



Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

International Journal of Intercultural Relations

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/ijintrel

Citizenship representations, group indispensability and attitudes towards immigrants' rights



Kieran Mepham, Maykel Verkuyten*

Ercomer, Utrecht University, Netherlands

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Ethnic citizenship
Civic citizenship
Functional indispensability
Identity indispensability
Immigrants

ABSTRACT

Social psychological research has distinguished between ethnic and civic conceptions of citizenship and examined the differential associations of these conceptions with perceived out-group competition and threats to explain attitudes towards immigrants. In contrast, the current study examines two dimensions of group indispensability: functional indispensability and identity indispensability. In a survey study conducted among a national sample of native Dutch we found that the endorsement of ethnic citizenship is related to weaker support for immigrants' social rights because of a lower sense of functional indispensability and of identity indispensability. In contrast, the endorsement of civic citizenship was associated with higher acceptance of immigrant rights because of a stronger sense of functional and identity indispensability of immigrants.

Survey research in different national contexts has shown that ethnic and civic representations of citizenship emerge side by side as contrasting normative images among the public (e.g., Hjerm, 1998; Levanon & Lewin-Epstein, 2010; Reeskens & Hooghe, 2010). There is quite some empirical evidence that an emphasis on ethnic representation of citizenship (i.e., rooted in ancestry or descent) has negative consequences for attitudes towards immigrants, whereas a civic representation (i.e., rooted in equal political rights and responsibilities) tends to have more positive consequences (e.g., Hjerm, 1998; Reijerse, Van Acker, Vanbeselaere, Phaet, & Duriez, 2013; Wakefield et al., 2011; Wright, Citrin, & Wand, 2012; Yogeewaran & Dasgupta, 2014). Yet, the precise underlying social psychological reasons for why the endorsement of ethnic and civic representations differently affect attitudes towards immigrants has not been examined empirically (but see Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015). The aim of the current research is to consider identity indispensability and functional indispensability as two possible mediating constructs in the relationship between the endorsement of ethnic and civic citizenship representations and the acceptance of immigrants' social rights.

Social psychological research typically examines people's attitude toward immigrants from the perspective of perceived (zero-sum) competition for scarce resources, perceived threats to the welfare state, and perceived threats to the national culture and identity (see Esses, Jackson, & Bennett-AbuAyyash, 2010; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Wagner, Christ, & Heitmeyer, 2010). In contrast, there is very little research that focuses on people's attitudes in relation to the perceived contributions to society that immigrants make. Based on the social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007), recent research has proposed a novel understanding of majority members' reactions to immigrants by focusing on immigrants' perceived indispensability to the functioning of society (functional indispensability; Guerra, Gaertner, António, & Deegan, 2015) and for defining the national social identity (category or identity indispensability; Ng Tseung-Wong & Verkuyten, 2010; Verkuyten & Khan, 2012).

* Corresponding author at: Ercomer, Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Department of Interdisciplinary Social Science, Utrecht University. Padualaan 14, 3584 CH Utrecht, Netherlands.

E-mail address: m.verkuyten@uu.nl (M. Verkuyten).

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2017.09.004>

Received 9 February 2017; Received in revised form 22 August 2017; Accepted 22 September 2017

Available online 04 October 2017

0147-1767/ © 2017 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

In a large-scale survey study conducted among a national sample of native Dutch we tested the proposition that the endorsement of ethnic citizenship is related to lower acceptance of immigrants' social rights because of a weaker sense of immigrants' indispensability for the national identity and for the functioning of society. In contrast, the endorsement of civic citizenship was expected to be associated with higher acceptance of immigrant rights because of a stronger sense of identity indispensability and functional indispensability. So we propose that these two types of indispensability constitute two separate reasons for why the endorsement of ethnic and civic representations of national belonging are related to the support for immigrants' social rights.

Ethnic and civic representations

The distinction between ethnic and civic citizenship is widely used in the literature to differentiate between policies and legislation of nation-states (e.g., Brubaker, 1992; Koning, 2011). And although the distinction has been challenged (e.g., Janmaat, 2006) it has been quite useful for understanding differences in psychological representations of nationhood (see Yogeewaran & Dasgupta, 2014).

Ethnic citizenship defines the nation as a community of people of shared descent. The implication is that immigrants who do not have native ancestry cannot fulfill the ascribed, fixed citizenship criteria and therefore do not (fully) belong. Research has consistently found that an ethnic citizenship understanding is associated with negative attitudes towards immigrants, immigration policies, minority rights and multiculturalism (e.g., Kunovich, 2009; Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009; Reijerse et al., 2013; Wright, 2011; Wright et al., 2012). In contrast, a civic representation emphasizes that national belonging depends on fulfilling one's citizenship obligations and respecting the basic civic principles of society. This makes it relatively easy for immigrants to be included. Although there are some exceptions (e.g., Kunovich, 2009; Schildkraut, 2007), research in the European and the US context has found that a civic understanding is related to positive attitudes towards immigrants, minority rights and multiculturalism (e.g., Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere, & Boon, 2010; Reijerse et al., 2013; Wakefield et al., 2011; Wright et al., 2012).

