

# Increasing Validity by Recombining Existing Indices: MIPEX as a Measure of Citizenship Models

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## Abstract

**Objective:** Researchers often reuse existing data and indices even in cases where theory demands different measures. Here, I argue that with little additional effort, it is possible to increase the validity of research by recombining individual indicators of existing indices.

**Methods:** This approach is demonstrated by using data from the widely used Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), recombining some of the 148 indicators to approximate Koopmans et al.'s (2005) two-dimensional conception of citizenship models.

**Results:** The recombined MIPEX data match the desired conception of citizenship models and can be applied to all countries covered in the MIPEX. For the first time theoretically predicted ethnic-pluralistic citizenship models (segregationism) are observed.

**Conclusion:** The approach presented can be applied to different data and research questions, leading to research making use of more appropriate data that match specific research rather than relying on what is readily available—thus increasing validity.

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## Introduction

Reliability and validity are fundamental concerns in all scientific enquiry, including the social sciences (Carmines and Zeller 1979; King, Keohane, and Verba 1994). While these concerns are shared across the scientific community, the reality often differs from the ideals, and constraints of time and resources are all too common. Researchers often use data and indices that already exist, without heeding much attention to how existing data link to the theory driving the research – perhaps hoping it would be ‘good enough’. As a result the validity of much research is unknown. While we are not able to easily change the reality in which research is undertaken, here I argue that with little additional effort is possible to increase the validity of research findings: This can be achieved by recombining existing (disaggregated) data to improve the fit to the underlying theory of a research project.

This approach of recombining existing data is illustrated using citizenship models as an example. Citizenship models are a reflection of predominant understandings of citizenship, which means that the policies in place are indicative of relevant citizenship models. These citizenship models form the foundation of the many contemporary political conflicts that draw on the difference between the local population and immigrants. Relevant policies can regulate immigration – border-crossing – and civic integration, and indeed conceptions of citizenship and policies are intrinsically linked. Citizenship models are of interest as they are thought to shape many aspects of political behaviour. For instance citizenship models have been linked to minority politics, political debates about minorities and immigrants, political participation and representation, or naturalization (e.g. Koopmans et al. 2005; Bird 2005; Böcker and Thränhardt 2006; Harrison and Munn 2007; Ersanilli and Koopmans 2010; Doomernik, Kraler, and Reichel 2010; Wright and Bloemraad 2012; Dronkers and Vink 2012; Bloemraad and Schönwälder 2013; Celis, Eelbode, and Wauters 2013; Huddleston and Vink 2013; Helbling 2014; Dancygier and Laitin 2014; Hainmueller and Hangartner 2013).

To capture these underlying citizenship models, a wide variety of approaches have been employed.

A widely used index in this area is the *Migration Integration Policy Index* (MIPEX) (Huddleston and Niessen 2011), which uses 148 indicators to capture immigration and integration policies in 7 dimensions in currently 40 countries (as of March 2015, disaggregated data are available for 37). The overall MIPEX scores could be interpreted as ‘liberal’ and ‘restrictive’ citizenship models. This is surely a conceptual stretch, but not far enough to be immediately rejected (compare Zamora-Kapoor, Kovincic, and Causey 2013). Even if citizenship models are conceptualized along a single dimension, it is unlikely that the overall MIPEX scores fit the theoretical basis of any given research. This leads to problems of validity. Alternatively researchers can create their own index, in which case constrained resources tend to translate into a limited index of a few indicators – possibly motivated by the availability of indicators rather than underlying theory (compare Meuleman and Reeskens 2008). While validity issues may be reduced, questions of reliability come to the fore. Both approaches are problematic for social science interested in developing new insights and perhaps informing policy. Here I introduce a third possibility, arguing that by recombining individual indicators from existing indices – in this case the MIPEX –, it is possible to bring in a clear theoretical foundation *post-hoc*, so to speak. By using existing data the workload is reduced to a realistic level, while the many indicators in MIPEX make it possible to re-build an index suited to a specific research question. As a result, the gap between theory and data is drastically reduced, leading to more valid inferences.

