readily recall this trauma than later generations and as such may experience stronger feelings of national belonging.

In addition, different generations have been socialised with a different content of Remembrance Day and Liberation Day (Vermolen, 1995). Those born before 1961 have

grown up with days dedicated to the rebuilding of the nation and boosting national identity. In contrast, those born after 1961 have been socialised with an increasingly globalised content. Earlier generations may thus experience the national commemorations more in terms of a national context than later generations. In line with this argumentation, Verhue & Koenen (2013) found that older age groups more often specifically commemorated Dutch victims of the Second World War on Remembrance Day than did younger groups. On Liberation Day, older people were found to concentrate more intently on the link with the Second World War as well. Since both the past and present content of King's Day focuses on the national context, no generational differences are expected in the connection with feelings of national belonging for this day. It is predicted that: *The positive relationship between participation in Remembrance Day (H4a) and Liberation Day (H4b) and feelings of national belonging is less strong for later generations than for earlier generations.*

In addition to generational differences, the association between national commemorations and national belonging may depend on ethnic origin. Although reference to a shared past is expected to increase feelings of national belonging through a sense of collective effervescence, not all citizens share this history (Devine-Wright, 2001; Liu & Hilton, 2005). A substantial number of European societies today now consist of many distinct cultures and ethnicities (Castles, 2000). In the Netherlands, over 20% of the population has a foreign background (i.e. born abroad or with parents born abroad; Statistics Netherlands, 2014a). These groups may differ in the importance attached to certain historical events compared with residents with a native Dutch origin (see also Ribbens, 2004). In line with this argumentation, US emigrants from the former Soviet Union were found to indicate home country events as more important than historical events related to their current country of residence (Corning, 2010). Hence, although participation in national commemorations may still be associated with heightened feelings of collective belonging, for citizens with a non-native background the collective is not necessarily the host nation, but rather, their country of origin.

Whereas King's Day in the Netherlands leaves very limited room for alternative meanings, Remembrance Day and Liberation Day provide a possibility for citizens with a foreign origin to incorporate their own (personal and collective) memories of oppression and war. Especially for citizens with a non-native background, it may be easier to connect on such days with the collective narrative of their ethnic group than identify with an event that happened in the Dutch past. In line with this reasoning, people with a non-Western origin were found to more often mourn war victims worldwide on Remembrance Day than were native Dutch citizens (Verhue & Koenen, 2013). It is thus expected that: *The positive relationship between participation in Remembrance Day (H5a) and Liberation Day (H5b) and feelings of national belonging is less strong for citizens with a non-native origin than for citizens with a native Dutch origin.*

4.4. Methods

4.4.1. Data

This study uses data from the Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social Sciences (LISS) panel administered by CentERdata (Tilburg University, the Netherlands) through its MESS project funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research. The LISS panel is a representative sample of Dutch individuals who participate in monthly Internet surveys. The panel is based on a true probability sample of households drawn from the population register. Households that could not otherwise participate were provided with a computer and Internet connection. Data on the main variables of interest were collected in the 'Nationalism and national consumption' questionnaire in September 2011. The sample comprised 4,785 respondents aged sixteen years and older, with a non-response rate of 28.8%. In total, 131 respondents (2.7%) were list wise deleted because of missing values on all four items of our dependent variable. In addition, 135 respondents (2.8%) were excluded because their ethnic origin was unknown and fourteen (0.3%) more because of missing values on one of the other independent variables. The final sample consisted of 4,505 respondents. The age distribution of the sample is comparable to that of the Dutch population (Statistics Netherlands, 2014b). Respondents with a foreign background (12%) are under-represented compared to the Dutch population (21%) (Statistics Netherlands, 2014a).

4.4.2. Measures

Feelings of national belonging, our dependent variable, was measured by asking respondents to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the following four items: "My Dutch identity is an important part of myself"; "I feel really connected to other Dutch people"; "I am happy to be Dutch"; "I am proud to be Dutch". Answer categories ranged from (1) 'totally disagree' to (5) 'totally agree'. A factor score was created. Comparable items have been successfully used as (part of) a scale in other studies assessing perceived cohesion and national attachment (Bollen & Hoyle, 1990; Miller & Ali, 2013). A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted, applying maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard errors to accommodate a specific factor for non-normality. A high error covariance was revealed between the last two items. As both reflect feelings of morale (Bollen & Hoyle, 1990), there was sufficient theoretical ground to correlate the two items. This resulted in a satisfactory model fit ($\chi^2(1) = 10.79$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = 0.05; CFI = 1.00; TLI = 0.99).

Participation in national commemorations and celebrations was measured with respect to three different national days. First, to measure participation in Liberation Day, respondents were asked: "How often during the past 5 years have you hung the Dutch flag on 5 May, Liberation Day?" Second, to measure participation in Remembrance Day, respondents were asked: "How often during the past 5 years have you observed a two-minute silence on

Remembrance Day (4 May)?” Third, participation in King’s Day was measured by asking respondents: “How often during the past 5 years have you watched (a part of) the Queen’s visit on Queen’s Day (April 30), on television or by being present?”¹ Answer categories ranged from (0) ‘never’ to (5) ‘all five years’. Because the distribution of answers on all three variables was extremely skewed, dummy variables were created for participating ‘sometimes’ (one to three times) and ‘often’ (four to five times). Respondents who never participated acted as the reference category.

Generations were operationalised as birth cohorts and calculated based upon year of birth. In line with earlier research (Becker, 1992), a distinction was made between the following four birth cohorts: (1) 1910–45, including the pre-war generation (1910–30) and the ‘silent’ generation (1931–45); (2) 1946–55, also referred to as the ‘protest’ generation; (3) 1956–70, also called ‘generation X’; and (4) 1971–95, comprising the ‘pragmatic’ generation (1971–85) and the ‘boundless’ generation (1986–95).

Ethnic origin was measured using the country of birth of the respondent and his or her parents. The LISS panel distinction was made between native Dutch, (other) Western and non-Western.² Respondents were defined as native Dutch if they and both of their parents were born in the Netherlands. This is a commonly used definition in the Netherlands, based on Statistics Netherlands (www.cbs.nl). Respondents were classified as Western if they or one of their parents was born in Europe (excluding the Netherlands and Turkey), North America, Oceania, Japan or Indonesia.³ Non-Western respondents were coded as such if they or one of their parents was born in Turkey, Africa, Asia or Latin America.

Control variables included education, religious attendance, and gender – all found to be significant predictors of participation in national commemorations (Meuleman & Lubbers, 2013), as well as related to national identification and belonging (Sorek, 2011). *Educational level* consisted of seven categories and was operationalised as a continuous variable: (0) not yet started any education; (1) primary school (or: not yet completed any education); (2) intermediate secondary school; (3) higher secondary education; (4) intermediate vocational education; (5) higher vocational education; and (6) university. *Religious attendance* was measured with the item: “Aside from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious gatherings nowadays?” Answer categories ranged from (1) ‘never’ to (7) ‘every day’. A dummy variable for *male* was included. Finally, we included a dummy variable for those who did not own a Dutch flag.

¹ Until 2014, this day was named Queen’s Day, referring to the birthday of Queen Beatrix. As the data collection took place in 2011, this day was still labelled Queen’s Day. Throughout the text, we, however, refer to King’s Day.

² Although it would have been interesting to distinguish between countries that were and were not involved in the Second World War, the information available ethnic background was too limited to make such a distinction.

³ Persons with a Japanese and Indonesian background are classified as western based on their social and economic position in Dutch society.

4.4.3. Analytical strategy

As our dependent variable consisted of a latent variable, structural equation modelling was applied using Mplus, version 7 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012). Moreover, as we are dealing with clustered data (4,785 individuals within 3,232 households), non-independence of observations was considered by computing standard errors using a sandwich estimator (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2006). Multiple group analyses were conducted to compare the models across birth cohorts and ethnic groups. We tested for configural and metric invariance to examine whether the groups employ a similar conceptual framework and whether the latent variables have similar meanings across groups (van de Schoot, Lugtig, & Hox, 2012). Although only partially metric invariance was established across both birth cohorts⁴ and ethnic groups⁵, valid inferences can still be made if there are at least two loadings and intercepts that are constrained equal across groups (Byrne, Shavelson, & Muthén, 1989).

4.5. Results

4.5.1. Descriptive results

Descriptive statistics of the variables can be found in Table 4.1. On average, feelings of national belonging were relatively high, as respondents tended to agree with the statements given. An examination of our measures of participation in national commemorations and celebrations showed that the two-minute silence was most popular: only 12 per cent had never observed the two-minute silence over the past five years. Over 80 per cent of the sample had also observed the visit of the King on King's Day at least once. Hanging the flag on Liberation Day was least often done: over 60 per cent indicated to have never done this in a five-year-period, and 50 per cent of our sample did not even own a Dutch flag.

4.5.2. Explanatory results

4.5.2.1. National commemorations and celebrations and feelings of national belonging

Table 4.2 displays the results for feelings of national belonging. In model I, the parameters of participation in national commemorations are shown for the total sample, while controlling for generation and ethnic origin (as well as for level of education, religious attendance, gender and owning a flag). A satisfactory model fit was indicated ($\chi^2(46) = 319.05, p < .001$; RMSEA = 0.04; CFI = 0.97; TLI = 0.96). In line with expectations, respondents that more often participated in Remembrance Day, Liberation Day and King's Day reported higher

⁴ After freeing the factor loading of the items 'I am happy to be Dutch' for the oldest generation and 'My Dutch identity is an important part of myself' for the youngest generation, the difference with the unconstrained model proved no longer significant ($\Delta\chi^2(10) = 13.31, p = .21$).

⁵ After freeing the factor loading of the item 'I feel connected to other Dutch citizens' for the native Dutch group, the difference with the unconstrained model proved no longer significant ($\Delta\chi^2(7) = 9.57, p = .21$).

levels of national belonging than respondents that never participated. These findings support hypothesis 1: participation in national commemorations is positively related to feelings of national belonging.

In terms of effect sizes, the effects for Remembrance Day and Liberation Day were relatively weak, whereas Queen's Day had a relatively strong effect on feelings of national belonging. Wald tests of parameter constraints confirmed that participating often in King's Day was related significantly more strongly with national belonging than participating often in Remembrance Day and Liberation Day. The difference in effect size between Remembrance Day and Liberation Day proved not significant. Comparable results were found when comparing those who never participated versus those who sometimes participated. These findings are in line with hypothesis 3: participation in King's Day is related more strongly to feelings of national belonging than participation in Remembrance Day (3a) and Liberation Day (3b). As participation in Remembrance Day was not related more strongly to feelings of national belonging than participation in Liberation Day (2a) and King's Day (2b), hypothesis 2 had to be rejected.

4.5.2.2. *A comparison across generations*

Models II–V (Table 4.2) show the results of the multiple group analysis conducted across generations. Model fit measures indicated a good fit ($\chi^2(155) = 338.93, p < .001$; RMSEA = 0.03; CFI = 0.98; TLI = 0.97). The relationship between participation in Remembrance Day and feelings of national belonging significantly differed between generations. While for those born in the periods 1910–45, 1955–70 and 1970–95 no significant connection was observed, for those born between 1945 and 1955 a positive, moderately strong relationship was found among those often participating. Wald tests further specified that this association was significantly stronger than for the 1910–45 and 1970–95 cohorts. The difference with the 1955–70 cohort proved not significant. Comparable results were found for those sometimes participating. These findings are partially in line with hypothesis 4a. While the two younger age cohorts indeed show less strong relationships between participation in Remembrance Day and national belonging, it is the 1945–55 cohort that displays the strongest connection.

The relationship between participation in Liberation Day and national belonging also differed between generations. Here, moderately strong, positive associations were found only for the 1955–70 and 1970–95 cohorts, in other words, the later cohorts. Wald tests displayed particularly strong differences between those sometimes participating. The 1955–70 and 1970–95 cohorts differed significantly from the 1910–45 and 1945–55 cohorts. Overall, these findings contradict hypothesis 4b, as the relationship between participation in Liberation Day and feelings of national belonging was stronger for later than for earlier generations. As expected, no generational differences were found in the connection between participation in King's Day and feelings of national belonging.

Table 4.1. *Descriptive statistics of the variables (N = 4,505).*

Variables	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
<i>National belonging</i>				
My Dutch identity is an important part of myself	1	5	3.63	0.96
I feel connected to other Dutch people	1	5	3.41	0.91
I am happy to be Dutch	1	5	3.91	0.81
I am proud to be Dutch	1	5	3.70	0.92
<i>Remembrance Day</i>				
Never	0	1	0.12	
Sometimes	0	1	0.14	
Often	0	1	0.74	
<i>Liberation Day</i>				
Never	0	1	0.61	
Sometimes	0	1	0.11	
Often	0	1	0.28	
<i>King's Day</i>				
Never	0	1	0.19	
Sometimes	0	1	0.38	
Often	0	1	0.43	
<i>Ethnic origin</i>				
Non-Western	0	1	0.04	
Western	0	1	0.07	
Native Dutch	0	1	0.89	
<i>Generations</i>				
1910-45	0	1	0.22	
1945-55	0	1	0.23	
1955-70	0	1	0.27	
1970-95	0	1	0.28	
Education	1	9	3.50	1.52
Religious attendance	1	7	2.04	1.51
Male	0	1	0.46	
No flag	0	1	0.47	

Table 4.2. Models for national belonging for the total sample and across generations.