Ethnic and civic representations imply specific normative beliefs that provide a justification for the acceptance or rejection of immigrants. For example, ethnic citizenship tends to emphasize a national representation that prioritizes the native majority with a preference for cultural homogeneity and assimilation to the majority. In contrast, within a civic representation there is the possibility of a normative sense of common belonging whereby cultural group differences are acknowledged and accepted in the context of a shared national identity. In two studies in the Netherlands, Verkuyten and Martinovic (2015) found that endorsement of ethnic citizenship was related to lower acceptance of immigrant rights because of a weaker normative sense of common national belonging, whereas stronger endorsement of civic citizenship was associated with higher acceptance of immigrant rights through stronger common belonging.

Furthermore, those who consider citizenship in terms of ancestry are more likely to agree with the notion that the native majority group historically owns the country with the related ownership entitlements, including the right to exclude newcomers (Ceuppens & Geschiere, 2005; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2017). In contrast, civic citizenship emphasizes the adherence to a social contract that considers society an interdependent community. The voluntaristic and liberal nature of civic citizenship goes against historical ownership claims with their related negative attitudes towards immigrants and their rights. Evidence for this reasoning was found in two studies in the Netherlands (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015).

The current study extends this previous theoretical thinking and empirical research on what is behind the ethnic-civic distinction by using the relatively novel theoretical lens of group indispensability (Ng Tseung-Wong & Verkuyten, 2010). The previous research on the ethnic-civic distinction focused on the role of common belonging and historical entitlement of the native majority and did not consider the perception of immigrants or minority target groups. Research, however, has demonstrated that a civic compared to an ethnic conception of national identity leads to perceiving ethnic minority members as more strongly fitting the nation and being a 'true' national (higher prototypicality), which increases their inclusion (Wakefield et al., 2011; Yogeewaran & Dasgupta, 2014). Complementing and extending this work on perceived out-group prototypicality we focus on the related but distinct notion of out-group indispensability (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2016; Verkuyten, Martinovic, & Smeekes, 2014).

Group indispensability

Immigrants can be considered less or more indispensable for society because of the perceived economic and social contributions that they make. Social psychology has a long tradition of studying functional relations between individuals and groups, and the concept of social indispensability as described by Hertel, Niemyer and Clauss (2008; see also Wittchen, Schlereth, & Hertel, 2007) indicates a situation in which the separate parts are highly instrumental for the gains of the whole. This means that the performance of each single individual is important for the overall group's success. Applied to relations between groups, the notion of functional indispensability relates to the perceived instrumentality of a group's contribution for a superordinate outcome (Guerra et al., 2015). Groups can be regarded as indispensable in a functionally advantageous way and perceiving immigrants as being more indispensable for the functioning of society reflects more valuable views about immigrants which fosters more positive attitudes. Empirical evidence for this association has been found in the context of Portugal (Guerra et al., 2015) and the United States (Guerra, Rodrigues, Gaertner, Deegan, & António, 2016).

Immigrants can be regarded as indispensable in contributing to the society's economy without necessarily being perceived to be a complementary part of the host society's national identity (identity indispensability). An example is the perception of Turkish and Moroccan migrant laborers in Western Europe. In an interview study (Verkuyten, 1997) one of the interviewees said: 'we might need them to do the cleaning and so on, but that doesn't make them one of us, that doesn't make them Dutch'. Perceived identity

indispensability refers to the extent to which a group is considered an inseparable and defining part of the whole. For example, the metaphor of being a rainbow nation (e.g., South Africa, Mauritius) or a multicultural mosaic (e.g., Canada) implies that the nation is made up of different, complementary colors or pieces and that all of these are necessary or indispensable for defining the common identity. Perceived out-group indispensability in defining the national identity reflects more valuable views of the out-group. Research has found that perceiving immigrants as indispensable for the definition of the national category is associated with higher acceptance of immigrants' and their cultural rights (Guerra et al., 2015, 2016; Verkuyten et al., 2014).

We propose that ethnic and civic representations of citizenship have different implications for the perceived indispensability of immigrants. Specifically, an ethnic conception promotes the majority's social position, identity and culture. This makes it likely that people who more strongly endorse ethnic nationhood will perceive immigrants as less indispensable for the functioning of society and for the national identity in particular (Guerra et al., 2016). Ethnic citizenship is grounded on exclusionary ancestry which makes it likely that it is more strongly associated with identity indispensability than functional indispensability.

In contrast, a civic conception implies that all citizens are considered "one of us" and that the contribution and active participation of all citizens to society is emphasized. This makes it likely that a stronger endorsement of civic nationhood is associated with higher perceived identity and functional indispensability of immigrants (Guerra et al., 2016). Furthermore, because civic citizenship focuses on fulfilling citizenship obligations and contributing to society it might be more strongly associated with functional than identity indispensability.

The current study

The predictions were tested in a survey study among a national sample of the native Dutch. We first expected that a confirmatory factor analysis would support the empirical distinction between people's endorsement of ethnic and civic citizenship. Factor analytical explorations of measures tapping this distinction have demonstrated the existence of two latent dimensions that are negatively correlated (e.g., Reeskens & Hooghe, 2010; Reijerse et al., 2013; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015). Furthermore, we expected that confirmatory factor analysis supports the empirical distinction between functional and identity indispensability of immigrants (Guerra et al., 2015, 2016). Third, we predicted that ethnic citizenship will be associated with lower acceptance of immigrant rights through a lower sense of identity indispensability and also, but less strongly, to a lower sense of functional indispensability. In contrast, civic citizenship was expected to be associated to higher acceptance of rights through a higher sense of functional indispensability and also, but more weakly, through identity indispensability. We tested the expected associations while taking the roles of national attachment, social dominance orientation, right wing authoritarianism, political orientation, and gender, age and education into account. This allows us to assess whether citizenship representations and perceived group indispensability play a role in the acceptance of immigrants' social rights, independently of these well-known correlates of attitudes towards immigrants (e.g., Esses et al., 2010; Hainmueller, & Hopkins, 2014; Wagner et al., 2010). However, following the recommendation of Simmons, Nelson, and Simonsohn (2011), we also did not control for the control factors mentioned in an additional analysis in order to assess whether the main findings are robust.