The viability of this alternative procedure is demonstrated by using the widely used MIPEX data to create an index that matches a well-established approach to classifying citizenship models (Koopmans et al. 2005). This not only leads to more cases, but also to the observation of a type of citizenship model thus far only predicted by theory – validating the theory. Introduced by Koopmans and Statham (1999) and subsequently refined, such as in Koopmans et al. (2005), this approach is now widely used. As summarized in table 1, it is a two-dimensional model of citizenship. It is used as an example here because it is clearly motivated by theoretical considerations, specified well enough for the present exercise (see also Vink and Bauböck 2013), and sufficiently different from the MIPEX to demonstrate what recombining can achieve. The first dimension is the *cultural dimension* defined by cultural difference and groups rights. The ideal types in this case are cultural monism and cultural pluralism. The second dimension consists of the *legal dimension* defined by access to citizenship. The ideal types in this case are ethnic and civic-territorial understandings of citizenship. This leads to a simple typology where the combination of ethnic and monistic traditions is assimilationism; the combination of ethnic and pluralistic traditions is segregationism; the combination of civic and monistic traditions is universalism; and the combination of civic and pluralistic traditions is multiculturalism. Typical cases for assimilationism are Germany and Switzerland, for universalism Koopmans et al. (2005) cite France, while the Netherlands and the United Kingdom are presented as typical cases for multiculturalism. Koopmans et al. (2005) do not identify a typical case for segregationism. The inclusion of typical cases alongside the definition, however, is potentially misleading as the authors explicitly acknowledge the dynamic nature of citizenship models (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2011).

TABLE 1 AROUND HERE

There are various other approaches to capture citizenship models and immigrant policies across countries and increasingly across time (see Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel

2012; Banting and Kymlicka 2013; Koopmans 2013; Gest et al. 2014; Bjerre et al. 2014 for reviews; Ruedin, Alberti, and D’Amato 2015 for a long time series). Existing studies have examined to what extent different citizenship indices capture the same concepts – indirectly assessing whether different indices can be compared (see Helbling and Vink 2013; Helbling 2013). It is unlikely that any of them is universally suited to all different research questions. Of the existing indices, the *Migration Integration Policy Index* (MIPEX) is noted for its relatively wide coverage, the fact that it is an ongoing project updating the database on a regular basis, and for making freely available the disaggregated data. For historical reasons the MIPEX lacks a strong theoretical foundation. Despite this, Ruedin (2011) has used scale analysis and principal component analysis to demonstrate that the MIPEX constitutes a reliable scale, but many individual items could be dropped without affecting reliability. Here I argue that rather than seeing the number of indicators as redundant, the large number of indicators in the MIPEX can be regarded a strength: It is possible to regroup individual items according to specifications other than those used in MIPEX publications (Niessen et al. 2007; Huddleston and Niessen 2011). This allows for a recombination of individual indicators in a form that has a clear theoretical foundation. By so doing it is also possible to address one of the concerns outlined by Koopmans (2013), namely that the theoretically assumed dimensions should be demonstrated empirically.

## Methods and Data: Recombining the MIPEX

In the following I outline how the MIPEX data were used to identify citizenship models as outlined by Koopmans et al. The fundamental concern was to follow the *conception* of citizenship by Koopmans et al. as closely as possible. The presentation of citizenship models presented in this article draws on groups of MIPEX indicators, and it is conceivable that a closer match to Koopmans et al.’s indicators could be achieved. Given that not all the items in Koopmans et al. are available in the MIPEX data – for example the MIPEX data do not capture media programming for minorities or policies on (religious) headscarves –, given that the individual items in Koopmans et al. do not appear to be theoretically motivated as much as the overall measure, and because of differences in question wordings in items that match, however, a more detailed approach appears futile. The items in the legal dimension seem to offer a somewhat closer direct match than the items in the cultural dimension. All in all, however, the MIPEX data cover the same areas as Koopmans et al. – despite being organized according to a very different logic. A key difference between the presentation in MIPEX publications and related scholarly publications is the implicit assumption of what constitutes ‘good’ policy by MIPEX who clearly *favour* policies that are civic and pluralistic.