	(I) Total		(II) 1910-1945		(III) 1945-1955		(IV) 1955-1970		(V) 1970-1995	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
<i>Remembrance Day</i> (ref. never)										
Sometimes	.037 ^a	.049	-.146 ⁱ	.111	.189 ^{i,ii}	.110	.120 ^{iii,iii}	.086	-.034 ⁱⁱⁱ	.091
Often	.092 ^a	.043	-.061 ⁱ	.090	.232 ^{a,ii}	.099	.125 ^{iii,iii}	.077	.038 ^{i,ii}	.079
<i>Liberation Day</i> (ref. never)										
Sometimes	.125 ^{a,ab}	.043	-.029 ⁱ	.092	.025 ⁱ	.077	.257 ^{a,ii}	.074	.199 ^{a,ii}	.088
Often	.071 ^{† a}	.036	-.008 ⁱ	.072	.085 ^{i,ii}	.090	.140 ^{† ii}	.072	.069 ^{i,ii}	.072
<i>King's Day</i> (ref. never)										
Sometimes	.183 ^{a,ab}	.034	.179 ^{a,i}	.087	.168 ^{a,i}	.080	.214 ^{a,ii}	.062	.175 ^{a,ii}	.057
Often	.348 ^{a,ab}	.036	.395 ^{a,ii}	.085	.357 ^{a,ii}	.079	.315 ^{a,ii}	.066	.348 ^{a,ii}	.063
<i>Generations</i> (ref. 1910-45)										
1945-55	-.103 ^{**}	.034								
1955-70	-.230 ^{***}	.033								
1970-95	-.224 ^{***}	.034								
<i>Ethnic origin</i> (ref. native)										
Non-Western	-.223 ^{**}	.070	-.065	.273	-.182	.191	-.306 ^{**}	.116	-.152 [†]	.089
Western	-.311 ^{***}	.050	-.420 ^{***}	.107	-.133	.092	-.215 [*]	.095	-.480 ^{***}	.096
Education	-.043 ^{***}	.008	-.080 ^{***}	.016	-.077 ^{***}	.016	-.034 [*]	.017	.015	.015
Religious	.012	.008	.015	.014	.024	.016	-.014	.015	.009	.014
Male	-.014	.020	-.104 [*]	.046	.055	.046	.002	.040	.013	.040
No flag	-.092 ^{**}		-.201 ^{**}	.075	-.121	.077	-.03	.064	-.098	.062

† $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; a,b,i,ii,iii effects with different superscripts differ significantly from each other (p one-sided $< .05$).

Table 4.3. *Models for national belonging across ethnic groups.*

	(I) Non-Western		(II) Western		(III) Native	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
<i>Remembrance Day</i> (ref. never)						
Sometimes	.038 ^a	.186	.103 ^a	.188	.016 ^a	.052
Often	.432 ^{*a}	.174	.133 ^b	.172	.056 ^b	.045
<i>Liberation Day</i> (ref. never)						
Sometimes	.661 ^{*a}	.213	-.077 ^b	.179	.126 ^{**b}	.044
Often	.442 ^a	.269	.059 ^{a,b}	.156	.073 ^{*b}	.037
<i>King's Day</i> (ref. never)						
Sometimes	.488 ^{*a}	.162	.181 ^b	.144	.163 ^{***b}	.035
Often	.662 ^{***a}	.147	.414 ^{*a,b}	.153	.321 ^{***b}	.037
<i>Generations</i> (ref. 1910-45)						
1945-55	-.072	.200	.204	.145	-.126 ^{***}	.034
1955-70	-.306	.184	.011	.154	-.243 ^{***}	.033
1970-95	-.147	.172	-.229	.158	-.227 ^{***}	.035
<i>Controls</i>						
Education	-.020	.040	-.074 [*]	.033	-.042 ^{***}	.008
Religious attendance	-.019	.031	.046	.038	.014 [†]	.008
Male	-.041	.116	-.057	.104	-.013	.021
No flag	-.119	.177	-.292 [*]	.133	-.070	.035

† $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; ^{a, b} effects with different superscripts differ significantly from each other (p one-sided $< .05$).

4.5.2.3. *A comparison across ethnic groups*

Table 4.3 displays the results of the multiple group analysis across ethnic groups. A satisfactory model fit was indicated ($\chi^2(125) = 390.54$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = 0.04; CFI = 0.97; TLI = 0.96). For all three national days, the relationship with feelings of national belonging differed between ethnic groups. For Remembrance Day, only non-Western respondents who often participated had a significantly higher level of national belonging than those never participating. In terms of effect size, this relationship was considered strong. For respondents with a native Dutch or other Western origin, the effect sizes were considerably smaller. Wald tests confirmed the presence of ethnic group differences. These findings contradict hypothesis 5a, as participation in Remembrance Day was related more strongly to feelings of national belonging for citizens with a non-native origin than for citizens with a native Dutch origin.

For Liberation Day, both respondents with a non-Western origin and native Dutch respondents who often participated reported higher feelings of national belonging than those who never participated. However, the effect sizes for the native Dutch were substantially smaller than for the non-Western respondents. Wald tests confirmed that the relationship

between Liberation Day and national belonging was significantly stronger for respondents with a non-Western background than for those with a Western or native Dutch origin. Hypothesis 5b was therefore rejected. Comparable results were found for King's Day. Additional analyses showed that the ethnic group differences in associations between participation in national commemorations and feelings of national belonging were mainly evident for citizens who were *born* in a non-Western country, whereas the results of those born in the Netherlands, but with one or two parents born abroad, were more comparable to those found for native Dutch citizens (see Appendix Table A4.1).

4.6. Conclusion and discussion

This chapter examined to what extent different national commemorations and celebrations are related to feelings of national belonging, and to what degree this is comparable across generations and ethnic groups. While an increasing number of authors have called for more systematic research into the assumed relationship between national commemorations and individual feelings of national belonging (Elgenius, 2011a; Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008; Geisler, 2009; Uzelac, 2010), the current study is one of the first to quantitatively examine this relationship while taking into account that a nation is not comprised of a homogeneous population.

For all three national days in the Netherlands (Remembrance Day, Liberation Day and King's Day), the results indicate that the more frequently people participate, the stronger feelings of national belonging. These findings suggest that the integrative role of rituals also holds in modern societies, regardless of whether people are physically present or participate at home (Woods & Tsang, 2014). Yet, as the current results are based on cross-sectional data, we must be careful with drawing conclusions that suggest causality. Experimental or longitudinal data are therefore needed to be able to make more firm conclusions regarding the direction of the relationship between participation in national commemorations and celebrations and feelings of national belonging. Moreover, whereas a relatively strong association with national belonging was found for King's Day, for Remembrance Day and Liberation Day this relationship was considerably weaker. Our findings therefore do not support earlier claims that commemorations have a stronger unifying function than celebrations (Renan, 1990; Smith, 2014). Instead, the strength of the relationship between national commemorations and celebrations and national belonging seemed to depend more upon the extent to which the nation was the focus of attention on that day.

A possible explanation for this finding relates to the visibility of national symbols. Geisler (2009) argued that if national symbols (e.g. flags, anthem, parades) are not omnipresent during national commemorations and celebrations, national commemorations and celebrations are weak and unstable signifiers of national belonging. While King's Day is characterised by Dutch flags, orange clothing (the Dutch national colour) and a royal tour,

on Remembrance Day and Liberation Day national symbols play a much smaller role. Another explanation is provided by Elgenius (2011a). She states that successful national commemorations and celebrations are as a rule public holidays, on which official and private celebrations are integrated or follow each other. While this is true for King's Day, this is not the case for Remembrance Day (which consists mainly of evening events surrounding the two-minute silence at 8.00 p.m.) or Liberation Day (which is only an official public holiday once every five years). Cross-national comparisons are needed to examine whether these results also hold in countries where national symbols are more visible on days of national commemoration and celebration, such as the USA.

The relationship between national commemorations and celebrations and national belonging was also found to differ between generations, as well as between ethnic groups. Contrary to expectations, more frequent participation in Remembrance Day was associated with stronger feelings of national belonging for the 1945–55 cohort only. This finding is best explained by a socialisation mechanism. Those born between 1945 and 1955 were raised with a version of Remembrance Day that focused on rebuilding the nation and boosting national identity (Vermolen, 1995). Later generations have instead been socialised with a more globalised content. Furthermore, even though earlier research found pre-war cohorts to rate the Second World War as more important than did later cohorts (Schuman & Corning, 2012; Schuman & Scott, 1989), for those who have personally experienced the war it may not be 'national' feelings that resurface when participating in national commemorations, but emotions connected to a more personal trauma. This explanation is in line with findings of a qualitative analysis by Ester, Vinken, and Diepstraten (2002), in which they showed that whereas earlier generations consider the Second World War to be a drastic turning point in their personal lives, later generations more often underline its political value.

For Liberation Day, only those born after 1955 showed heightened levels of national belonging with more frequent participation. These findings support Elgenius (2011) in her claim that national commemorations and celebrations can be perceived as meaningful by generations that are further removed from the historical events that initially produced them. At the same time, our results show that the story is slightly more complex. While for later generations Liberation Day appears more important in terms of national belonging than Remembrance Day, for earlier generations it is the other way around. Again, a socialisation explanation is in place, as Liberation Day was officially introduced only in 1954 and initially not very successful (Vermolen, 1995). In line with Fox and Miller-Idriss (2008), national commemorations and celebrations thus seem to be multivalent: they have different meanings for different people. An interesting avenue for further research would therefore be to learn more about ways in which people are socialised into participating in different national commemorations and celebrations (e.g. media, school, and friends), and potential consequences for the various feelings, attitudes, and behaviours associated with participating.

For citizens with a non-Western origin, more frequent participation in national commemorations and celebrations was more strongly related to a sense of national belonging than it was for citizens with a native Dutch or other Western background. This difference was most evident among citizens *born* in another country. A possible explanation is provided by Fox and Miller-Idriss (2008), who argue that for most citizens national commemorations that have taken place decade after decade have become ‘ordinary’ ceremonies. In contrast, for citizens who grew up in a different country these days may still be extraordinary, and therefore strongly connected to feelings of national belonging. For immigrants with powerful integrative aspirations, national commemorations and celebrations are also an opportunity to reaffirm (for them and for their environment) their Dutch national identity, whilst this is less the case for citizens with a native Dutch background. These findings are in line with previous research in the USA (Corning & Schuman, 2013), and highlight the close associations between immigrants’ participation in national commemorations and celebrations organised by the host country and their sense of (host) national belonging.

Of course, we should also pay attention to alternative explanations of the current findings due to limitations of our measurements. While our measurement of Liberation Day included a condition in which we distinguished between those who did and did not own a flag, and as such selected only those people who chose to participate, keeping silent on Remembrance Day is so omnipresent (particularly in the media) that not participating is far more difficult. As such, we must be careful with our conclusions regarding the comparisons between the different national commemorations and celebrations. Moreover, whereas previous research has distinguished between multiple dimensions of nationalistic feelings (i.e. patriotism and chauvinism; Coenders, Gijsberts, & Scheepers, 2004), we relied on a rather narrow measurement of belonging that consisted mostly of feelings of love for and pride in one’s people and country. Earlier studies that did distinguish between patriotism and chauvinism, however, found no evidence of a relationship between chauvinism (i.e. national superiority) and participation in national commemorations (Meuleman & Lubbers, 2013). Alternatively, it may not necessarily be *national* belonging that is bolstered on Remembrance Day and Liberation Day, but perhaps a more general sense of connectedness or solidarity. Future research would benefit from a more elaborate examination of distinct types of connectedness, as well as distinct types of activities related to national commemorations and celebrations, for instance between more active forms of participation (i.e. actual attendance) and more passive forms (e.g. via media).

All in all, this study highlights that more attention should be paid to potential group differences in the relationship between national commemorations and celebrations and national belonging. As argued earlier, heightened feelings of belonging for only a selective group of people could reinforce societal stratification by including some while excluding others (Collins, 2004). It is therefore important to realise the association between participation in national commemorations and celebrations and feelings of national belonging differs between generations, as well as between ethnic groups.



Chapter 5

Dutch Liberation festivals: a vehicle to more politically active young citizens, or merely the same selective audience?¹

ABSTRACT. In this chapter, I follow up on claims made on the motivating role of national commemorations for young people's political participation. Utilising cross-sectional data from a Dutch adolescent panel and focusing on a commemoration activity popular amongst young people in the Netherlands, I empirically test to what extent participation in Dutch Liberation festivals amongst young adults (aged 19-20 years old) is associated with their inclinations to vote. To examine whether the association is spurious, I account for several factors previously identified as important determinants of young citizens' broader civic engagement, including parental communication about civic issues, citizenship activities offered at school, and various sociodemographic characteristics. Although the relationship between festival attendance and voting intentions is partially explained by a more general civic socialisation process, as indicated by the role of parental civic communication, the results suggest that Dutch Liberation festivals do have a motivating effect on young people's voting intentions. Moreover, the results show that individuals with different educational trajectories or socioeconomic backgrounds have similar chances of attending the Liberation festivals, highlighting the potential of Dutch Liberation festivals to promote political participation amongst all young people equally. At the same time, festivals are less often attended by youth identifying with a non-Dutch ethnic background, thereby risking reinforcing gaps in political engagement between youth with and without a migration background.

¹ This chapter is single-authored by Manja Coopmans, and currently under review at an international scientific journal. Coopmans started with an outline of this chapter during her internship with Duane Alwin at Pennsylvania State University, who provided valuable insights and suggestions. The idea was further developed in Utrecht. The additional data collection necessary for this chapter was coordinated by Coopmans, with special thanks to Karlijn Soppe and Sara Geven. Earlier versions of this chapter were presented at the 'CILS4EU 2015 conference' in Stockholm, the 'Migration and Social Stratification' seminar in Utrecht, and the '111th ASA Annual Meeting' in Seattle. The author thanks participants in those sessions for their helpful comments, and is especially grateful for the insightful suggestions of Eva Jaspers, Tanja van der Lippe, Marcel Lubbers, Miles Hewstone, Sabrina De Regt, Sara Geven, and Bas Hofstra on previous drafts of this chapter.

5.1. Introduction

Political participation is considered an important aspect of active citizenship and crucial for an effective democracy (Putnam, 2000). According to Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995), political participation can be described as “voluntary activities by ordinary people directed towards influencing directly or indirectly political outcomes at various levels of the political system” (p. 38). Over the past few decades, an intense debate soared in both the United States and Europe regarding a potential decline in levels of political participation amongst young people – at least when looking at more traditional forms such as voting (Fieldhouse et al., 2007; Putnam, 2000; Russo & Stattin, 2017; Sloam, 2014). The last parliamentary elections in the Netherlands in 2017, for instance, showed that despite a significant turnout (81.9%), the percentage of young people who voted (i.e. those between 18 and 24 years old) dropped from 77 per cent in the 2012 parliamentary elections to 67 per cent in 2017 (NOS, 2017), a decline of almost 125,000 young citizens. Amongst youngsters who (had) followed a vocational educational track (as compared to those in college or university education), turnout was even lower.