Method

Participants

A sample of 757 ethnic Dutch adults was recruited from a pool of the native Dutch population. The sample is representative for the population in terms of age, gender, education, household size and region of residence. Participants were drawn by a research consultancy company (I & O research), which maintains a database of Dutch people who are willing to take part in surveys. The questionnaire was distributed online in May 2016. Of this sample, 42% was female and participants' ages ranged from 19 to 90 years ($M = 56.5$, $SD = 12.9$). On the well-known political self-placement (7-point) scale (see Jost, 2006) ranging from far-left to far-right, 34.6% of the participants located themselves at the political left, 31.7% in the middle, and 33.7% at the right. Educational level, was captured on a 7-point scale that referred to the highest completed level: (1) primary school (1.1%), (2) lower secondary (17.7%), (3) middle secondary (12.6%), (4) vocational (26%), (5) higher secondary (preparing students for a university; 13.2%), (6) undergraduate (19.8%), and (7) postgraduate level (9.5%).

Measures

The items were measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 7 (*completely agree*) and in the questionnaire the predictor measures were presented in the order in which they are discussed.

Support for immigrant rights

The outcome variable was measured with four items on individuals' support for immigrants' cultural rights. These items were taken from previous research (Verkuyten et al., 2014) and included, "Immigrants should be allowed to celebrate their holidays not just at home, but also in public" and "Immigrants should be allowed to build their own houses of worship". Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.83$.

Ethnic national belonging

This variable was measured in the beginning of the questionnaire with two items on individuals' perception of ethnic heritage as

central to being a Dutch person (see Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015): “A true Dutch person has Dutch ancestors” and “A true Dutch person is someone who is Dutch by origin”. This scale was found to be highly reliable at $r_{SB} = 0.92$ (Spearman-Brown Prophecy Reliability Estimate).

Directly following the items for ethnic citizenship, *civic national belonging* also was measured with two items on individuals’ perception of civic definitions as central to being a Dutch person (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015): “Anybody who legally resides in the Netherlands is a true Dutch person” and “Anybody who has a Dutch passport is a true Dutch person”. This scale was found to be highly reliable at $r_{SB} = 0.83$.

Identity indispensability was measured with a set of four items taken from previous research (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2016). The items are, “Without the different cultural groups, the Netherlands would not really be the Netherlands”, “Immigrants give indispensable color to the cultural identity of the Netherlands”, “The Netherlands without the existing cultural diversity would not be the Netherlands anymore”, and “All cultural groups are indispensable for what makes the Netherlands the country that it is”. For this scale $\alpha = 0.94$.

Functional indispensability was measured with a separate set of four items that were presented in a later section of the questionnaire. These four items were based on previous research (Guerra et al., 2016) and focused on the necessity of immigrants for the Dutch economy: “Without the contribution of immigrants the Netherlands would be doing much worse, economically”, “Immigrants are indispensable for the economic strength of the Netherlands”, “Immigrants do essential work in our economy and society”, and “Immigrants are necessary for the Dutch economy”. For this scale $\alpha = 0.96$.

Controls

To account for the influence of possibly confounding constructs, we controlled for a number of established correlates of support for immigrant rights. *National identification* was measured with two items ($r_{SB} = 0.92$). *Social dominance orientation* was measured as latent factors of responses on the two subscales of equality (SDO-E; two items, $r_{SB} = 0.74$) and dominance (SDO-D; two items, $r_{SB} = 0.50$) (Hindriks, Verkuyten, & Coenders, 2014; Ho et al., 2012). *Right wing authoritarianism* (RWA) was measured as a latent factor of responses on four items that focus on the conformity dimension of RWA ($\alpha = 0.71$). We included both SDO and RWA because much work has shown that these two constructs involve different world views and predict out-group evaluations independently (Duckitt, 2001). Furthermore, we controlled for gender (0 = male, 1 = female), age, political self-placement, and education. One participant did not report his educational level, so this value was imputed using FIML in Mplus 7 (Muthén & Muthén, 2012). No other missing values were found in any of the items.

The correlations, mean scores, and standard deviations for the main constructs are shown in Table 1. In general, the support for immigrants’ rights is around the neutral mid-point of the scale ($M = 3.87$, $SD = 1.37$, $d = 0.13$), and the endorsement of civic citizenship ($M = 4.15$, $SD = 1.63$) is slightly stronger than of ethnic citizenship, $t(756) = 2.25$, $p < 0.05$ ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.85$, $d = 0.22$). The endorsement of functional indispensability ($M = 3.79$, $SD = 1.60$) is similar to the endorsement of identity indispensability, $t(756) = 1.26$, $p = 0.21$ ($M = 3.85$, $SD = 1.67$, $d = 0.06$). All correlations are in the expected directions with a modest negative association between ethnic and civic citizenship, and a strong positive association between functional and identity indispensability. Due to non-normal distributions in some variables¹, an MLR estimator was applied to all analyses described below. This estimator computes standard errors and model fit statistics which are robust to non-normal distributions (Muthén & Muthén, 2012). Associations between variables are quantified in beta coefficients standardized on both independent and dependent variables. This standardization is such that the value of beta represents the proportion of a standard deviation change expected in the dependent variable with a single standard deviation change in the independent variable.