In Koopmans et al. (2005) the ethnic-civic dimension is covered by items on nationality acquisition (residence requirements, welfare dependence as an obstacle to naturalization, facilitated naturalization for the second generation, double nationality), citizenship rights for foreign nationals (conditions of expulsions, voting rights), and anti-discrimination rights (implementation of ICERD provisions, inclusion of discrimination alongside racism, anti-discrimination provisions in civil law, bodies to investigate discrimination). To find relevant indicators in the MIPEX data, I went through groups of indicators and found the following indicators to be the best matches. Each group consists of multiple indicators: (a) long-term residence: eligibility (5.1),<sup>1</sup> (b) political participation: formal rights (‘electoral rights’) (4.1),

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<sup>1</sup>The numbers in brackets refer to the numbers in the MIPEX data and are provided to ease replication.

(c) participation: informal rights ('political liberties') (4.2), (d) nationality: eligibility (6.1), (e) nationality: security of status (6.3), (f) nationality: dual nationality (6.4), (g) anti-discrimination (7.1 to 7.4). The actual score is the mean of  $\frac{(a + b + c) + (d + e + f) + g}{3}$ .

Koopmans et al. use the following items to capture the monistic-pluralistic dimension: cultural requirements for naturalization, allowances for religious practices outside public institutions, cultural rights and provisions in public institutions, political representation rights, and affirmative action in the labour market. Using the MIPEX data, the following indicators are used instead, each consisting of multiple items: (h) access to the labour market: integration measures ('targeted support') (1.3), (i) political participation: consultative bodies (4.3), (j) political participation: implementation policies (4.4), (k) family reunion: cultural requirements (2.2:22, 23), (l) long-term residence: cultural requirements (5.1:76, 5.2:79), (m) access to nationality: cultural requirements (6.2:99, 100). The actual score is the mean of  $\frac{(h + i + j) + (k + l + m)}{6}$ .

In the following, the recombined MIPEX scores and data in Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel (2012) are compared, and the full data for all countries covered in the MIPEX presented. To do so, it is necessary to rescale the numbers; here the numbers in Koopmans et al. are rescaled to match those of the recombined MIPEX:  $y = (x * 50) + 50$ .

## Citizenship Models: A Comparison

This section compares classifications of citizenship models as outlined in Koopmans et al. (2005) and Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel (2012) with the recombined MIPEX data. It should be borne in mind that it is not expected that the scores from the different sources agree nearly perfectly, because different indicators were used. This section is explicitly no attempt to replicate the scores in Koopmans et al. as such, but an application of their theoretical *conceptualization* to new data. The labels used to describe the two dimensions of citizenship in Koopmans et al. (2005) are not beyond challenge, nor are the placements of countries in Koopmans et al. (2005) and Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel (2012) beyond all doubt. In some cases sub-national diversity poses a real challenge to determining a single national position. The same challenges apply to the recombined MIPEX scores here. For the MIPEX data, the involved experts try to choose the 'typical' position, such as where cantonal differences exist in Switzerland (for an overview see Manatschal 2011; Manatschal and Stadelmann-Steffen 2013). A different solution is to focus on the sub-national level where this makes sense. For instance, in Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel (2012) Flanders and Wallonia are treated as separate regions of Belgium and regional data are provided alongside a national assessment. The national situation is not unimportant because different predominant conceptions of citizenship at the regional level need not translate into a mixed position at the national level: one conception may simply prevail.

In figure 1, data provided in Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel (2012) are compared with MIPEX-style data from the *SOM project* (van der Brug et al. 2015) to allow an exact match of years. The years were chosen to match data in Koopmans et al. and have no particular significance. The data from the SOM project use the MIPEX criteria without modifications to create a time series how immigration policies have changed between 1995 and 2009 in 7 European countries, complementing the official MIPEX data (Cunningham et al. 2012; Ruedin 2013). The figure shows country placements in 2002 and 2008, highlighting the dynamic nature of citizenship policies (Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel 2012; Ersanilli and Koopmans 2011).