This falling voter turnout amongst young people is worrisome, as it means an unequal representation of young people’s voices in politics, thereby threatening the democratic ideal of political equality, and potentially resulting in young people becoming even more marginalised from electoral politics. Moreover, the act of (not) voting is itself habit-forming (Coppock & Green, 2016; Plutzer, 2002), meaning that not voting at a young age decreases chances of voting in future elections. A prominent example of an attempt to counter the declining political participation amongst young citizens is the promoting of youth’s involvement in civic (i.e. non-political) activities, for instance by organising extra-curricular citizenship activities at school (Geboers, Geijsel, Admiraal, & Dam, 2013), or by stimulating them to join voluntary organisations (McFarland & Thomas, 2006). Recent studies, however, show that civic involvement is often highly segregated, with higher educated, politically engaged citizens more likely to join in civic activities (Sloam, 2014; Van Ingen & Van der Meer, 2016). The quality of citizenship education offered at school also varies substantially (Geboers et al., 2013; Manning & Edwards, 2014), providing young people with unequal chances of developing into politically active citizens.

A potentially interesting alternative are Dutch Liberation festivals, organised annually on 5 May to commemorate the end of the Second World War in 1945, and the enduring freedom in the Netherlands since. Although Dutch Liberation festivals are most popular for the musical performances of famous artists, they are also meant to raise awareness of core democratic rights and values such as freedom, tolerance, and respect. Dutch Liberation festivals are but one example of the many activities that are annually organised around the world to commemorate the Second World War (Liu et al., 2005; McCrone & McPherson, 2009). During the past decade, the discussion on whether the national past and the associated (institutionalised) rituals to commemorate this past – that is, national commemorations – are

able to promote (democratic) citizenship values and behaviours, and political participation in particular, has resurfaced (Elgenius, 2011b; Haskins, 2015; Liu & Hilton, 2005). Building on Durkheim's ([1912] 1995) assumption that rituals have the ability to reinforce shared beliefs within a society, several reports – especially in the educational sector – have connected commemoration of a national past to political engagement amongst young citizens (Cowan et al., 2014; Van Nieuwenhuyse & Wils, 2012). Empirical research on the relationship between young citizens' commemorative and political participation is, however, scarce.

The combination of popular culture and content gives informal commemorations such as Dutch Liberation festivals the potential to promote more political awareness amongst all youth equally. Whereas more formal commemorations have been argued to be mainly attended by an elite audience (Fox, 2014), this is different for more informal commemorative activities. The Liberation festivals are free of charge and organised in 14 different cities across the country, thereby creating opportunities to reach a large segment of the population. Annually, around one million citizens visit one of the 14 festivals, of which 50 per cent is under the age of 25 (De Regt & Van Der Lippe, in press). At the same time, the fact that the festivals are most known for their music and take place only once a year makes it questionable to what extent they can impact people's behaviours. An alternative explanation of positive associations between young people's festival attendance and their political participation is therefore that both commemorative and political participation are outcomes of a more general civic socialisation process (including both non-political and political socialisation), and we are, in fact, looking at a spurious association.

Utilising data from a representative sample of Dutch young adults (aged 19-20 years old) from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in the Netherlands (CILSNL), the present chapter contributes to the existing literature by examining the extent to which their participation in Dutch Liberation festivals positively influences their inclination to vote. Applying structural equation modelling, I test the relationship between young adults' festival attendance and voting intentions whilst simultaneously including a number of factors that have traditionally been considered important determinants of young adults' broader civic engagement (Amnå, 2012; Verba et al., 1995), including parental communication about civic issues, citizenship activities offered at school, and various sociodemographic characteristics. In doing so, this chapter is one of the first to structurally test whether (informal) commemorative participation promotes young adults' political participation, or whether we are merely looking at the same 'selective' audience.

5.2. Theory

5.2.1. *National commemorations and young adults' political participation*

National commemorations are institutionalised rituals organised on designated dates on which a nation commemorates a defining event in its history as a nation (Schwartz, 2015).

According to Renan ([1882] 1990), the commemoration of a national trauma imposes a sense of duty on citizens by staging experiences that emphasise the importance of common efforts to avoid repeating history. As such, national war commemorations have been argued to work as civic lessons through which people come to accept and internalise societal norms, values, and responsibilities (Haskins, 2015). This usage of commemorations as ‘lessons from the past’ is also visible in many European war commemorations, Dutch Liberation festivals included, that use memories of the Second World War to focus on democratic values such as freedom, equality, and justice (Liu et al., 2005). At every Dutch Liberation festival, for instance, a ‘Square of Freedom’ is present, where non-governmental organisations share stories of the past, such as the Netherlands Veterans Institute, and inform visitors of current issues relating to the fragility of freedom in the Netherlands and abroad, such as Amnesty International, the Red Cross, and ProDemos. During the many musical performances, attention is also paid to past and present wars, for instance by the ‘Ambassadors of Freedom’, who travel across the country to perform at several Liberation festivals.

In addition to functioning as a ‘lesson from the past’, it has been argued that commemorative rituals remind citizens of why they belong together by producing a momentarily shared experience amongst its participants, heightening what Durkheim ([1912] 1995) referred to as ‘collective effervescence’. Supposedly, the temporary sense of collective consciousness that follows from participating in commemorative rituals not only carries over into more persistent feelings, but also increases an urge to act and contribute to the group’s – or in this case society’s – well-being (see Collins 2004 for a review). Dutch Liberation festivals try to accomplish a feeling of shared belonging during the ‘Five to Five moment’, in which visitors of all 14 festivals are invited to dance simultaneously to the same song and ‘pass along the freedom’, which is symbolised by large balloons that are let loose over the audience. The ‘Fire of Liberation’ that is carried across the country and burns at all festivals is another reference to a shared national past.

The combination of a heightened sense of duty and increased awareness of democratic values and the importance of a democratic system, which supposedly follow from attending a Dutch Liberation festival, increase one’s chances of translating the above described urge to act, which is also supposed to follow from participating in commemorative rituals, into concrete actions to contribute to the continuance of democracy, of which political participation is considered a key aspect (Putnam, 2000). This reasoning is consistent with behavioural theories such as Ajzen’s (1991) theory of planned behaviour. Obviously, many forms of political participation exist. One of the most visible forms that adolescents grow up with in a democracy, however, is voting in local, national, and international elections. In the Netherlands, for instance, municipality and parliamentary elections are held every four years, and elections for the European parliament every five years. Voting is also one of the least demanding forms of political participation compared to, for instance, working for a political campaign or participating in a political protest (Verba et al., 1995), and therefore a logical

first step for young people in the process of political participation. I therefore hypothesise that: *Young people who have attended a Dutch Liberation festival are more inclined to vote (H1).*

5.2.2. *Alternative explanations of associations between commemorative and political participation*

An alternative explanation of positive associations between young people's Liberation festival attendance and their inclinations to vote is that the association is caused by other factors predicting *both* commemorative and political participation, that is, a spurious relationship. In this chapter, I distinguish between two types of alternative explanations. First, I am interested in the extent to which commemorative and political activities are outcomes of a more general civic socialisation process. In this case, commemorative and political participation are both considered expressions of a certain level of civic engagement, a term used to describe a wide range of citizenship attitudes and behaviours, including, but not limited to, participation in political, social, and even cultural activities (Adler & Goggin, 2005; Amnå, 2012). I look at two environments that are thought to be crucial for young people's civic socialisation: the home and the school environment. In both cases, I focus on socialisation forms that directly address civic issues: by communicating with one's parents about social or political issues, or via citizenship education at school. Second, to examine selection processes as an alternative explanation of associations between commemorative and political participation, I consider several sociodemographic characteristics that previous studies have shown to be particularly relevant in predicting levels of civic engagement, namely educational trajectory, socioeconomic status, and ethnic origin (Verba et al., 1995).

5.2.2.1. *The home environment: parental civic communication*

Traditional socialisation theories often consider the family – and the primary caregivers, most often the parents, in particular – as the most likely agents of socialisation during adolescence (Glass et al., 1986; Parsons & Bales, 1956). Literature focusing more specifically on civic participation has also highlighted the crucial role of parents' civic orientations in their children's civic socialisation process (Beck & Jennings, 1982; Verba & Nie, 1972). Following up on this, numerous studies have shown that parents exert a substantial influence on the civic attitudes and behaviours of their children, especially during childhood and adolescence (Hooghe & Boonen, 2015; Jaspers et al., 2008). One way in which this learning process may commence is through communication. Talking about civic issues or events in everyday life not only teaches children about important societal topics, but also clarifies their parents' values and beliefs, which increases the likelihood of children adopting similar attitudes and behaviours (Jennings et al., 2009; Quintelier, 2015b).

Moreover, it creates an environment in which children are actively familiarised with a civic engagement, including, as discussed, not only political attitudes and behaviours, but also social and cultural ones. Schmid (2012), for instance, found that, in family environments in

which discussions about civic issues were more frequent, adolescents were also more aware of what it meant to act in a socially responsible way, a concept closely related to one of the key aspects of civic engagement, namely the willingness to be committed to the well-being of a larger group (Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002). Talking about civic topics with one's parents can thus be expected to heighten levels of civic engagement, thereby increasing chances of participating in activities *expressing* this engagement, for instance through voting, but also through participation in nationally organised commemorations. I therefore hypothesise that: *The association between young people's previous Liberation festival attendance and their inclination to vote is partially explained by parental civic communication (H2).*

5.2.2.2. The school environment: extra-curricular citizenship activities

Another important socialising agent facilitating the civic socialisation process of young citizens is the school. Not only does general education aid the development of basic knowledge and skills necessary for civic engagement (Verba et al., 1995), citizenship has, since the 1990s, been introduced as a compulsory school subject in almost all European countries, the Netherlands included (Eurydice, 2012). One of the main goals of citizenship education in the Netherlands is to foster active citizenship amongst young people, which includes, amongst others, active political participation, but also being able to fulfil social, everyday life tasks that are part of being a citizen, such as acting in a socially responsible manner, and commitment to manifestations of Dutch culture (Ten Dam, Geijssel, Reumerman, & Ledoux, 2011; Ten Dam & Volman, 2007). It is, however, left to schools to decide to what extent and in what way they want to accomplish this. Hence, young people's citizenship outcomes can be expected to differ depending upon the emphasis that is placed upon citizenship education by the school the student attends.

Although empirical research on the effects of citizenship education on young people's civic engagement has provided mixed evidence, extra-curricular citizenship activities (i.e. additional student activities supervised by the school to help foster active citizenship amongst their students), such as voluntary service activities or a visit to parliament, seem promising, at least where the political aspect of citizenship behaviour is concerned (Geboers et al., 2013). This form of 'learning by doing' offers students active, participative experiences that help them acquire both a more realistic picture of what civic engagement looks like, as well as an opportunity to practise specific skills that will help them develop into civically active citizens. Supporting this line of argumentation, students participating in extra-curricular citizenship activities such as a school council or a visit to parliament or a museum have been found to be more interested in civic affairs and social problems, as well as being more politically active later in life (Geboers et al., 2013; Hoskins, Janmaat, & Villalba, 2012; Keating & Janmaat, 2016). Following this line of argumentation, young people who attended a

school that paid more attention to citizenship education in the form of extra-curricular citizenship activities can be expected to develop into more actively participating citizens, both in terms of commemorative and political participation. Hence, I hypothesise that: *The association between young people's previous Liberation festival attendance and their inclination to vote is partially explained by the extra-curricular citizenship activities offered at school (H3).*

5.2.2.3 Sociodemographic factors

In addition to the forms of civic socialisation discussed above, previous research on civic participation has identified several sociodemographic characteristics that determine levels of civic engagement in general and electoral participation in particular. Two of the most consistent ones are socioeconomic status and level of education, which both work as resources enabling people to engage in politics (Bovens & Wille, 2010; Verba et al., 1995). Building on Bourdieu's (1996) theory of social and cultural reproduction, studies have shown that young people from families with more resources have higher chances of becoming politically active citizens (McFarland & Thomas, 2006; Sloam, 2014). Educational level and socioeconomic status have also been found to predict commemorative participation (Lubbers & Meuleman, 2016). Hence, I expect that: *The association between young people's previous Liberation festival attendance and their inclination to vote is partially explained by their level of education (H4a) and the socioeconomic status of their parents (H4b).*

A third demographic characteristic I believe to be relevant when examining relationships between commemorative and political participation is migration background. Previous studies have shown lower levels of political engagement amongst citizens with a migration background, often explained by lower levels of socio-cultural integration, socioeconomic status, and feelings of identification with the politics of the country of origin (De Rooij, 2012; Sanders, Fisher, Heath, & Sobolewska, 2014; White et al., 2008). Differences in voting behaviours are less apparent for children of immigrants (Humphries, Muller, & Schiller, 2013; Quintelier, 2009). Levels of commemorative participation are also lower amongst citizens with a (non-Western) migration background (Coopmans et al., 2016). This is not surprising: Second World War commemorations in Europe are often focused on the history of the native population, as large-scale immigration did not start until after the war (Messina, 2007). For young people born in the Netherlands, the extent to which their migration background impacts their participation can be expected to depend on their identification with their ethnic origin. I therefore hypothesise that: *The association between young people's previous Liberation festival attendance and their inclination to vote is partially explained by their ethnic identification (H5).*

5.3. Methods

5.3.1. Data

We make use of the fifth wave of the ‘Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in the Netherlands’ (CILSNL), which is a continuation of the Dutch part of the ‘Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries’ (CILS4EU). The panel study describes the life courses of adolescents of native and immigrant descent in the Netherlands. The first wave was collected in 2010 amongst 14-year-old adolescents in their third grade of secondary school. A three-stage stratified sample design was applied, with an oversampling of schools with a high share of students of non-Western origin. The initial response rate amongst schools in the Netherlands was 34.9 per cent. To increase this participation rate, schools that refused were replaced with schools highly similar to the initially sampled schools, leading to a school-level participation rate of 91.7 per cent, with a class-level participation rate of 94.5 per cent and a student-level participation rate of 91.1 per cent.

In total, 4,963 pupils in 252 classes in 118 schools participated in the first wave, including a subset of 600 students who were not part of the original sampling frame (for more information on sampling design and response rates, see CILS4EU, 2016). As changes in class composition between the third and fourth year of secondary school are common in the Netherlands, in the second wave, schools were asked to participate with all fourth-grade classes that held initial first wave respondents. Consequently, 2,118 additional students were interviewed. In subsequent waves, all 7,081 respondents were approached. Information on our main variables of interest, commemorative and political participation, was collected in the fifth wave of CILSNL in 2015 (Jaspers & van Tubergen, 2015). In this wave, all respondents were at least 18 years old, and thus allowed to vote. Information on extra-curricular citizenship activities offered at the participating schools was collected in 2016 in the CILSNL Citizenship Education project (Coopmans, 2016). To merge the school-data with the individual-level data, information from the earlier waves was used. For the construction of educational level, parental socioeconomic status, and parental communication, data from the first four waves was used as well (Jaspers & van Tubergen, 2014; Kalter et al., 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). For a more extensive overview of which wave was used for which measurement, see Appendix A5.1.²

To overcome power issues and ensure a large enough sample size, I initially kept all respondents who completed the questionnaire in the fifth wave ($N = 3,761$). Information on citizenship activities organised at school was available for 1,935 respondents. Respondents with missing values on our variables of interest were excluded. Most missing values were found for parental civic communication ($N = 235$) and parental socioeconomic status ($N =$

² CILS4EU was funded by the NORFACE ERA NET Plus Migration in Europe-programme. CILSNL is part of the research programme *Investeren in Middelgroot MaGW* [project number 480-11-013], which is (partly) financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).