Results

Measurement model

First, to examine the expected empirical distinction between ethnic and civic nationhood, a two-factor confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted in which the two items of each measure were predicted by their respective theoretical latent constructs.

Table 1
Intercorrelations, means, and standard deviations for the measured constructs.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Range	M	SD
1. Immigrant rights									1–7	3.87	1.37
2. Funct. indispensability	0.72								1–7	3.79	1.60
3. Ident. indispensability	0.73	0.72							1–7	3.85	1.67
4. Ethnic citizenship	–0.58	–0.53	–0.49						1–7	3.93	1.85
5. Civic citizenship	0.45	0.42	0.50	–0.28					1–7	4.15	1.63
6. Nat. identification	–0.22	–0.17	–0.18	0.28	–0.04				1–7	5.77	1.17
7. SDO-D	–0.46	–0.38	–0.39	0.55	–0.35	0.16			1–7	3.54	1.40
8. SDO-E	0.46	0.35	0.33	–0.31	0.37	–0.01	–0.59		1–7	5.27	1.33
9. RWA	–0.55	–0.47	–0.46	0.60	–0.22	0.44	–0.07	0.53	1–7	5.11	1.03

Correlations below 0.08 are not significant ($p > 0.05$), all other correlations $p < 0.001$.

Table 2
Measurement and structural model fits.

	$\chi^2(df)$	$\Delta\chi^2(df)$	RMSEA	CFI	TLI	SRMR
Measurement models						
2-F indispensability	66.31(19)***		0.06	0.99	0.98	0.02
1-F indispensability	865.18(20)***	224.88(1)***	0.24	0.74	0.63	0.11
2-F civic and ethnic	1.03(1)		0.01	1.00	1.00	0.00
1-F civic + ethnic	483.41(2)	482.38(1)***	0.56	0.69	0.06	0.17
9-F, Full measurement	608.60(263)***		0.04	0.97	0.96	0.04
Structural models						
Model without mediators	457.29(167)***		0.05	0.95	0.93	0.04
Model with mediators	771.30(340)***		0.04	0.96	0.95	0.04

1-F is one factor model; 2-F is two factor model; 9-F is nine factor model with all the measured psychological constructs.

*** $p < 0.001$.

This model was found to fit the data well (see Table 2), and all items had standardized loadings > 0.77 on their respective factors. To examine whether a two factor model fits the data better than a one-factor model, a second CFA was conducted in which all 4 items were predicted by one latent variable. This model was found to fit the data poorly (see Table 2), and worse than the two-factor model, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 482.38$, $p < 0.001$ (CFI and TLI decreased, while RMSEA and SRMR increased, see Table 2).

Subsequently, the empirical distinction between functional and identity indispensability was examined. A two-factor confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted in which the four items of each measure were predicted by their respective theoretical latent constructs. This model was found to fit the data well (see Table 2), and all items had standardized loadings > 0.50 on their respective factors. Further, a one-factor model in which all eight items were predicted by one latent variable fitted the data poorly (see Table 2) and substantially worse than the two-factor model, as indicated by a significantly higher chi-square, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 224.88$, $p < 0.001$ (also decreased CFI and TLI, and increased RMSEA and SRMR, see Table 2).

To confirm the entire measurement model used for hypothesis testing, all latent variables were modelled in a CFA, totaling 9 factors (all the measured psychological constructs) measured by 26 items. This model was found to fit the data well (see Table 2), and again standardized loadings of all items were $> .50$ on their respective factors. This measurement model was thus used for testing the structural model displayed in Fig. 1.

Predicting immigrants' rights

To test the hypotheses on the prediction of immigrants' rights, two structural equation models were fitted. In the first model, the dependent variable of support for immigrant rights was regressed on the endorsement of ethnic and civic citizenship and the control variables (for regression coefficients see Table 3). This model was found to fit the data well (see Table 2). As expected, a negative association of the endorsement of ethnic citizenship with support for immigrant rights was found ($b = -0.23$, $SE = 0.06$). Similarly, there was a positive association of civic citizenship with support for immigrant rights ($b = 0.18$, $SE = 0.05$).

In the second model, functional and identity indispensability were added. Support for immigrant rights was regressed on these two mediators and all variables from the first model, while the two mediators themselves were regressed on both ethnic and civic representations of citizenship and the controls. In this model, it was found that the mediators both independently and positively predicted the support for immigrant rights. As expected, ethnic citizenship was found to negatively predict both functional