FIGURE 1 AROUND HERE

The same general placement of countries and changes between 2002 and 2008 seem to be identified by the two data sources. The direction of placements seems to coincide, giving credence to the argument that the recombined MIPEX data successfully tap into the same concept as Koopmans et al. This is a test of correlational validity, and indeed the correlations for 2008 are reasonably high: 0.84 for the legal dimension, and 0.88 for the cultural dimension ( $p < 0.01$ ). Similar coefficients can be achieved when comparing the 10 countries covered in the MIPEX and in Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel (2012). This leads to a comparison of the situation in 2007 and 2008, but this temporal difference is likely to be inconsequential (Morales et al. 2015). The correlation for the legal dimension in this case is 0.84 ( $p < 0.01$ ), and for the cultural dimension 0.61 ( $p < 0.1$ ). This lower coefficient for the cultural dimension seems to reflect the somewhat poorer fit of items outlined above, but remains reasonably high. Indeed, the fact that the coefficients for both dimensions are relatively high suggests that Koopmans et al.'s approach to citizenship could successfully be replicated, indicating a relationship hidden in the correlations with the overall MIPEX presented in Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel (2012). In both comparisons presented here, there are differences in the absolute placement of countries, but there does not appear to be a systematic bias in any direction. This suggests that – as expected – the approach to citizenship in Koopmans et al. is sufficiently independent from the actual indicators used: the definition of citizenship models does not depend on the items included.

## Citizenship Models in Other Countries

A major advantage of the MIPEX data is that they cover many countries – especially countries not traditionally included in studies that identify citizenship regimes (compare Gest et al. 2014). By applying the above method to all countries covered in the MIPEX (both 2007 and 2010) it is possible to classify many more countries following the approach outlined in Koopmans et al. (2005). The figure shows the distribution of the countries included in the MIPEX data. Figure 2 makes it apparent that the majority of countries have a tendency to be either ethnic-monistic (assimilationism) or civic-pluralistic (multiculturalism). On the basis of this observation it could be argued that a single dimension may be sufficient to capture different citizenship models. This is also a conclusion one could draw from the evidence in Cinalli and Giugni (2013), for instance, even though the authors use a two-dimensional approach. A closer look at the figure, however, contradicts the temptation to reduce citizenship models to a single dimension because of the cases that appear (compare Koopmans 2013 on the need to demonstrate empirically the existence of theoretically assumed dimensions). In fact there *are* countries in all four quarters of the figure, indicating that all four types identified by Koopmans et al. occur – even though some types are more common than others. This is an important finding given that in Koopmans et al. (2005) and subsequent publications no typical case is identified for ethnic-pluralistic citizenship models (segregationism) and might have been dismissed as a purely theoretical concept: Estonia and South Korea seem to fill the gap. Moreover, using principal component analysis (PCA) it was ascertained that a reduction of the data to fewer than two factors is not optimal. The Velicer MAP criterion has its minimum at 2 factors. While the first component is dominant in visual inspection (scree plot), two factors are clearly visible.

FIGURE 2 AROUND HERE

The figure also makes it apparent that citizenship models are a dynamic matter: many countries have changed their policies to some extent over this short period of time (2007 to 2010). This is particularly the case in the European Union where there is real pressure to bring citizenship legislation in line with European directives.

Table 2 gives full scores for all countries included in the MIPEX data. EC refers to the ethnic-civic dimension; MP refers to the monistic-pluralistic dimension. The overall MIPEX score for 2010 is included to allow an easy comparison.

TABLE 2 AROUND HERE

## Discussion

The limited resources with which most research in the social science have to contend means that researchers often draw on existing data. While this is commendable in terms of comparability, unfortunately reusing existing data and indices can lead to serious validity issues: a gap between theory and data used (Meuleman and Reeskens 2008; compare Laver 2014). Here I argue that researchers can reduce validity problems by recombining disaggregated data from existing sources. This is demonstrated using data from the Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), which were recombined in a way to match the conception of citizenship models developed in Koopmans and Statham (1999) and subsequently. The resulting classifications are strongly rooted in theory and therefore more adequate than using the overall MIPEX scores – making the strong assumption that immigrant integration policies are associated closely enough with citizenship models.