224). In total, 1,513 respondents had valid information on all variables of interest, originally sampled from 58 different schools. Although a drastically smaller sample size than our initial sample, this is the first dataset that allows for the testing of associations between young adults' commemorative and political participation, whilst considering potentially confounding factors at the individual *and* school level.

5.3.2. Measures

Voting intentions, our dependent variable, was measured by asking respondents: "If parliamentary elections were held today, for which party would you vote?" Answer categories comprised all major parties in the Netherlands, as well as the options 'other party', 'I don't know', 'blank', and 'I would not vote'. A dichotomous variable was created, distinguishing between people who indicated that they would not vote, and people who intended to vote, including those voting 'blank'. Since I do not know whether respondents who responded with 'I don't know' were unsure of *whether* they would vote or of *which party* they would vote for (i.e. if they would fall in the category voters or non-voters), they were coded as missing and excluded from our analyses ($N = 364$).

Participation in Dutch Liberation festivals was measured by asking respondents how often in the past years they had visited a Liberation festival on 5 May. Response categories were: (0) 'never'; (1) 'sometimes'; (2) 'almost always'. As I am more interested in factors predicting whether young adults attend at all than I am in factors that predict whether adolescents attend every year versus only once or twice, a dichotomous variable was created, distinguishing between respondents who had never attended a Liberation festival versus respondents who had either sometimes or almost always attended a Liberation festival.

Parental civic communication was measured by asking respondents: "How often do your parents talk with you about political and social topics?" Response categories were: (0) 'every day'; (1) 'at least once a week'; (2) 'at least once a month'; (3) 'less often'; (4) 'never'. Response categories were recoded so that higher values indicated more frequent communication.

Extra-curricular citizenship activities offered at school were measured at the school-level. Schools were asked whether they had organised the following extra-curricular citizenship activities in the school year 2010/2011 (the year in which the first data were collected) for the students who participated in the CILS4EU data collection: (a) elections; (b) debates; (c) visit to parliament; (d) other democracy related excursions or museum visits; (e) a democracy related guest lecture; (f) an extra exam course on social sciences; (g) student council. A sum score was then created to measure the overall amount of attention paid to (extra-curricular) citizenship education.

Educational trajectory was operationalised as the last known level of education, measured with the question "What is, at this moment, your most important activity?" Response categories

were: (a) 'secondary school'; (b) 'intermediate vocational education'; (c) 'higher vocational or college education'; (d) 'university'; (e) 'working'; (f) 'unemployed'; (g) 'something else'. For those respondents answering (e), (f), or (g), I used information from earlier waves to construct their latest known educational trajectory. I distinguished between three tracks: (0) vocational (preparatory/intermediate vocational education); (1) college (higher general and college education); (2) university (university preparatory education and university). Those in the vocational track acted as the reference category.

Parental socioeconomic status was taken into account using the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) score of the mother or father of the respondent (Ganzeboom, De Graaf, & Treiman, 1992) as reported by the parents themselves. The highest score applied. If parental information was missing, parental occupation as reported by their children (i.e. the respondents) was used.

Ethnic identification was included by asking respondents to which non-Dutch group(s) they felt they belonged. Answer categories were: (0) 'no other group'; (1) 'Turkish'; (2) 'Kurdish'; (3) 'Moroccan'; (4) 'Berbers'; (5) 'Surinamese'; (6) 'Hindu'; (7) 'Creole'; (8) 'Javan'; (9) 'Chinese'; (10) 'Curacao'; (11) 'Aruban'; (12) 'Antillean'; (13) 'Indonesian'; (14) 'other group'. A dummy variable was included distinguishing between those who did not identify with a non-Dutch group and those who did.

5.3.3. *Analytical strategy*

Since I wanted to test a structural model in which festival attendance was both an independent variable predicting voting intentions, and a dependent variable predicted by civic socialisation measures and sociodemographic variables, generalised structural equation modelling was applied using Stata, version 14 (StataCorp, 2015). Moreover, given that the data had a hierarchical structure (i.e. respondents within schools) and the models included not only individual characteristics but also school characteristics (i.e. citizenship activities offered at school), multilevel models were analysed. Finally, considering the dependent variables were dichotomous, logistic models were examined. Intercept-only models found an intraclass correlation of 0.128 for voting and 0.180 for festival attendance, meaning that 13 and 18 per cent of the variation in voting intentions and festival attendance respectively can be attributed to the school that adolescents attended. As unobserved heterogeneity affects coefficients differently in logistic regressions than in linear regressions, it is difficult to interpret (log) odds ratios as substantive effects, or to compare them across models with different independent variables (Mood, 2010). I therefore calculated and reported average marginal effects (AMEs), which are not only more easily interpretable in terms of substantive effect sizes than odds ratios, but also unaffected by unobserved heterogeneity that is unrelated to the independent variables in the models and therefore comparable across models. AMEs indicate the change in the probability of a respondent voting in the next elections (versus not voting), or having attended a Liberation festival (versus having never

attended a Liberation festival), for every one-unit change in an explanatory variable, estimated over all the possible values of the variables in the model.

5.4. Results

5.4.1. Descriptive results

Table 5.1 depicts descriptive information of our sample of 1,149 young adults, the majority between 19 and 20 years old. The findings show that 87 per cent intended to vote in the next elections, whilst 13 per cent indicated *not* to want to vote. Taking the young adults who indicated to not yet know what political party they would vote for into account ($N = 364$), the statistics are comparable to the percentage of young people (i.e. below 24 years old) who voted in the last parliamentary elections in the Netherlands, namely 67 per cent (NOS, 2017). About 60 per cent of our sample had visited a Dutch Liberation festival at least once over the past years. On average, respondents had talked to their parents about political and social issues at least once a month. Schools had organised, on average, between three and four extra-curricular citizenship activities in the schoolyear 2010/2011: a student council (78%), a visit to parliament (70%), and debates (69%) were mentioned most often. An examination of educational track indicated 43 per cent had finished or was currently in the (preparatory) vocational track, whilst 57 per cent was in the (preparatory) college or university track. The former group is therefore somewhat under-represented compared to the general Dutch population between 15 and 25 years old with at least primary education (Statistics Netherlands, 2016). Respondents' parents had, on average, an ISEI score of 44, which can be considered a medium socioeconomic status. Finally, 20 per cent of the respondents identified with a non-Dutch ethnic group.

5.4.2. Explanatory results

Table 5.2 shows the AMEs of the multilevel logistic structural equation models estimating young adults' voting intentions and previous festival attendance. In Model 1, in which I included previous festival attendance as a potential predictor of future voting intentions, I found a significant positive effect: Young adults who had visited a Liberation festival over the past years had a 7 per cent higher chance of voting in the next elections (versus not voting) compared to young adults who had never visited a festival, which is consistent with Hypothesis 1.

Table 5.1. *Descriptive statistics of the variables.*

Variables	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD
<i>Individual-level (N = 1,149)</i>				
Voting intentions	0	1	0.87	
Festival attendance	0	1	0.59	
Parental civic communication	0	4	2.17	1.23
Educational track				
Vocational	0	1	0.43	
College	0	1	0.30	
University	0	1	0.27	
Parental ISEI score	0	88.96	43.94	19.95
Ethnic group identification	0	1	0.20	
<i>School-level (N = 58)</i>				
Citizenship activities offered at school	0	7	3.64	1.55

In Model 2, I included two alternative explanations of associations between young adults' previous festival attendance and future voting intentions, both indicators of a more general civic socialisation process: the civic environment at home, measured by the frequency of civic communication with one's parents, and the civic environment at school, indicated by the number of extra-curricular citizenship activities offered. The inclusion of these variables slightly decreased the AMEs of Liberation festival attendance on voting inclination when compared to Model 1: instead of having a 7 per cent higher chance of voting, youngsters who had visited a Liberation festival over the past years were now shown to be 6 per cent more likely to vote. However, the change was small, and differences in voting inclinations between young adults who had never versus those who had at least once attended a Liberation festival remained significant.

Parental civic communication was found to positively affect both the likelihood of voting (an increased chance of 3 per cent) and chances of visiting a festival (an increased chance of 4 per cent), thereby providing partial support for Hypothesis 2, in which I hypothesised that the positive association between young adults' previous attendance at Liberation festivals and their inclination to vote is partially explained by parental civic communication. I found no evidence for the role of extra-curricular citizenship activities offered at school: not in predicting either political or commemorative participation, nor in explaining associations between previous festival attendances and voting intentions (Hypothesis 3).

Table 5.2. Multilevel logistic generalised structural equation model predicting voting intentions and Liberation festival attendance (N = 1,149).

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	dy/dx ^a	SE ^b	dy/dx ^a	SE ^b	dy/dx ^a	SE ^b	dy/dx ^a	SE ^b
<i>Voting intentions</i>								
Festival attendance	.071**	.025	.061**	.023	.063**	.023	.056*	.022
Parental civic communication			.033***	.009			.023**	.008
Citizenship activities offered at school			.009	.009			-.003	.008
Educational track (ref. vocational)								
College					.096***	.026	.081**	.027
University					.140***	.024	.122***	.026
Parental ISEI score					.001	.001	.001	.001
Ethnic group identification					-.062**	.022	-.065**	.022
<i>Festival attendance</i>								
Parental civic communication			.038**	.012			.040**	.012
Citizenship activities offered at school			-.022	.021			-.022	.021
Educational track (ref. vocational)								
College					.032	.037	.023	.044
University					-.005	.055	-.025	.057
Parental ISEI score					.001	.001	.001	.001
Ethnic group identification					-.084*	.037	-.085*	.037

† $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$;

^a average marginal effects for the outcome 'yes, I attended a festival at least once the past years (vs. never)';

^b delta-method standard errors.

In Model 3, I examined the extent to which educational track, parental socioeconomic status, and ethnic identification explain the found association between young adults' previous festival attendance and their voting intentions. A comparison with Model 1 revealed that, although the AME of Liberation festival attendance on voting inclinations in Model 3 was somewhat smaller (i.e. 6 per cent instead of 7 per cent), the adjustment was minor, and the effect was still statistically significant. Young adults who followed a college or university track had a 10 and 14 per cent higher chance respectively of voting in the next elections than youngsters with a vocational trajectory, yet did not differ in their chances of having visited a Dutch Liberation festival, thereby providing no support for Hypothesis 4a. Hypothesis 4b, on the role of parental socioeconomic status, was not supported either, as none of the effects were significant. Ethnic group identification, on the other hand, was proven to be an important predictor of both past festival attendance and future voting intentions. Youngsters who identified with a non-Dutch ethnic group had a 6 and 8 per cent lower chance of voting and having attended a Liberation festival respectively compared to those who did not identify with a non-Dutch ethnic group. These findings suggest evidence in support of Hypothesis 5: The positive association between young adults' attendance at Dutch Liberation festivals and their inclination to vote can be partially explained by their ethnic identification.

In Model 4, all alternative explanations were included simultaneously. Even though this resulted in a further reduction of the AME of previous Liberation festival attendance on future voting inclination, the effect was still significant, and a little under 6 per cent. All in all, our results thus do not provide proof of a spurious relationship between young people's previous Liberation festival attendance and their future voting intentions.

5.4.3. Additional analyses

To ensure that the found effect of previous Liberation festival attendance on voting intentions did not differ across groups, additional analyses were conducted in which I included interactions with educational trajectory, parental socioeconomic status, and ethnic identification. The results of these analyses, which can be found in Model 1, Model 2, and Model 3 of Appendix A5.2 respectively, show that the effect of festival attendance on voting intentions was not dependent on any of the sociodemographic characteristics included in this chapter.

Moreover, since this dissertation is also interested in the potential impact of Dutch Liberation festivals on other types of citizenship behaviour, I also conducted an additional analysis in which I replaced our current dependent variable, voting intentions, with another activity that is often used as an indicator of citizenship behaviour: voluntary work. The results of this analysis, which can be found in Appendix A5.3, were largely similar to those found for voting intentions, highlighting the potential of Dutch Liberation festivals in promoting active citizenship behaviour amongst young people. In fact, the impact of Dutch Liberation festival attendance on chances of performing voluntary work was even bigger:

after taking into account the discussed alternative explanations of associations between festival attendance and our outcome variable, young people who had attended a Liberation festival at least once over the past years were 10 per cent more likely to perform voluntary work.

To better compare the present findings with the results shown in the other chapters of this dissertation, I conducted a final series of additional analyses in which I examined two other types of national commemorations and their effect on young people's political participation. I replaced the activity of having visited a Liberation festival on Dutch Liberation Day with two activities that are annually organised on Dutch Remembrance Day: a commemoration ceremony, and the two-minute silence. Of the 1,149 young adults in our sample, a little over 30 per cent indicated to have at least once attended a commemoration ceremony and 94 per cent had (at least once) observed the two-minute silence at 8:00 p.m. over the past years. The results, which can be found in Appendix A5.4, show that youth who had attended a commemoration ceremony over the past years were 7 per cent more likely to vote in the next elections than those who had never attended such a ceremony, indicating that also other, more formal forms of commemorating can have a positive impact on young people's voting intentions. Chances of attending a commemoration ceremony were, however, higher amongst youth with a college track than amongst youth in a vocational trajectory, suggesting that commemoration ceremonies are a less inclusive form of commemoration than Liberation festivals. Chances of voting did not differ between the small percentage of youngsters who had never observed the two-minute silence and those who had.