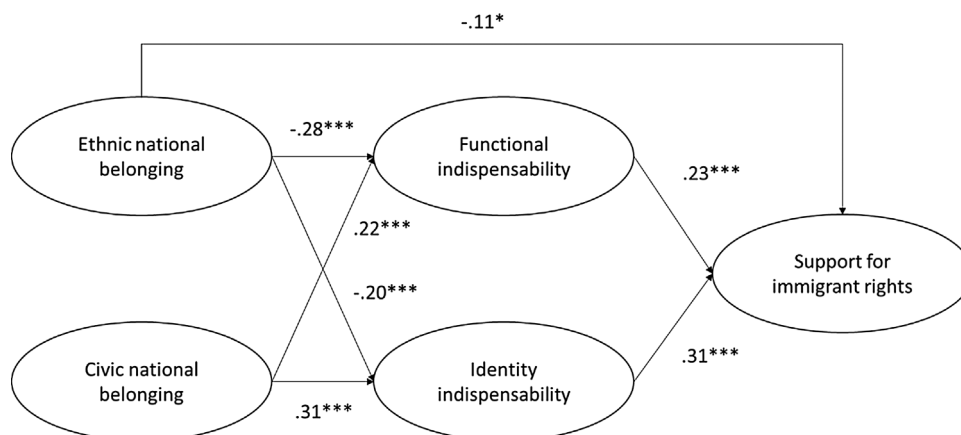


Fig. 1. Standardized coefficient path model of the endorsement of civic and ethnic nation representations mediated effects on support for immigrant rights. Note. Controlled for national identification, SDO-E, SDO-D, RWA, political orientation, education, age and gender. * $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 3

Standardized path coefficients and explained variance of all DVs in the structural models.

	Support for Rights <i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)	Support for Rights (no mediators) <i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)	Funct. indisp. <i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)	Ident. indisp. <i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)
Funct. indisp.	0.23 (0.05) ^{***}	–	–	–
Ident. indisp.	0.31 (0.05) ^{***}	–	–	–
Ethnic cit.	–0.11 (0.05) [*]	–0.23 (0.06) ^{***}	–0.28 (0.05) ^{***}	–0.20 (0.05) ^{***}
Civic cit.	0.03 (0.04)	0.18 (0.05) ^{***}	0.22 (0.04) ^{***}	0.31 (0.04) ^{***}
Nat. identification	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
SDO-D	0.08 (0.12)	0.17 (0.09)	0.19 (0.13)	0.10 (0.11)
SDO-E	0.26 (0.08) ^{**}	0.36 (0.09) ^{***}	0.24 (0.09) ^{**}	0.15 (0.07) [*]
RWA	–0.25 (0.08) ^{**}	–0.39 (0.10) ^{***}	–0.29 (0.10) ^{**}	–0.25 (0.08) ^{***}
Pol. Orientation	–0.03 (0.03)	–0.10 (0.04) [*]	–0.11 (0.04) ^{**}	–0.16 (0.04) ^{***}
Education	0.05 (0.03)	0.09 (0.04) [*]	0.08 (0.04) [*]	0.07 (0.04)
Age	0.10 (0.04) [*]	0.12 (0.05) [*]	0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)
Female	–0.05 (0.03) [*]	–0.05 (0.03)	–0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
R ²	0.72	0.58	0.46	0.45

* $p < 0.05$.** $p < 0.01$.*** $p < 0.001$.

indispensability ($b = -0.28$, $SE = 0.05$) and identity indispensability ($b = -0.20$, $SE = 0.05$), as well as negatively, but more modestly, to predict support for immigrant rights directly ($b = -0.11$, $SE = 0.05$). Furthermore, both mediation paths were found to be negative (through functional indispensability, $b = -0.06$, through identity indispensability, $b = -0.06$).² This pattern of findings suggests partial mediation of the association between the endorsement of ethnic citizenship and support for immigrant rights through perceived functional and identity indispensability. The endorsement of civic citizenship was found to positively predict both functional ($b = 0.22$, $SE = 0.04$) and identity indispensability ($b = 0.31$, $SE = 0.04$), but not directly the support for immigrant rights ($b = 0.03$, $SE = 0.04$). Furthermore, both mediation paths were positive (through functional indispensability, $b = 0.05$, through identity indispensability, $b = 0.10$). This indicates a pattern of mediation whereby the endorsement of civic citizenship is associated with both functional and identity indispensability, which subsequently are associated with the endorsement of immigrants' rights. These findings are shown in Fig. 1. Total effects and total indirect effects of ethnic and civic citizenship on rights are shown in Table 4. Additionally, models were tested without any of the proposed covariates (see Simmons et al., 2011), and separately without the inclusion of the third item of the immigrant rights scale that had a right-skewed distribution, and lacked a left tail. The findings in Table 4 (second and third columns) show a similar pattern of relationships.

Finally, comparing the coefficients of ethnic and civic citizenship on functional and identity indispensability a *post hoc* Wald test of parameter equality revealed no difference in the association between ethnic citizenship and identity or functional indispensability (Wald- $\chi^2(1) = 1.58$, $p = 0.21$). However, and in contrast to what we expected, the association between civic citizenship and functional indispensability was found to be significantly smaller than the association between civic citizenship and identity indispensability (Wald- $\chi^2(1) = 6.50$, $p = 0.01$). Additionally, the relation between civic and ethnic citizenship with functional indispensability did not significantly differ (Wald- $\chi^2(1) = 0.05$, $p = 0.83$). However, the relation between civic citizenship and identity indispensability was larger than between ethnic citizenship and identity indispensability (Wald- $\chi^2(1) = 5.04$, $p = 0.02$).

Table 4

Bootstrapped standardized mediation coefficients for the structural model: with covariates (1e column), without covariates (2nd column), and without negatively-skewed item for support for rights controlling for the covariates (3rd column).