By recombining disaggregated data it was possible to quickly classify a relatively large number of countries in accordance to established theory – here a two-dimensional conception of citizenship along the contrasts between ethnic and civic, as well as monistic and pluralistic approaches. Correlational analysis suggests that the recombined MIPEX data are a valid measure of citizenship models. With these new data it was possible to demonstrate that the four types of citizenship models identified in Koopmans et al. (2005) are not mere theoretical constructs, but all of them occur in reality (compare Koopmans 2013). This includes ethnic-pluralistic citizenship models (segregationism), a case for which Koopmans et al. did not identify a typical case.

The recombination of disaggregated MIPEX data demonstrates that it is possible to benefit from existing data sources – including in this case the wide (and expanding) coverage of the MIPEX – without being constrained by the presentation of these data in a particular index. By so doing, it is possible to increase the validity of research because theoretical considerations are given adequate weight. The approach outlined is resource-friendly and can be applied to all larger indices where disaggregated data are available. However, it is not a panacea: only research based on well specified theory – like the two-dimensional approach to citizenship in Koopmans et al. (2005) – can benefit from increased validity by recombining existing data. As ever in the social sciences, there is no substitute for adequate theory (Achen 2005), but in some cases a little extra effort can substantially increase validity.

	Ethnic	Civic
Pluralism	segregationism	multiculturalism
Monism	assimilationism	universalism

*Table 1: Citizenship models after Koopmans et al. (2005); cultural dimension (across), legal dimension (down)*

Country	2007 EC	2007 MP	2010 EC	2010 MP	2010 MIPEX
Armenia			27.20	24.07	44
Australia			74.56	63.15	68
Austria	33.80	22.84	33.80	45.06	41
Belgium	61.00	60.00	64.04	58.89	67
Bulgaria			45.47	41.47	41
Canada	77.60	57.59	77.60	57.59	72
Cyprus	43.90	27.31	43.90	23.70	35
Czech Republic	26.93	28.17	35.07	28.73	46
Denmark	50.87	49.78	58.05	62.04	53
Estonia	22.51	57.13	26.97	57.59	46
Finland	65.63	69.37	67.21	69.37	69
France	58.42	56.27	59.26	56.23	51
Germany	53.75	72.31	55.34	77.89	57
Greece	42.11	16.85	59.01	21.57	49
Hungary	49.72	29.17	51.31	29.17	45
Ireland	62.17	53.06	64.94	47.50	49
Italy	53.09	55.00	53.09	51.94	60
Japan			23.81	29.76	38
Latvia	22.17	34.44	22.17	33.52	31
Lithuania	34.33	28.80	36.07	28.80	40
Luxembourg	41.91	44.51	55.35	50.28	60
Malta	33.69	28.17	36.74	28.17	37
Netherlands	67.61	56.55	67.61	57.48	68
Norway	58.14	73.38	58.14	73.38	66
Poland	29.11	27.31	29.46	27.31	42
Portugal	74.83	60.67	74.83	76.79	79
Romania			42.20	35.56	45



Serbia			24.44	30.56	41
Slovakia	41.42	18.65	42.08	15.74	36
Slovenia	41.24	40.91	41.24	35.36	48
South Korea			27.67	79.44	60
Spain	52.81	54.91	52.81	54.91	63
Sweden	84.31	87.50	84.31	87.50	83
Switzerland	44.05	30.00	44.05	30.28	43
Turkey			18.07	27.41	24
United Kingdom	73.59	40.46	68.47	37.41	57
United States			70.74	45.65	62

Table 2: Citizenship Models in the Countries Covered by MIPEX (EC = ethnic—civic, MP = monistic—pluralistic), as well as the overall MIPEX score for 2010