5.5. Conclusion and discussion

To shed more light on the potential of (informal) national commemorations as motivators of young people's political behaviour, this chapter examined the extent to which 18-year-olds' previous participation in Dutch Liberation festivals is related to their intentions to vote. Using structural equation modelling, I subsequently tested whether this relationship was truly evidence of a motivating effect, or that it was in fact a spurious association. To do so, I considered several alternative explanations of positive associations between young people's commemorative and political participation identified in previous studies as important determinants of young citizens' civic engagement. Our findings, however, show that, even after taking into account civic home environment, civic school environment, and several sociodemographic factors, the difference in voting chances between young adults who had never versus once or more visited a Liberation festival remains statistically significant (i.e. young adults who have attended a Dutch Liberation festival over the past years are around 6 per cent more likely to be inclined to vote in the next parliamentary elections), suggesting that there is indeed a motivating effect of this particular type of commemoration on young people's political participation.

Our results furthermore show that Dutch Liberation festivals are a popular form of commemorating amongst youth: almost 60 per cent has visited one at least once over the last years. Moreover, festival attendance does not depend upon young adults' educational track or their parents' socioeconomic status, suggesting that this type of informal commemoration, which combines musical performances of famous artists with raising awareness of war, freedom, and other core democratic rights and values, is a relatively inclusive form of commemoration attracting a large, heterogeneous segment of the population – at least amongst youth. These findings are in line with earlier studies emphasising the attractiveness of 'popular culture' elements amongst young citizens (Van Eijck & Knulst, 2005), also in national commemorations (Fricke, 2013). One aspect that does decrease one's chances of participating in commemorative and political activities is ethnic identification: young people who identify themselves with a non-Dutch ethnic group have lower chances of having visited a Liberation festival than young people who do not identify with a non-Dutch ethnic group, and are also less inclined to vote in the next elections. This is similar to what was found in an earlier study on commemorative participation amongst Dutch citizens with a (non-Western) migration background (Coopmans, Jaspers, & Lubbers, 2016), and highlights the importance of taking into account ethnic identification when examining inclinations to participate in civic (i.e. political, but also cultural) activities, also amongst young Dutch people with grand- or great-grandparents born abroad.

One's civic home environment also plays a key role in young people's commemorative and political activities. The positive association that is found between Liberation festival attendance and voting intentions is partially due to the more civically engaged home environment. Young adults who more frequently discussed political and social issues with their parents are not only more inclined to vote, but also have higher chances of having visited a Liberation festival. Although youth participating in Liberation festivals appear to be a heterogeneous crowd when it comes to educational and socioeconomic background, they are thus more 'selective' where civic home environment is concerned. These findings not only support previous studies on the vital role of parental communication in youth's civic socialisation processes (Hooghe & Boonen, 2015; Jennings et al., 2009; Quintelier, 2015b), they also highlight that mnemonic socialisation, or, more specifically, the socialisation of commemorative practices, is not restricted to communication about the historical events that are the topic of these commemorations but instead can comprise a broader range of civic issues. This conclusion is not only a valuable extension of mnemonic socialisation theories, but also has important practical implications for those keen on promoting commemorative participation amongst young people.

The civic school environment, in this study measured as the number of extra-curricular citizenship activities offered by a school during the years the young adults were still in school, was not found to influence Liberation festival attendance or voting intentions. One explanation for this lack of effect is that I have concentrated on the number of citizenship activities *offered*, not taking into account the student's actual participation in the organised

activities. Even though voluntary extra-curricular citizenship activities at school have been found to have a more positive impact on young people's citizenship than obligatory activities (Geboers et al., 2013), this approach ignores within-school differences between students actively and less actively participating in the organised activities. An alternative explanation is that other forms of citizenship education, such as the pedagogical climate or curriculum in school, are more effective in impacting adolescents' future citizenship behaviours. In a recent study by Dijkstra and colleagues (Dijkstra, Geijssels, Ledoux, van der Veen, & ten Dam, 2015), it is, however, concluded that citizenship outcomes are better explained by factors at the student level than at the school level. An interesting avenue for future research would therefore be to zoom in on the civic engagement of and civic talks with *peers*, both inside and outside school, as they are an important source of influence during adolescence (Brechtwald & Prinstein, 2011).

Considering that other factors not yet considered in the current analyses might play a role in young people's commemorative and political participation, we must be careful with drawing too strict conclusions concerning the impact of informal commemorations on young citizens' political behaviour. A more comprehensive picture of the complete civic and socialisation process is needed, including a wider variety of political behaviours (see for instance Oser, 2017). Ideally, we would follow youngsters during different developmental phases of their civic socialisation, creating a dataset with extensive information on changes in their political, social, and cultural activities, to more reliably test the causality of the relationships between the various activities. This would also enable us to examine more dynamic processes such as the influence of changes in social environments (e.g. switching classes, schools, and going off to college), or interactions between different social environments at different points in time (e.g. the changing role of parents versus peers), as well as the underlying mechanisms that explain how participation in commemorative activities can lead to more political participation in later life. In one of the national surveys conducted by the National Committee 4 and 5 May, for instance, over 70 per cent of the respondents indicated to use Dutch Remembrance Day and Liberation Day to reflect on issues relating to (un)freedom, human rights, and democracy (Verhulst et al., 2017). Changes in awareness of and attitude on democratic rights and values as a potential mediator could therefore be an interesting starting point. Another interesting follow-up of the current research would be to track youngsters more closely *during* their Liberation festival visits, to determine factors contributing to or disturbing the politically motivating role of Dutch Liberation festivals. A mobile application could, for instance, be used to register their activities and interactions with other festival visitors.

All in all, however, the present findings provide tentative evidence of a positive impact of Dutch Liberation festivals on young adults' voting intentions, thereby supporting Sapiro (2004) in her claim that the commemoration of a national past should be considered a relevant aspect of political socialisation. Even though the effect is relatively small, the combination of popular culture elements, shared moments, and references to past and

present issues relating to war and freedom used in Dutch Liberation festivals to emphasise the importance of core democratic values such as freedom and tolerance seems to motivate young visitors to contribute to the continuance of the democratic system, at least when it comes to voting. Combined with the fact that the Liberation festivals are a popular activity amongst young adults from various socioeconomic backgrounds, and can therefore be considered a relatively inclusive activity, this chapter shows that informal commemorations, such as the Dutch Liberation festivals examined, have the potential to promote political participation amongst all young people equally. At the same time, the festivals are less often attended by youth identifying with a non-Dutch ethnic background, thereby risking reinforcing gaps in political engagement between youth with and without a migration background.



Appendices

Appendices Chapter 2

Table A2.1. *Descriptive statistics per birth cohort (N = 2,309), mean and standard deviation.*

Variables	1946-55 (N = 770)	1956-65 (N = 589)	1966-75 (N = 424)	1976-85 (N = 275)	1986-95 (N = 251)
Commemorative participation	9.39(4.58)	8.02(4.52)	7.79(4.27)	7.13(4.59)	8.00(4.55)
- Remembrance Day: media	4.01(1.71)	3.69(1.85)	3.71(1.80)	3.38(1.88)	3.36(1.81)
- Liberation Day: media	3.34(2.01)	2.83(2.07)	2.66(2.07)	2.19(2.03)	2.33(2.04)
- Liberation festival	0.95(1.55)	0.80(1.39)	0.74(1.33)	1.00(1.50)	1.55(1.75)
- Commemoration ceremony	1.10(1.63)	0.70(1.36)	0.69(1.34)	0.57(1.20)	0.77(1.37)
War-specific communication					
- Parents	2.09(1.67)	2.18(1.64)	1.24(1.58)	0.36(0.99)	0.88(0.47)
- Grandparents	0.59(1.19)	0.70(1.30)	1.06(1.51)	1.20(1.43)	1.65(1.47)
- Non-relatives	0.32(0.96)	0.17(0.70)	0.27(0.91)	0.21(0.78)	0.16(0.69)
Parents' commemorating	3.90(1.77)	3.75(1.78)	3.97(1.64)	4.16(1.67)	4.35(1.73)
No war experience					
- Parents	0.34	0.31	0.58	0.87	0.96
- Grandparents	0.76	0.75	0.62	0.52	0.37
- Non-relatives	0.89	0.94	0.91	0.93	0.94
Educational level					
- Primary education	0.09	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.03
- Intermediate secondary	0.33	0.23	0.18	0.09	0.12
- Higher secondary	0.07	0.09	0.08	0.05	0.37
- Intermediate vocational	0.21	0.30	0.39	0.31	0.17
- Higher vocational	0.23	0.26	0.24	0.36	0.19
- University	0.73	0.06	0.09	0.17	0.12
Religious attendance	0.45	0.32	0.35	0.36	0.40

Appendices Chapter 3

Table A3.1. *Descriptive statistics per ethnic origin (N = 1300), mean and standard deviation.*

Variables	Dutch (N = 432)	Turkey (N = 66)	Morocco (N = 75)	Antilles (N = 58)	Suriname (N = 62)	Indonesia (N = 116)	South Africa (N = 57)	Western (N = 341)	Non- Western (N = 93)
Remembrance Day	2.69(1.14)	1.66(1.22)	1.46(1.16)	2.07(1.40)	2.32(1.07)	2.54 (1.20)	2.28(1.16)	2.48(1.15)	2.24(1.26)
Liberation Day	2.06(1.34)	1.17(1.04)	1.20(1.10)	1.53(1.22)	1.84(1.22)	1.87(1.33)	1.64(1.20)	1.84(1.22)	1.64(1.34)
Second World War	0.77	0.16	0.12	0.39	0.31	0.68	0.63	0.76	0.36
Holidays origin country	-	0.56	0.33	0.33	0.60	0.26	0.28	0.38	0.41
Age at migration									
- > 12 years old	-	0.27	0.49	0.54	0.31	0.13	0.35	0.33	0.48
- < 12 years old	-	0.15	0.23	0.12	0.31	0.19	0.12	0.13	0.22
- Born in the Netherlands	-	0.58	0.28	0.34	0.38	0.68	0.53	0.54	0.30
Length of stay	49.38(16.19)	27.85(8.97)	26.18(9.60)	30.45(13.29)	35.31(11.13)	49.56(13.02)	30.89(19.47)	42.86(20.44)	26.97(13.56)
Dutch language use	2.86(.47)	1.25(.79)	1.32(.72)	1.93(1.08)	2.64(.47)	2.86(.46)	2.18(1.01)	2.29(1.02)	1.65(1.04)
Dutch contacts (%)	60.99(45.41)	15.00(31.10)	9.20(27.94)	32.13(41.99)	25.75(40.71)	54.08(46.87)	51.20(45.71)	57.32(46.04)	34.95(42.66)
National belonging	3.50(.73)	3.00(.64)	3.13(.46)	3.15(.87)	3.35(.57)	3.83(.87)	3.80(.71)	3.49(.87)	3.46(.75)
Level of education	2.78(1.56)	2.29(1.37)	2.04(1.50)	2.72(1.63)	2.82(1.36)	2.84(1.50)	2.95(1.73)	2.77(1.65)	2.98(1.57)
Employment status									
- Employed	0.57	0.44	0.36	0.51	0.66	0.60	0.44	0.47	0.58
- Unemployed	0.02	0.14	0.13	0.09	0.08	0.03	0.02	0.04	0.12
- Other	0.41	0.42	0.51	0.40	0.24	0.37	0.54	0.49	0.30
Discrimination	0.12	0.34	0.59	0.34	0.34	0.10	0.18	0.16	0.33
Gender (female)	0.52	0.47	0.53	0.52	0.58	0.45	0.63	0.59	0.53

Table A3.2. *Models for participation in Remembrance Day and Liberation Day, including interactions between ethnic origin and participation in national holidays in country of origin (N = 868).*

	Remembrance Day		Liberation Day	
	B	SE	B	SE
Intercept	.253	.351	.381	.392
Ethnic origin (ref. Indonesian)				
- Turkish	-.135	.292	-.119	.354
- Moroccan	-.237	.316	-.271	.333
- Antillean	.268	.430	.089	.423
- Surinam	.431	.634	.245	.646
- South African	.029	.371	-.203	.401
- Other Western	.161	.241	-.013	.261
- Other non-Western	.299	.304	.092	.340
Second World War	.192†	.106	.099	.110
Holidays country of origin	.680	.765	-.147	.740
Age at migration (ref. > 12 years)				
- Migrated < 12 years	-.248†	.134	-.317*	.156
- Born in the Netherlands	-.297**	.104	-.451***	.108
Length of stay	.011***	.003	.009**	.003
Dutch language use at home	.165**	.056	.168**	.059
Native Dutch contacts	-.000	.001	-.002	.001
<i>Interactions</i>				
Days coo*Turkish	-.031	.834	.352	.829
Days coo*Moroccan	-.362	.931	.419	.888
Days coo*Antillean	-.443	.999	.184	.965
Days coo*Surinam	-.645	1.02	.243	1.01
Days coo*South African	-.178	.899	.628	1.01
Days coo*Other Western	-.206	.788	.531	.765
Days coo*Other non-Western	-.311	.784	.343	.791

Note: † $p < .10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. Two-tailed p -values are reported. Controlled for national belonging, level of education, employment status, discrimination, and gender.

Appendices Chapter 4

Table A4.1. *Interactions with ethnic origin, distinguishing between born abroad and in the Netherlands.*

	Model 1		Model 2	
	B	SE	B	SE
<i>Remembrance Day</i> (ref. never)				
Sometimes	.042	.057	.076	.055
Often	.063	.054	.109*	.049
<i>Liberation Day</i> (ref. never)				
Sometimes	.149**	.048	.122**	.047
Often	.079†	.042	.057	.042
<i>King's Day</i> (ref. never)				
Sometimes	.206***	.040	.200***	.039
Often	.394***	.040	.389***	.040
<i>Generations</i> (ref. 1910-45)				
1945-55	-.100**	.036	-.096**	.035
1955-70	-.226***	.036	-.224***	.038
1970-95	-.172***	.038	-.175***	.041
<i>Ethnic origin</i> (ref. native Dutch) ^a				
Non-Western 1	-.826***	.181	-.541***	.101
Non-Western 2	-.242	.250	-.101	.139
Western 1	-.960**	.312	-.817***	.130
Western 2	-.106	.178	-.147*	.074
<i>Interactions</i>				
<i>Remembrance Day</i>				
Sometimes*Non-Western 1	.423†	.239		
Sometimes*Non-Western 2	-.207	.448		
Sometimes*Western 1	.197	.354		
Sometimes*Western 2	.016	.261		
Always*Non-Western 1	.710**	.228		
Always*Non-Western 2	.447	.289		
Always*Western 1	.240	.355		
Always*Western 2	-.022	.195		
<i>Liberation Day</i>				
Sometimes*Non-Western 1			.729**	.256
Sometimes*Non-Western 2			.503	.406
Sometimes*Western 1			.081	.252
Sometimes*Western 2			.114	.199
Always*Non-Western 1			.844†	.452
Always*Non-Western 2			.429*	.211
Always*Western 1			.271	.375
Always*Western 2			.072	.111

Note: † $p < .10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. ^a (1) refers to born abroad, (2) refers to born in the Netherlands (with one or more parents born abroad). Two-tailed p -values are reported. Controlled for level of education, religious attendance, gender (male), and owning a flag; $N = 4,363$.