	With Covariates		Without covariates		Without skewed item	
	<i>b</i>	95% CI	<i>b</i>	95% CI	<i>b</i>	95% CI
From ethnic nationhood to support for rights						
Total effect	–0.23	–0.35: –0.12	–0.49	–0.56: –0.42	–0.26	–0.37: –0.14
Total indirect effect	–0.13	–0.19: –0.06	–0.28	–0.33: –0.22	–0.13	–0.19: –0.06
Via funct. indisp.	–0.06	–0.11: –0.02	–0.14	–0.19: –0.10	–0.07	–0.11: –0.02
Via Ident. indisp.	–0.06	–0.10: –0.02	–0.14	–0.19: –0.09	–0.06	–0.10: –0.02
Direct	–0.11	–0.22: 0.01	–0.21	–0.29: –0.14	–0.13	–0.24: –0.03
From civic nationhood to support for rights						
Total effect	0.18	0.08: 0.27	0.31	0.24: 0.39	0.16	0.07: 0.25
Total indirect effect	0.15	0.10: 0.20	0.24	0.19: 0.30	0.15	0.10: 0.20
Via funct. indisp.	0.05	0.02: 0.09	0.09	0.05: 0.13	0.05	0.02: 0.09
Via ident. indisp.	0.10	0.05: 0.14	0.15	0.10: 0.20	0.09	0.05: 0.14
Direct	0.03	–0.06: 0.12	0.07	–0.01: 0.15	0.01	–0.08: 0.10

Discussion

Research in different countries has demonstrated that notions of ethnic and civic citizenship exist side by side as two contrasting subjective conceptions of nationhood (Hjerm, 1998; Reeskens & Hooghe, 2010; Reijerse et al., 2013; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015). This was also found in our current study and this finding supports the proposition that ethnic and civic citizenship understandings are not mutually exclusive but rather relatively independent ways of thinking about national belonging (Brubaker, 2004). Furthermore and in line with previous social psychological research, ethnic citizenship understanding had negative implications for the endorsement of immigrants' social rights, while civic representation had more positive implications (e.g., Reijerse et al., 2013; Wakefield et al., 2011; Yogeewaran & Dasgupta, 2014).

What social psychological research has not examined much, are the underlying beliefs explaining why ethnic and civic conceptions differently affect attitudes towards immigrants (but see Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015). We tried to take a further step in this direction by considering the perceived contributions to society that immigrants make. Thus rather than focusing on the nature of group boundaries and the extent of being a 'true' or prototypical national (Wakefield et al., 2011), we examined the relatively new perspective of group indispensability (Ng Tseung-Wong & Verkuyten, 2010; Verkuyten & Kahn, 2012). This perspective considers whether immigrants are perceived as making an indispensable contribution to the host society's economy and national identity.

The findings revealed that both forms of indispensability are positively associated but can be distinguished empirically (see also Guerra et al., 2015, 2016). In addition, both forms of indispensability were uniquely associated with the endorsement of immigrants' social rights. People endorsed these rights more strongly when they regarded immigrants as more indispensable in each of the two domains. These results support previous findings in countries such as Portugal, the United States, Malaysia and Mauritius (Guerra et al., 2015; Ng Tseung-Wong & Verkuyten, 2010; Verkuyten & Kahn, 2012; Verkuyten et al., 2014). Extending this previous work, the current research examined ethnic and civic representations of citizenship as factors associated with perceptions of immigrants' indispensability, and whether these perceptions subsequently explain the relation between the endorsement of these forms of citizenship and the acceptance of immigrants' social rights. The findings revealed that the endorsement of ethnic citizenship was associated with lower acceptance of immigrants' rights, whereas civic citizenship was related to higher acceptance. More importantly it was found that these associations were accounted for by perceived functional indispensability and perceived identity indispensability of immigrants. The more people emphasized ethnic criteria for national belonging the less they considered immigrants to be indispensable to the host society. An ethnic representation defines national belonging in terms of ancestry and descent which goes together with an emphasis on cultural homogeneity and in-group closure. In contrast, the more people emphasized civic criteria of citizenship the more they considered immigrants indispensable. A civic representation defines a community of people who adhere to a social contract that in principle is open to anyone who wishes to commit him/herself and wants to make significant contributions to society.

Unexpectedly, we did not find, however, that the endorsement of ethnic citizenship is more strongly associated with identity indispensability than with functional indispensability. This suggests that ethnic citizenship has general negative implications for the perception of immigrants, similar to research that finds that ethnic citizenship is associated with both perceived symbolic threat and realistic threat (e.g., Rajjman, Davidov, Schmidt, & Hochman, 2008). Further, the endorsement of civic citizenship was somewhat more strongly associated with identity indispensability than with functional indispensability. This unexpected finding suggests that a civic representation is understood more in terms of common national belonging and respecting the basic civic principles of society rather than in terms of making an economic contribution to society (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015). These possible interpretations should be considered in relation to the fact that the measures of functional and identity indispensability were not fully equivalent. We based these measures on previous research and they were reliable in the current study, but as a set the items for measuring identity indispensability were less explicitly about immigrants than the functional indispensability items. This, for example, might partially explain why civic citizenship was more strongly related to identity indispensability than to functional indispensability. However, although the set of functional indispensability items was more explicitly targeted at immigrants this measure was not more strongly associated with the support for immigrants' right than identity indispensability.

Limitations

There are several limitations of the present work that offer opportunities for future research. First, we focused on people's attitudes towards immigrants in the context of the Netherlands. This makes it important to examine the associations for other immigrant groups and in other national contexts. Countries differ in many ways, such as in their cultural diversity, economic circumstances, migration and integration policies, and legal criteria for national membership (Citrin, Levy, & Wright, 2014; Koopmans, 2013; Wright, 2011). These differences might be important for understanding the role of perceived functional and identity indispensability in the relation between citizenship representations and attitudes towards policies for immigrant-origin groups. For example, the perception of identity indispensability might be more important in plural countries, such as Canada, that consider cultural diversity as national defining, than, for example, in France where the Republic model tries to transcend cultural group differences and emphasizes individual citizens. And the perception of functional indispensability is likely to play a more positive role for the acceptance of immigrants in countries with a strong economy and rapid economic growth, and a more negative role in countries that face an economic crisis.