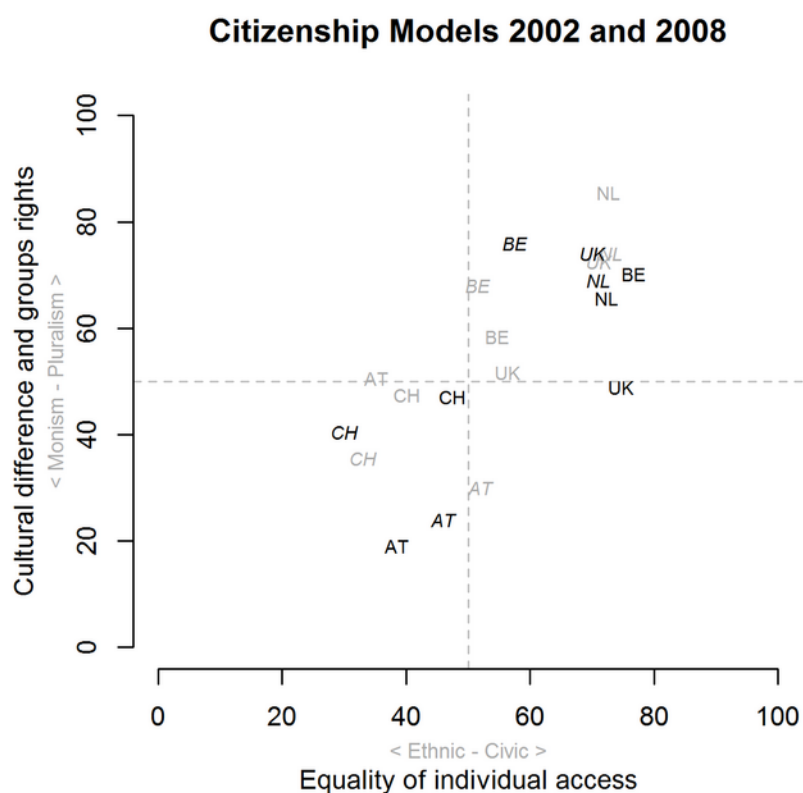


Figure 1: Citizenship models using MIPEX-style data from the SOM project and Koopmans et al. (in italics), 2002 in grey, 2008 in black

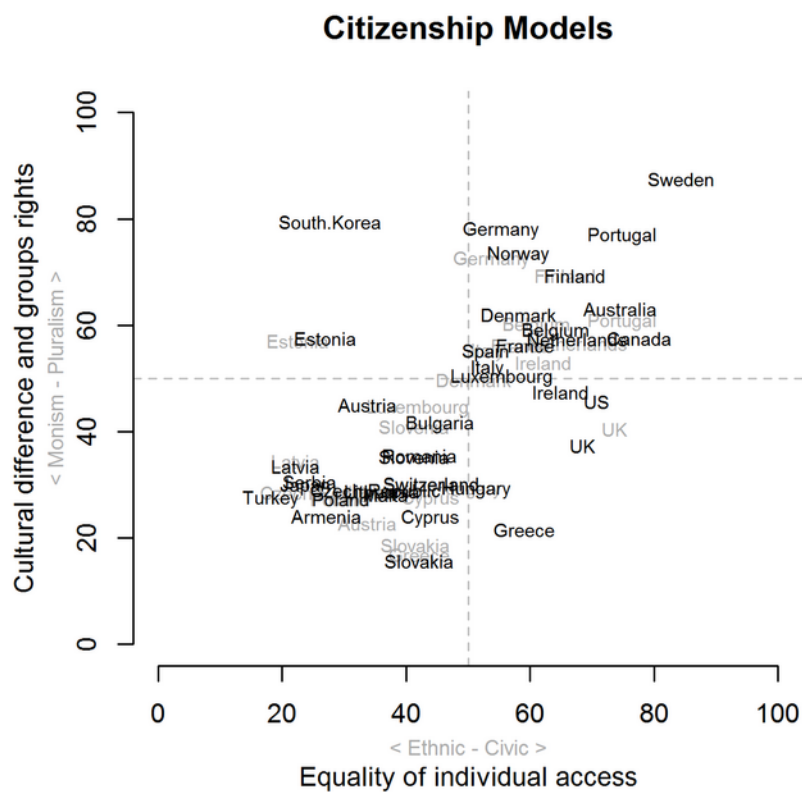


Figure 2: Citizenship models in all countries covered by MIPEX, 2007 in grey, 2010 in black

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