Appendices Chapter 5

Table A5.1. *Datasets used for variable construction.*

Measurement	Datasets used
Voting intentions	w5_ym_nl_v5.0.0.dta
Liberation festival attendance	
Ethnic identification	
Parental civic communication	w2_ym_nl_v2.3.0.dta w2_ym_nl_out_v2.3.0.dta
Citizenship activities at school	CILSNL_citizenshipeducation_v1.0.dta
Educational track	w1_ym_nl_v1.2.0.dta w1_ym_nl_out_v1.0.0.dta w2_ym_nl_v2.3.0.dta w2_ym_nl_out_v2.3.0.dta w3_ym_nl_v3.1.0.dta w3_ym_nl_out_v3.1.0.dta w4_ym_nl_v4.0.0.dta w5_ym_nl_v5.0.0.dta
Parental ISEI score	w1_p_nl_v1.2.0.dta w1_p_nl_out_v1.0.0.dta w2_p_nl_out_v2.3.0.dta w1_ym_nl_v1.2.0.dta w1_ym_nl_out_v1.0.0.dta w2_ym_nl_v2.3.0.dta w2_ym_nl_out_v2.3.0.dta

Table A5.2. *Additional analyses, including interactions (N = 1,149).*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B^a</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B^a</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B^a</i>	<i>SE</i>
<i>Voting intentions</i>						
Constant	.799*	.361	.779*	.393	.689	.357
Festival attendance	.374	.245	.391	.432	.588*	.236
Parental civic communication	.226**	.077	.222**	.077	.221**	.077
Citizenship activities offered at school	-.030	.075	-.024	.075	-.026	.075
Educational track (ref. vocational)						
College	.534	.325	.705**	.245	.704**	.245
University	1.053**	.402	1.283***	.326	1.281***	.325
Parental ISEI score	.007	.005	.005	.007	.007	.005
Ethnic group identification	-.609**	.211	-.621**	.211	-.747*	.306
<i>Interactions</i>						
Festival*educational track						
Festival*college	.354	.447				
Festival*university	.534	.583				
Festival*parental ISEI score			.003	.010		
Festival*ethnic identification					.239	.414
<i>Festival attendance</i>						
Constant	.235	.379	.236	.379	.236	.379
Parental civic communication	.190**	.058	.190**	.058	.190**	.058
Citizenship activities offered at school	-.104	.099	-.105	.099	-.105	.099
Educational track (ref. vocational)						
College	.110	.209	.110	.209	.110	.209
University	-.119	.271	-.119	.271	-.119	.271
Parental ISEI score	.003	.004	.003	.004	.003	.004
Ethnic group identification	-.406*	.175	-.406*	.175	-.406*	.175

† $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$;

^a logit coefficients are shown.

Table A5.3. *Additional analyses, voluntary work as outcome variable (N = 1,149).*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	dy/dx ^a	SE ^b	dy/dx ^a	SE ^b	dy/dx ^a	SE ^b	dy/dx ^a	SE ^b
<i>Voluntary work</i>								
Festival attendance	.111**	.033	.105**	.033	.111**	.033	.104**	.033
Parental civic communication			.034**	.012			.033**	.012
Citizenship activities offered at school			.003	.011			-.002	.012
Educational track (ref. vocational)								
College					-.006	.038	-.024	.039
University					.027	.042	-.006	.044
Parental ISEI score					.001†	.001	.001†	.001
Ethnic group identification					-.008	.038	-.009	.038
<i>Festival attendance</i>								
Parental civic communication			.039**	.012			.040**	.012
Citizenship activities offered at school			-.021	.021			-.022	.021
Educational track (ref. vocational)								
College					.030	.043	.021	.044
University					-.008	.056	-.027	.057
Parental ISEI score					.001	.001	.001	.001
Ethnic group identification					-.082*	.037	-.083*	.037

† $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$;

^a average marginal effects for the outcome 'yes, I have performed voluntary work last year (vs. not)' and 'yes, I attended a festival at least once the past years (vs. never)';

^b delta-method standard errors.

Table A5.4. *Additional analyses, including other forms of commemorative participation (N = 1,149).*

	Commemoration ceremony		Two-minute silence	
	dy/dx ^a	SE ^b	dy/dx ^a	SE ^b
<i>Voting intentions</i>				
Commemorative participation	.071***	.020	.056	.047
Parental civic communication	.025**	.008	.025**	.008
Citizenship activities offered at school	-.003	.007	-.005	.008
Educational track (ref. vocational)				
College	.076**	.026	.086**	.027
University	.122***	.025	.126***	.027
Parental ISEI score	.001	.001	.001	.001
Ethnic group identification	-.064**	.022	-.061**	.023
<i>Commemorative participation</i>				
Parental civic communication	.016	.011	.011*	.005
Citizenship activities offered at school	-.021	.017	.016*	.006
Educational track (ref. vocational)				
College	.095*	.040	-.010	.017
University	-.010	.047	-.030	.025
Parental ISEI score	.001	.001	.001**	.000
Ethnic group identification	-.094**	.036	-.096***	.016

† $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$;

^a average marginal effects for the outcome ‘yes, I would vote’ and ‘yes, I have attended a commemoration ceremony / observed the two-minute silence on Dutch Remembrance Day over the past years (vs. never)’;

^b delta-method standard errors.



Nederlandse samenvatting

Nederlandse samenvatting

Achtergrond van de studie

Iedere samenleving kent haar eigen nationale herdenkingen: geïnstitutionaliseerde, jaarlijkse rituelen waarbij belangrijke historische gebeurtenissen worden herdacht. Eén van de bekendste voorbeelden is de herdenking van de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Naast de universele Holocaust herdenking op 27 januari, kennen veel landen hun eigen Tweede Wereldoorlog herdenking. In Nederland gebeurt dit op 4 en 5 mei: Dodenherdenking en Bevrijdingsdag. Ruim zeventig jaar na dato wordt de Tweede Wereldoorlog door een groot gedeelte van de wereldbevolking nog steeds als de belangrijkste gebeurtenis van de 20^e eeuw beschouwd. Tegelijkertijd vinden studies bewijs voor een zogeheten ‘cruciale periode effect’, wat inhoudt dat historische gebeurtenissen vooral impact hebben op degenen die op dat moment in hun adolescentie of jongvolwassenheid verkeren. Het belang dat wordt gehecht aan een historische gebeurtenis neemt daarmee af onder latere generaties, omdat hun geboortedatum verder weg ligt van deze gebeurtenis. Wat dit betekent voor deelname aan nationale herdenkingen is minder duidelijk, onder andere door het ontbreken van grootschalige empirische studies met representatieve data over herdenken op individueel niveau. Dit is jammer, want kennis over wie deelneemt en op welke manier kan ons veel vertellen over de rol van nationale herdenkingen in een samenleving. Hebben we het bijvoorbeeld over een ‘inclusief’ herdenkingsritueel, of zien we dat slechts een selectief publiek deelneemt?

Een eerste doel van deze dissertatie is daarom om meer zicht te krijgen op herdenkingspatronen in de hedendaagse samenleving, en de mogelijke verklaringen voor de variatie in deelname aan nationale herdenkingen. In het bijzonder wordt aandacht besteed aan inwoners die verder ‘verwijderd’ zijn van de historische gebeurtenis die wordt herdacht: latere generaties, maar ook inwoners met een migratieachtergrond. Er is ingezoomd op de herdenkingsactiviteiten die jaarlijks door het Nationaal Comité 4 en 5 mei worden georganiseerd rondom de herdenking van de Tweede Wereldoorlog in Nederland, zoals de herdenkingsceremonies en twee minuten stilte op 4 mei en de Bevrijdingsfestivals op 5 mei. Voor dit onderzoek is onder andere gebruik gemaakt van literatuur over de overdracht van collectief geheugen. Daarnaast zijn meer algemene socialisatietheorieën toegepast. Deze literatuur benadrukt met name de rol van de familie, en de cruciale rol die communicatie speelt binnen het socialisatieproces. Aangezien de Tweede Wereldoorlog inmiddels meer dan zeventig jaar geleden is, heeft een steeds kleiner wordend gedeelte van de Nederlandse bevolking familieleden die deze oorlog nog mee hebben gemaakt. Het is dus niet meer vanzelfsprekend dat met familieleden gecommuniceerd kan worden over hun oorlogservaringen. In deze dissertatie zijn daarom ook alternatieve vormen van overdracht onderzocht. Zo is voorbeeldgedrag van ouders bekeken, en communicatie over oorlogservaringen met personen buiten de directe familie, zoals vrienden of kennissen.

Een tweede doel van deze dissertatie is het onderzoeken van de *brede* functie van hedendaagse nationale herdenkingsrituelen. Dit soort rituelen worden vaak gezien als een manier om nationale verbondenheid te versterken. Ook worden relaties gelegd met een meer algemene maatschappelijke betrokkenheid bij en bereidheid om bij te dragen aan collectieve belangen. Met uitzondering van enkele studies naar de rol van herdenkingsonderwijs in het bevorderen van houdingen en gedragingen die vallen onder deze noemer, is empirisch onderzoek naar de consequenties van deelname aan nationale herdenkingen schaars. Deze dissertatie levert een belangrijke bijdrage aan de literatuur door de impact van deelname aan nationale herdenkingen te bestuderen op twee vormen van maatschappelijke betrokkenheid: gevoelens van nationale verbondenheid en stemintenties, een vorm van politieke participatie. Voor dit onderzoek is gebruik gemaakt van inzichten uit literatuur over rituelen, nationale identiteit, maatschappelijke en politieke participatie. Veel van deze literatuur bouwt voort op het werk van Émile Durkheim. Tegelijkertijd uiten meerdere auteurs kritiek op het klakkeloos toepassen van Durkheims argumenten over de rol van religieuze rituelen in een pre-industriële samenleving op andersoortige rituelen in hedendaagse samenlevingen. Zij belichten onder meer de rol die het publiek zelf heeft in de mogelijke impact van rituelen, en het type ritueel en de symboliek die hierbij komt kijken.

Bijdragen, hoofdstuk-specifieke onderzoeksvragen en bevindingen

Deze dissertatie draagt op drie manieren bij aan de bestaande literatuur. Allereerst zorgt deze dissertatie niet alleen voor een uitbreiding van bestaande theorieën over de socialisatie van herdenkingspraktijken, maar ook voor een empirische *toetsing* van deze theorieën op basis van recente dataverzamelingen. Hiermee werpt deze dissertatie niet alleen meer licht op verklaringen van deelname aan activiteiten georganiseerd rondom de herdenking van de Tweede Wereldoorlog in Nederland, maar levert de dissertatie ook een bijdrage aan een theoretisch raamwerk van de socialisatie van herdenkingspraktijken toegespitst op de huidige Westerse samenleving. Een tweede bijdrage bestaat uit het uitbreiden en empirisch toetsen van theorieën over de brede functie van herdenkingsrituelen op het niveau van het individu. Onderzocht is of deelname aan herdenkingsactiviteiten een effect heeft op een brede maatschappelijke betrokkenheid. Dit is in deze dissertatie geoperationaliseerd als gevoelens van nationale verbondenheid en stemintenties. De systematische, empirische aanpak van deze dissertatie, waaronder de uitgebreide dataverzameling onder delen van de Nederlandse bevolking die weinig aan bod komen in bestaand onderzoek op dit gebied, is een derde belangrijke bijdrage. Hieronder volgt een overzicht van de hoofdstuk-specifieke bijdragen van deze dissertatie.

Hoofdstuk 2: De socialisatie van herdenkingspraktijken

In Hoofdstuk 2 is onderzocht in welke mate generaties geboren na de Tweede Wereldoorlog deelnemen aan activiteiten om deze oorlog te herdenken, en welke rol familie speelt in het

blijven herdenken. De voornaamste onderzoeksvraag in dit hoofdstuk luidt: *In hoeverre is communicatie over vroegere oorlogservaringen van familieleden noodzakelijk voor de socialisatie van herdenkingspraktijken?* Volgens Jan en Aleida Assmann heeft het ‘communicatief geheugen’ maar een beperkte tijdsspanne: niet meer dan tachtig jaar, de tijdsspanne van drie opeenvolgende generaties. Dit zou belangrijke consequenties kunnen hebben voor de socialisatie van herdenkingspraktijken rondom de Tweede Wereldoorlog, die iets meer dan zeventig jaar geleden plaatsvond. In Hoofdstuk 2 is daarom de rol van communicatie met familieleden vergeleken met twee andere vormen van socialisatie: communicatie met niet-familieleden (vrienden, collega’s of kennissen) en (ouderlijk) voorbeeldgedrag op het gebied van herdenken. Op deze manier kan ook de samenhang tussen de verschillende vormen van socialisatie worden bekeken: wat gebeurt er als een bepaalde vorm van socialisatie minder aanwezig is, neemt een andere vorm het dan over?

Om deze vragen te beantwoorden is gebruik gemaakt van data verzameld binnen de *Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social Sciences* (LISS). Analyses van deze data laten zien dat communicatie over de vroegere oorlogservaringen van ouders en grootouders, in dit geval de Tweede Wereldoorlog, inderdaad een belangrijke socialisatiebron vormt voor het deelnemen aan nationale herdenkingsactiviteiten. Dit geldt zowel voor actieve deelname aan herdenkingsceremonies en Bevrijdingsfestivals als voor het volgen van de activiteiten via radio, tv, of online. Tegelijkertijd wordt bewijs gevonden voor zogenaamde ‘substitutie’: bij afname van de ene socialisatievorm groeit het effect van een andere vorm van socialisatie. Terwijl communicatie met niet-familieleden niet samenhangt met de frequentie van herdenken onder de algemene bevolking, vormt het wél een relevante socialisatiebron voor mensen die aangeven niet met hun ouders te communiceren over hun oorlogservaringen. Ook het belang van ouderlijk voorbeeldgedrag neemt toe wanneer (de mogelijkheid tot) communicatie met familieleden afneemt. Hoofdstuk 2 identificeert dus meerdere alternatieve socialisatievormen van herdenkingspraktijken en toont daarmee aan dat communicatie over vroegere oorlogservaringen van familieleden niet noodzakelijk is voor de socialisatie van herdenkingspraktijken.