Another limitation is that our correlational data preclude causal interpretations. Nevertheless, the analysis represents a valid and stringent test of the theoretically hypothesized processes which makes the causal directions tested reasonable and likely. Moreover, there is experimental evidence for the impact of ethnic and civic representations on majority members' evaluations and behavior

towards ethnic minority members and immigrants (Wakefield et al., 2011; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). Yet, future studies should examine these processes further using experimental or longitudinal designs (e.g., Wright, 2011). In doing so, it might be useful to consider additional psychological processes. Although we found statistical evidence for mediation there might be other mechanisms involved in the relation between the endorsement of citizenship representations and the acceptance of immigrants' social rights. For example, ethnic compared to civic citizenship is likely to lead to perceiving group boundaries as being more impermeable, to lower salience of group-based inequality, and to higher feelings of out-group (symbolic and realistic) threat. It also would be interesting to not only study ethnic and civic understandings of citizenship but also the endorsement of cultural citizenship in which the emphasis is on national cultural values and traits (Shulman, 2002). Research in six EU countries has shown that the latter is a separate dimension that is positively associated with ethnic citizenship but has an independent and stronger effect on anti-immigrant attitudes (Reijse et al., 2013).

Furthermore, future research could investigate possible boundary conditions that might strengthen or undermine the positive effects of perceived out-group indispensability (Guerra et al., 2015).³ The positive implications might depend, for example, on individual differences in national identification (Pehrson et al., 2009), perceived cultural distance, and perceived realistic benefits of immigration for society (Mähönen, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Finell, 2011). Considering factors that can increase or hinder the positive effects of perceived out-group indispensability would further improve our understanding of the role that perceptions of indispensability can play in the acceptance of immigrants and their social rights. Additionally, it is important to not only study the perspective of majority group members but also to consider the extent to which immigrant-origin groups consider themselves as well as other minority groups as being indispensable to the functioning and identity of the host nation (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2016).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the present study has contributed to the emerging research on the novel approach of indispensability of immigrant and minority groups by considering the distinction between functional and identity indispensability in relation to ethnic and civic citizenship. In doing so we have tried to focus on the perceived contributions to society that immigrants make rather than the threats that they pose. And we have taken some additional steps in understanding why precisely ethnic and civic conceptions of citizenship are related to immigrant attitudes. In a study with a national sample, we found evidence that the endorsement of ethnic and civic citizenship are related to the acceptance of immigrants' social rights, via the perception of immigrants' being indispensable for the functioning of the host society and the national identity. The present research provides a systematic and theoretical starting point for investigating these processes further using, for example, experimental and longitudinal designs. A deeper understanding of these processes can provide suggestions and guidelines for interventions to improve the acceptance of immigrant groups without undermining social solidarity and civil peace in society. Whereas it might be relatively difficult to change people's conceptions of citizenship it might be more easy to strengthen their beliefs about the functional and identity indispensability of immigrants. Many societies require so-called replacement migration to offset population ageing and population decline resulting from low fertility rates which makes it more realistic to argue for the functional indispensability of immigrants. And many societies are increasingly plural which makes it more easy to redefine the nation and its character in terms of its diversity in which all groups are indispensable for the national identity. Continuing demographic changes might mean that migration and immigrants are not only discussed from the perspective of competition and threats but increasingly also from the perspective of opportunities and contributions.

Notes

1. Both items of the SDO-E scale appeared to have a left-skew, as did the first and third items of the RWA scale, and those of the national identification scale. The first, second and fourth items of identity indispensability were visually more platykurtic than normal, as were all items of functional indispensability. The third item of the immigrant rights scale had a right-skewed distribution, and lacked a left tail. Due to this, both the non-normality robust estimator – MLR – and bootstrapping were applied to the regressions used for hypothesis testing. Results of both analyses were similar.
2. Standard errors omitted due to asymmetry of estimate distribution. Bootstrapped examination of these effects found a 95% confidence interval to exclude zero in both cases.
3. Guerra et al. (2015) have examined and found that the positive effects of group indispensability for attitudes towards immigrants are stronger among majority members with a stronger civic conception of national citizenship. Yet, this moderating role for civic nationhood was not found for the attitude towards Brazilian immigrants and in additional analyses we found no statistical evidence for the endorsement of civic or ethnic nationhood moderating the associations between perceived functional and identity indispensability with the acceptance of immigrants' social rights.

References

- Brubaker, R. (1992). *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Brubaker, R. (2004). In the name of the nation: Reflections on nationalism and patriotism. *Citizenship Studies*, 8, 115–127.
- Ceuppens, B., & Geschiere, P. (2005). Autochthony: Local or global? New modes in the struggle over citizenship and belonging in Africa and Europe. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34, 385–407.
- Citrin, J., Levy, M., & Wright, M. (2014). Multicultural policy and political support in European democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47, 1531–1557. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0010414013512604>.
- Duckitt, J. (2001). A dual-process cognitive-motivational theory of ideology and prejudice. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 33, 41–113.