Hoofdstuk 3: De socialisatie van herdenkingspraktijken onder inwoners met een migratieachtergrond

Hoofdstuk 3 zorgt voor een verdere uitbreiding van theorieën over de socialisatie van herdenkingspraktijken door te focussen op het identificeren van determinanten die relevant zijn voor de socialisatie van herdenkingspraktijken onder inwoners met een migratieachtergrond. Hiervoor is de deelname aan de Nederlandse herdenkingsactiviteiten op 4 en 5 mei vergeleken tussen Nederlandse inwoners met een Turkse, Marokkaanse, Surinaamse, Antilliaanse, Indonesische, Zuid Afrikaanse, en Nederlandse achtergrond. De voornaamste onderzoeksvraag in dit hoofdstuk is: *In hoeverre kan bekendheid met herdenkingen en vieringen uit het land van herkomst deelname aan herdenkingen in het huidige thuisland verklaren?* Om deze vraag te beantwoorden is de rol van historische connecties tussen het huidige thuisland

en het land van herkomst bekeken (o.a. het koloniale verleden), van oorlogservaringen (en specifiek de Tweede Wereldoorlog), en van deelname aan vieringen en herdenkingen uit het land van herkomst. Deze zijn vervolgens vergeleken met de rol die socioculturele aspecten spelen die iets zeggen over de mate van integratie in het huidige thuisland, waaronder het Nederlands taalgebruik en het aantal Nederlandse contacten.

Er is gebruik gemaakt van data verzameld in het LISS-immigrantenpanel (LISS-I). De analyses laten zien dat er nauwelijks verschillen zijn in frequentie van deelname aan Nederlandse herdenkingen wanneer inwoners met een Nederlandse achtergrond vergeleken worden met inwoners met een Surinaamse, Antilliaanse, Indonesische of Zuid-Afrikaanse achtergrond. Onder inwoners met een Turkse of Marokkaanse achtergrond is de frequentie van deelname lager. De gevonden verschillen in deelname kunnen het beste worden verklaard door een combinatie van eerdere deelnamepatronen uit het land van herkomst en bekendheid met de Nederlandse cultuur. Eén van de meest interessante bevindingen is de rol die vieringen en herdenkingen uit het land van herkomst spelen. Inwoners met een migratieachtergrond die aangeven hieraan deel te nemen, nemen vaker deel aan de herdenkingsactiviteiten op 4 en 5 mei. Voorbeelden zijn herdenkingen van grondgebied conflicten en overwinningen in Turkije, het vieren van de onafhankelijkheid in Suriname en Indonesië of zogenaamde ‘vlaggendagen’ in de vroegere Nederlandse Antillen. Deze resultaten suggereren dat bekendheid met herdenken en vieren in het land van herkomst een belangrijke verklaring vormt voor deelname aan nationale herdenkingen in het huidige thuisland.

Hoofdstuk 4: Herdenken en gevoelens van nationale verbondenheid

In Hoofdstuk 4 is de bredere functie van nationale herdenkingen voor hedendaagse samenlevingen onderzocht door te focussen op mogelijke consequenties van deelname aan herdenkingen. De voornaamste onderzoeksvraag in dit hoofdstuk is: *In hoeverre is het vaker deelnemen aan nationale herdenkingen en vieringen geassocieerd met sterkere gevoelens van nationale verbondenheid?* Ook is getoetst of de samenhang tussen herdenkingspraktijken en gevoelens van nationale verbondenheid verschilt afhankelijk van het type activiteit en het type publiek. Hiervoor is een vergelijking gemaakt tussen de activiteiten op 4 en 5 mei, maar bijvoorbeeld ook de viering van Koningsdag, een nationale feestdag ter ere van het staatshoofd. Daarnaast is een vergelijking gemaakt tussen verschillende generaties (gedefinieerd als geboortecohorten; 1910-1945; 1946-1955; 1956-1970; 1971-1995), en inwoners met een Nederlandse, andere westerse, en niet-westerse achtergrond. Wederom is gebruik gemaakt van LISS-data.

Uit de resultaten blijkt dat gevoelens van nationale verbondenheid sterker zijn onder inwoners die vaker deelnemen aan nationale herdenkingen en vieringen. Tegelijkertijd laten vergelijkingen tussen generaties en etnische groepen zien dat dit niet voor iedereen het geval is. Ook is het activiteit-afhankelijk. Zo is dit voor inwoners direct geboren na de Tweede

Wereldoorlog (het 1945-1955 cohort) bijvoorbeeld *wel* het geval voor Dodenherdenking, maar niet voor Bevrijdingsdag. Voor inwoners die na 1955 geboren zijn, zijn de resultaten tegenovergesteld: deelname aan Bevrijdingsdag hangt samen met sterkere gevoelens van nationale verbondenheid, terwijl dit niet zo is voor Dodenherdenking. De samenhang tussen herdenken en gevoelens van nationale verbondenheid is daarnaast een stuk sterker onder inwoners met een niet-westerse achtergrond dan onder inwoners met een Nederlandse of andere westerse achtergrond. Deze bevindingen tonen aan hoe belangrijk het is om in onderzoek naar de bredere functie van herdenken in de hedendaagse samenleving aandacht te besteden aan het *type* activiteiten en publiek.

Hoofdstuk 5: Herdenkingspraktijken en stemintenties onder jongvolwassenen

In Hoofdstuk 5 is de bredere functie van nationale herdenkingen in hedendaagse samenlevingen verder onderzocht door te toetsen in hoeverre herdenkingsactiviteiten een impact hebben op een politieke vorm van maatschappelijke betrokkenheid: stemgedrag. Daarbij is een bijdrage geleverd aan de debatten rondom de veronderstelde afnemende politieke betrokkenheid onder Westerse jongeren door te focussen op een vorm van herdenken, of beter gezegd ‘vieren’, die populair is onder de huidige generatie jongeren: Bevrijdingsfestivals. Bevrijdingsfestivals zijn te typeren als een informele vorm van herdenkingsactiviteiten, waarbij concerten van bekende artiesten worden gecombineerd met aandacht vragen voor oorlogen, de gevolgen daarvan, en het belang van de democratische rechtsstaat. Of dergelijke activiteiten daadwerkelijk impact hebben op maatschappelijke betrokkenheid en politiek gedrag is onbekend. De voornaamste onderzoeksvraag in dit hoofdstuk is dan ook: *In hoeverre is eerdere deelname aan Bevrijdingsfestivals geassocieerd met de stemintenties van jongvolwassenen?* Hierbij gaat het om jongeren van rond de negentien jaar, aan wie is gevraagd op welke partij zij van plan zijn te gaan stemmen bij de volgende Tweede Kamerverkiezingen. Om te toetsen of een mogelijke associatie niet wordt veroorzaakt door andere factoren is daarnaast aandacht besteed aan de invloed van onder andere ouders en de schoolomgeving.

Hiervoor zijn data gebruikt die zijn verzameld binnen de *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in the Netherlands* (CILSNL). De resultaten tonen aan dat bijna 60 procent van de Nederlandse negentienjarigen wel eens een Nederlands Bevrijdingsfestival heeft bezocht. Verder hangt deelname aan deze festivals positief samen met stemintenties. Alhoewel dit verband deels wordt verklaard door de mate waarin jongvolwassenen met hun ouders praten over maatschappelijke onderwerpen, hebben jongvolwassenen die vaker een Bevrijdingsfestival bezoeken nog steeds zo’n 6 procent meer kans om te willen stemmen in de eerstvolgende Tweede Kamerverkiezing. Deze bevinding suggereert dat een dergelijke informele manier van herdenken mogelijkterwijs bij kan dragen aan de politieke betrokkenheid onder jongeren. Tegelijkertijd is voorzichtigheid hier geboden, omdat het niet noodzakelijk gaat om een causaal verband. Een andere relevante bevinding uit dit hoofdstuk

is dat festivalbezoek niet afhankelijk is van het type onderwijs of de sociaaleconomische status van jongeren. Deze resultaten onderstrepen de potentie van dit soort activiteiten om een relatief heterogeen segment van de bevolking te bereiken. Wel is het van belang aandacht te blijven besteden aan de rol van etnische achtergrond, aangezien jongeren die zich identificeren met een niet-Nederlandse etnische groep minder vaak een Bevrijdingsfestival bezoeken.

Conclusie en discussie

Wat kan op basis van de resultaten geconcludeerd worden over verklaringen en implicaties van deelname aan nationale herdenkingen in de hedendaagse (Westerse) samenleving?

Wanneer we kijken naar *determinanten* wordt duidelijk dat er veel verschillende mogelijkheden zijn voor de socialisatie van herdenkingspraktijken. Zo zijn drie typen communicatie onderscheiden die stuk voor stuk een positieve invloed hebben op deelname. Allereerst is dat het praten over oorlogservaringen van ouders en grootouders. Is dit afwezig, dan vervult communicatie met niet-familieleden – vrienden, kennissen, collega's – deze rol. Ook wordt de kans op deelname aan nationale herdenkingen verhoogd door vaker met ouders te praten over (uiteenlopende) maatschappelijke onderwerpen. Minder mogelijkheden voor het doorgeven van persoonlijke oorlogsherinneringen binnen de familie betekent dus niet per se het einde van de socialisatie van herdenkingspraktijken. Dit is een belangrijke toevoeging aan theorieën over de socialisatie van herdenkingspraktijken, en een waardevolle bevinding voor partijen geïnteresseerd in het promoten van deelname aan nationale herdenkingen. Het delen van persoonlijke verhalen over oorlog of onderdrukking is belangrijk, maar het is niet noodzakelijk dat deze verhalen specifiek over de historische gebeurtenis die herdacht wordt gaan. De school kan hier een rol in spelen, door bijvoorbeeld gastspreker programma's aan te bieden waarbij ooggetuigen van recente gewapende conflicten op school komen vertellen over hun oorlogservaringen.

Naast communicatie is ook ouderlijk voorbeeldgedrag een relevante determinant van deelname aan nationale herdenkingen, vooral wanneer communicatie over oorlogservaringen met familieleden minder voorkomt. Eén van de aanbevelingen aan organisaties die deelname aan herdenkingspraktijken willen stimuleren is daarom om het herdenken zelf zichtbaarder maken. Dit is in het bijzonder relevant voor de huidige generatie jongeren, die steeds minder familieleden hebben die de Tweede Wereldoorlog hebben meegemaakt of na kunnen vertellen. Terwijl in dit onderzoek puur is gekeken naar de rol van ouders, zijn ook media in te zetten om de herdenkingsactiviteiten van anderen zichtbaar te maken. Dit gebeurt in Nederland al deels tijdens de herdenkingsceremonies op 4 mei en Bevrijdingsfestivals op 5 mei, maar zou nog persoonlijker kunnen worden gemaakt, zodat men zich makkelijker identificeert met de gedragingen van diegenen die worden geportretteerd in de media.

Het belang van eerdere bekendheid met herdenkingsrituelen is ook zichtbaar onder inwoners met een migratieachtergrond. Deelname aan vieringen en herdenkingen uit het land van herkomst vormt een significante verklaring voor de frequentie van deelname aan de activiteiten die in Nederland op 4 en 5 mei worden georganiseerd ter nagedachtenis aan de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Dit toont aan dat deelname aan herdenkingsrituelen uit het land van herkomst de deelname aan herdenkingsrituelen in het huidige thuisland niet ondermijnt. Ook toont deze bevinding aan dat niet alleen aandacht nodig is voor *wanneer* men is geboren, maar ook *waar* men is geboren. Deze dissertatie laat zien dat het met name inwoners met een Turkse of Marokkaanse achtergrond zijn die minder deelnemen. Om deze groep meer te laten deelnemen kan gedacht worden aan het benadrukken van gelijkenissen tussen de Nederlandse herdenkingen en herdenkingen en vieringen uit het land van herkomst. Dit geldt in mindere mate voor Nederlanders die, alhoewel (met ouders of grootouders) geboren in een ander land, zich nauwelijks identificeren met dit land van herkomst. Voor hen is de link tussen deelname aan nationale herdenkingen en communicatie over hedendaagse maatschappelijke onderwerpen veelbelovender.

Een belangrijke uitkomst betreffende *consequenties* van deelname aan nationale herdenkingen is dat de impact van deelname op betrokkenheid bij en bereidheid tot bijdrage aan collectieve doelen afhankelijk is van het type activiteit, het type publiek, en het type uitkomst. Terwijl gevoelens van nationale verbondenheid onder eerdere generaties bijvoorbeeld sterk samenhangen met deelname aan Dodenherdenking, is dit voor latere generaties het geval bij Bevrijdingsdag. Een mogelijke verklaring voor deze generatieverschillen zou kunnen liggen in het feit dat Bevrijdingsdag pas in 1954 geïntroduceerd werd, en in eerste instantie niet erg succesvol was. Ook de nadruk die vooral in de beginjaren tijdens Dodenherdenking werd gelegd op het stimuleren van vertrouwen in, en verbondenheid met Nederland is door de jaren heen verminderd, wat zou kunnen verklaren waarom latere generaties deelname aan deze activiteit minder sterk met gevoelens van nationale verbondenheid associëren. Voor partijen geïnteresseerd in het promoten van gevoelens van nationale verbondenheid lijkt het promoten van deelname aan nationale herdenkingen gezien de geringe effecten en grote groepsverschillen niet de beste keuze.

Ook tussen mensen met een Nederlandse en een (niet-westerse) migratieachtergrond zijn verschillen zichtbaar, en is het vooral deze laatste groep die sterke gevoelens van verbondenheid ervaart bij meer frequente deelname aan nationale herdenkingen. Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor is dat herdenkingsactiviteiten een grotere rol spelen voor mensen voor wie deze activiteiten nog niet als 'gewoon' voelen. Een andere verklaring is dat inwoners die nog geen sterke band met Nederland ervaren meer te winnen hebben bij deelname aan deze herdenkingsactiviteiten. Het geeft hen immers de mogelijkheid om hun Nederlandse identiteit te herbevestigen, zowel tegenover zichzelf als tegenover hun omgeving. Tegelijkertijd roepen deze groepsverschillen vragen op over de causaliteit van de gevonden associaties. In plaats van verschillen in impact, zou het hier ook kunnen gaan om verschillende manieren van het uiten van bepaalde (national(istisch)e) gevoelens. Het gebruik

van cross-sectionele data is dan ook een van de voornaamste beperkingen van dit onderzoek, en longitudinale paneldata een van de belangrijkste aanbevelingen voor vervolgonderzoek. Om meer zicht te krijgen op de impact van herdenkingsrituelen op collectief niveau, bijvoorbeeld met het oog op sociale cohesie, is het ook van belang om potentiële negatieve uitkomsten te bekijken, zoals wanneer gevoelens van nationale verbondenheid omslaan naar chauvinisme of fascisme.

Tot slot benadrukt het onderzoek naar Bevrijdingsfestivals dat dergelijke (informele) manieren van herdenken de *potentie* hebben om een heterogene groep jongeren te bereiken. Partijen geïnteresseerd in het vergroten van de impact van herdenkingsactiviteiten op de betrokkenheid bij en bereidheid tot bijdrage aan collectieve doelen (zoals verkiezingen) kunnen gebruikmaken van de opgedane inzichten in de socialisatie van herdenkingspraktijken. Zo zouden interviews met oorlogsveteranen, vluchtelingen en politici ingezet kunnen worden om de link tussen oorlogsverhalen uit het verleden en politieke vraagstukken in het heden kunnen versterken. Gebaseerd op de rol die voorbeeldgedrag speelt, zou ook het organiseren van interactieve activiteiten die de maatschappelijke betrokkenheid van andere festivalbezoekers zichtbaar maken kunnen bijdragen aan de impact van herdenkingspraktijken.

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Dankwoord

Dankwoord

En dan ligt er opeens een proefschrift en ontbreekt alleen het dankwoord nog. Alhoewel ik in eerste instantie opzag tegen het schrijven van een dankwoord (in een paar bladzijden een periode van vier jaar terug moeten halen en dan ook nog eens zorgen dat je niemand vergeet: hoe doe je dat precies?), ben ik toch overstag gegaan. Want ondanks dat al die mensen die ik zo ga noemen (en al die mensen die ik vergeet te noemen: alvast sorry, ik ben jullie heus niet echt vergeten) ook zonder een dankwoord wel weten hoe enorm ik ze waardeer, aan het einde van je promotieonderzoek een momentje nemen om terug te blikken is verbazingwekkend leuk. En laten we eerlijk wezen, een paar bladzijden vol mogen schrijven zonder zorgen over referenties en wetenschappelijk taalgebruik is óók best lekker.

Waar beter te beginnen dan bij de kantoorgenoten met wie ik die afgelopen vier jaar door heb gebracht: Bas en Maaïke, dr. Hofstra en dr. Van der Vleuten. Wat heb ik jullie gemist die laatste maanden tijdens het afmaken van mijn proefschrift! De laatste loodjes wegen het zwaarst, dat heb ook ik inmiddels aan den lijve ondervonden, maar zonder jullie aan mijn zijde toch nog net wat zwaarder. Bas, jouw rust wist me soms van complete chaos in de ene minuut naar ontspannen en relaxed in de volgende minuut te transformeren. Maaïke, met jou lief en leed delen zowel op als buiten kantoor maakte dat ik geen complete thuiswerker ben geworden. Ik ben niet alleen ongelooflijk blij met jullie, maar ook enorm trots op hoe jullie je de afgelopen vier jaar hebben ontwikkeld, zowel op persoonlijk als academisch vlak.

Gelukkig waren jullie niet de enige leuke collega's. Zo maakte ik menig tripje naar de kamer van Leonie, Nikki en Müge, en werd ik liefdevol opgevangen door mijn nieuwe (tijdelijke) pleegouders, Margriet en Jelle, die me, samen met Simon, onder hun hoede namen tijdens hun (vele) tripjes naar de koffieautomaat (mede mogelijk gemaakt door Lukas, wiens bureau ik over kon nemen in de weken dat hij er niet was: dank!). Ook de (slechte en goede) grappen van Simon waren een welkome afleiding. En dan waren daar nog de talloze spontane kletsmomenten met collega's in de koffiehoeck, bij het secretariaat of elders in het Sjoerd Groenmangebouw, en de hard-nodige (lunch)wandelingen door de Botanische Tuinen of langs de bossen van Rijnauwen. Vooral met Pascale heb ik menig wandelingetje gemaakt. Extra boffen dus om de laatste weken door te mogen brengen aan het oude bureau van Vincenz, met Pascale als kamergenoot. Kort maar krachtig, zullen we maar zeggen!

Ook op de deuren van Yassine, Jolien en Melissa klopte ik graag aan als ik even toe was aan wat sociale interactie. Had ik nog niet genoeg beweging gehad, dan klopte ik aan bij Antonie voor het trappen van een balletje (toegegeven, niet mijn sterkste punt), een boks momentje (wèl mijn specialiteit), of een dansje samen met Sara, al was dat laatste dan wel buiten werktijd. Sara, wat ben ik blij dat wij onze wandelingetjes sinds kort weer voort kunnen zetten, ditmaal op de Roeterseilandcampus. Leuk om met jou niet alleen mijn interesse in onderzoek naar adolescenten en onderwijs te kunnen delen (en alles wat daarbij komt kijken), maar ook mijn liefde voor muziek en festivals. En al spreekt het voor zich: Heel fijn om je als paranimf te hebben.

Kortom, aan manieren om even te ontsnappen aan het hersenkraken op werk geen gebrek. Maar ook de mensen met wie ik de afgelopen jaren juist focuste op dat hersenkraken ben ik dankbaar. Mijn TEaM (Tanja, Eva & Marcel) zonder twijfel op nummer 1. Bedankt voor jullie vertrouwen en de vrijheid die jullie me gaven om mijn eigen onderzoeksinteresses te ontdekken en volgen, ook wanneer dat soms wat afweek van de sociologische aanpak van de afdeling. Tanja, jij bent voor mij het levende voorbeeld van een goede work-life balance. Hoe jij met jouw drukke agenda tijd blijft houden voor aankloppende aio's blijft mij een raadsel. Marcel, ik ben enorm blij dat jij mijn promotoren-team bent komen versterken vanuit Nijmegen. Niet alleen om je expertise, maar ook om de manier waarop je ondanks de afstand altijd precies leek te weten wat ik nodig had om verder te kunnen. En Eva, het vertrouwen wat jij had in mij als onderzoeker, en de manier waarop je dit over wist te brengen, heeft ervoor gezorgd dat ook ik het aandurfde om hierin te gaan geloven. Het onderzoeksvoorstel waar ik de afgelopen maanden aan heb gewerkt is hier een resultaat van. Dank hiervoor! Ik heb erg genoten van onze gezamenlijke brainstormsessies de afgelopen jaren, en hoop jullie in de toekomst nog vaak tegen te komen.

Ook het onderdeel zijn van een groter onderzoeksproject (het onderzoeksprogramma *Vrijheid en onvrijheid door de generaties heen*) heb ik als erg waardevol ervaren: het delen van nieuwe inzichten of interessante onderzoeken met Sabrina, het combineren van ons kwantitatieve onderzoek met het kwalitatieve onderzoek van Esther Captain, en de korte link met de praktijk door de samenwerking met het Nationaal Comité 4 en 5 mei. Ook van het (co)coördineren van de enorme dataverzameling binnen het CILS4EU/CILSNL-project heb ik enorm veel geleerd, en ik kijk met plezier terug op de samenwerking binnen het CILSNL-team, als ook de uitwisselingen met de teamleden uit de andere CILS4EU landen. I would like to thank Miles Hewstone in particular, for taking the time to read and review my work after our CILS meeting in Stockholm.

Mijn leescommissie, bestaande uit Maykel Verkuyten, Anne Bert Dijkstra, Kees Ribbens, Peer Scheepers, en Helga de Valk, wil ik bedanken voor het lezen en beoordelen van dit proefschrift. Daarnaast ben ik alle andere onderzoekers die zich met soortgelijke onderwerpen bezighielden en open stonden voor een (of meer) sparringsessie(s) erg dankbaar: in het bijzonder Jeroen Weesie (voor de statistische sparsessies maar ook de scherpe theoretische vragen die hij opwierp), Roza Meuleman, Anouk Smeekes, maar ook Kees Ribbens, Pieter Baay, en Amy Corning. Amy, thanks for your invaluable input as one of the experts on collective memory and commemorations, and for taking the time to show me around the national memorials in Washington D.C.

Whilst on the topic of my U.S. visit, during which I stayed for two months at Penn State University to conduct research at the Department of Sociology and Criminology, I would like to also thank all the wonderful people I met there, my host, Duane Alwin, in particular. Duane, you and Linda made sure I had a home away from home, and I will never forget that (that, and the fact that you made sure I visited all of State College culinary hot spots during

our talks about science, academia, and life in general). Brianne, Kyler, and Sarah, thanks for making me feel welcome at the department. UClub survivors: you know I couldn't have done it without you. Hema, I am so fortunate to have met you at that point in my life. You are the big sister I never had, thank you so much for your ever-loving presence.

Het staat natuurlijk buiten kijf dat dit proefschrift niet tot stand had kunnen komen zonder al die momenten waarop ik even uit kon blazen bij vrienden en familie. Dank voor alle etentjes, theetjes, biertjes, en andere momenten van ontspanning de afgelopen jaren (en sorry voor de keren dat ik onze afspraken af moest zeggen omdat mijn hoofd weer eens vond dat ik te hard gewerkt had). Ik weet dat velen van jullie me voor gek verklaarden voor mijn keuze voor de wetenschap, en ben blij dat jullie me toch onvoorwaardelijk gesteund hebben hierin. Joy, jouw vraagtekens bij het nut van onderzoek doen blijven me motiveren om de vertaalslag van wetenschap naar praktijk verder te optimaliseren. Roos, jij wist er altijd voor te zorgen dat de opmerkingen van Joy net wat zachter landden, door alles iets meer in perspectief te plaatsen. Sanne (D) en Jasmijn, jullie weten er altijd voor te zorgen dat ik na een date met jullie zó veel ontspanner en blijer thuiskom. Marieke: al sinds de middelbare school blijft de hoeveelheid thee die wij kunnen wegwerken me verbazen. Jouw taal skills zorgen niet alleen voor goede gesprekken vol droge humor, maar hebben ook dit proefschrift inhoudelijk verder geholpen.

Cheuk. Hoe makkelijk het is om bij jou te ontspannen, en werk even werk te laten, blijft bizar. Zonder jouw liefde en je nooit aflatende (en soms wat irritante) optimisme (en natuurlijk alle heerlijke, voedzame maaltijden waarmee je me op de been hield als ik weer eens opging in mijn werk) was het me de afgelopen jaren niet gelukt. Ook de fijne momentjes bij jouw familie, zowel in Den Haag als in Hong Kong, en de vele uitstapjes en logeerpartijtjes met Ruben en Daphne, waren een welkome afleiding. Ik koester onze bankhangmomenten evenveel als onze buitenlandavonturen, en geniet er iedere avond van om bij jou in bed te kruipen. En niet onbelangrijk: jij bracht me in aanraking met het boksen (en Marta, en de Box & Joy familie), een uitlaatklep waarvan ik niet had gedacht dat deze zo belangrijk voor me zou worden.

En tot slot, lieve paps, mams, en zus. Al weet ik dat het soms een wat ver-van-je-bed-show was als ik weer eens een onderzoeksidee aan jullie probeerde uit te leggen wat nog niet helemaal goed uitgedacht was en daardoor onmogelijk om te volgen, ik ben ongelooflijk blij dit alles met jullie te kunnen delen. Mam, jouw altijd luisterend oor was, en is, onmisbaar. Pap, hetzelfde geldt voor jouw (terechte) kritische vragen. Daarnaast geniet ik onwijs van de niet-onderzoek momentjes met jullie. De wandelingen, de spelletjes- en elpee-luisteravonden, en sinds kort de jazzfestivals. Twinnie, sissie. Leuk om te zien hoe jij vol enthousiasme aan de slag ging met het lezen (en editen) van mijn proefschrift. Met jou aan mijn zijde als paranimf is zo'n verdediging toch net wat minder eng, al is het maar omdat ik weet dat jij prima in mijn plaats zou kunnen antwoorden. Misschien toch maar eens nadenken over een Coopmans & Coopmans publicatie?

CV

Curriculum Vitae

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Manja Coopmans was born in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, on 22 June 1989. In 2010 she obtained her Bachelor's degree in Pedagogical Sciences from Utrecht University, the Netherlands, with a minor in Youth and Criminality and an additional honours program. In 2013 she completed her Research Master's degree in Migration, Ethnic Relations and Multiculturalism at Utrecht University, cum laude. In September of that year she started working as a Ph.D. candidate at the Interuniversity Center for Social Science Theory and Methodology (ICS) and the Department of Sociology of Utrecht University, where she wrote the present dissertation under the supervision of Tanja van der Lippe (Utrecht University), Marcel Lubbers (Radboud University Nijmegen), and Eva Jaspers (Utrecht University). During her Ph.D., she taught courses on Methods and Statistics, supervised Bachelor and Master theses, co-coordinated the data collection of the fourth, fifth, and sixth wave of the Dutch part of the 'Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries' (CILS4EU), and initiated an additional (school-level) data collection, 'CILSNL Citizenship Education'. From October to December 2015, she was a visiting scholar at the Department of Sociology and Criminology at Pennsylvania State University, hosted by Duane F. Alwin. In her final year as a Ph.D. candidate, she worked part-time as a project manager at the Dutch National Youth Council, where she advised governmental bodies and other organisations on youth policy. As of October 2017, she works as a postdoctoral researcher at the Research Institute of Child Development and Education of the University of Amsterdam.

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Every society has its own commemorations and celebrations, the commemoration of the Second World War being perhaps the most widely recognised one due to its major impact worldwide. Manja Coopmans gains more insight in the role of national commemorations in contemporary Western societies by empirically examining determinants and consequences of Dutch citizens' participation in the activities organised in commemoration of the Second World War. Specific attention is paid to citizens further removed from the historical event that is commemorated, either in time (i.e. later generations) or in geographical distance (i.e. citizens with a migration background). Numerous ways are identified to familiarise citizens with national commemorations. The potential of commemorative participation to positively impact citizens' broader civic engagement is found to be activity-, audience- and outcome- specific.

Manja Coopmans obtained her Research Master's degree in Migration, Ethnic Relations, and Multiculturalism at Utrecht University, graduating cum laude. She conducted the present study as part of her Ph.D. research at the Interuniversity Center for Social Science Theory and Methodology (ICS) and the Department of Sociology of Utrecht University.