- Esses, V., Jackson, L. M., & Bennett-AbuAyyash, C. (2010). Intergroup competition. In J. F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. M. Esses (Eds.). *The Sage handbook of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination* (pp. 225–240). London: Sage.
- Guerra, R., Gaertner, S. L., António, R., & Deegan, M. (2015). Do we need them? When immigrant communities are perceived as indispensable to national identity or functioning of the host society. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 45, 868–879. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2153>.
- Guerra, R., Rodrigues, D., Gaertner, S. L., Deegan, M., & António, R. (2016). The functional and identity indispensability scale (FIIS). *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 54, 34–46. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2016.07.001>.
- Hainmueller, J., & Hopkins, D. J. (2014). Public attitudes toward immigration. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 225–249.
- Hertel, G., Niemeyer, G., & Clauss, A. (2008). Social indispensability or social comparison: The why and when of motivation gains of inferior group members. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 38, 1329–1363.
- Hindriks, P., Verkuyten, M., & Coenders, M. (2014). Dimensions of social dominance orientation: The roles of legitimizing myths and national identification. *European Journal of Personality*, 28, 538–549.
- Hjerm, M. (1998). National identities: National pride and xenophobia: A comparison of four Western countries. *Acta Sociologica*, 41, 335–347.
- Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Pratto, F., Levin, S., Thomsen, L., Kteily, N., et al. (2012). Social dominance orientation: Revisiting the structure and function of a variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38, 583–606.
- Janmaat, J. (2006). Popular conceptions of nationhood in old and new European member states: Partial support for the ethnic-civic framework. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29, 50–78. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/014119870500352363>.
- Jost, J. T. (2006). The end of the end of ideology. *American Psychologist*, 61, 651–670.
- Koning, E. A. (2011). Ethnic and civic dealings with newcomers: Naturalization policies and practices in twenty-six immigration countries. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34, 1974–1994.
- Koopmans, R. (2013). Multiculturalism and immigration: A contested field in cross-national comparison. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 39, 147–169.
- Kunovich, R. (2009). The sources and consequences of national identification. *American Sociological Review*, 74, 573–593.
- Levanon, A., & Lewin-Epstein, N. (2010). Ground for citizenship: Public attitudes in comparative perspective. *Social Science Research*, 39, 419–431.
- Mähönen, T. A., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., & Finell, E. (2011). Perceived importance of contact revisited: Anticipated consequences of intergroup contact for the ingroup as predictors of the explicit and implicit ethnic attitudes of youth. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 14, 19–30. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1368430210378300>.
- Meeus, J., Duriez, B., Vanbeselaere, N., & Boon, F. (2010). The role of national identity representations in the relation between ingroup identification and outgroup derogation: Ethnic versus civic representations. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 49, 305–320.
- Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (2012). *Mplus user's guide* (7th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Muthén & Muthén.
- Ng Tseung-Wong, C., & Verkuyten, M. (2010). Intergroup evaluations: Group indispensability and prototypical judgments: A study in Mauritius. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 13, 621–638.
- Pehrson, S., Vignoles, V., & Brown, R. (2009). National identification and anti-immigrant prejudice: Individual and contextual effects of national definitions. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 72, 24–38.
- Raijman, R., Davidov, E., Schmidt, P., & Hochman, O. (2008). What does a nation owe non-citizens? National attachments, perception of threat and attitudes towards granting citizenship rights in a comparative perspective. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 49, 195–220. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0020715208088912>.
- Reeskens, T., & Hooghe, M. (2010). Beyond the ethnic-civic dichotomy: Investigating the structure of citizenship concepts across thirty-three countries. *Nations and Nationalism*, 16, 579–597.
- Reijerse, A., Van Acker, K., Vanbeselaere, N., Phaet, K., & Duriez, B. (2013). Beyond the ethnic-civic dichotomy: Cultural citizenship as a new way of excluding immigrants. *Political Psychology*, 34, 611–630.
- Schildkraut, D. J. (2007). Defining American identity in the 21st century: How much 'there' is there? *The Journal of Politics*, 69, 597–615.
- Shulman, S. (2002). Challenging the ethnic/civic and West/East dichotomies in the study of nationalism. *Comparative Political Studies*, 35, 554–585.
- Simmons, J. P., Nelson, L. D., & Simonsohn, U. (2011). False-positive psychology: Undisclosed flexibility in data collection and analysis allows presenting anything as significant. *Psychological Science*, 22, 1359–1366.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin, & S. Worchel (Eds.). *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Verkuyten, M. (1997). *"Redelijk racisme": Gesprekken over allochtonen in oude stadswijken (Reasonable racism: Talking about immigrants in old urban neighborhoods)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Verkuyten, M., & Khan, A. (2012). Interethnic relations in Malaysia: Group identifications: indispensability and inclusive nationhood. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 15, 132–139.
- Verkuyten, M., & Martinovic, B. (2015). Behind the ethnic-civic distinction: Public attitudes towards immigrants' political rights in the Netherlands. *Social Science Research*, 53, 43–44.
- Verkuyten, M., & Martinovic, B. (2016). Dual identity, in-group projection, and out-group feelings among ethnic minority groups. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 46, 1–12. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2131>.
- Verkuyten, M., & Martinovic, B. (2017). Collective psychological ownership and intergroup relations. *Perspectives on Psychological Science* [in press].
- Verkuyten, M., Martinovic, B., & Smeekes, A. (2014). The multicultural jigsaw puzzle: Category indispensability and acceptance of immigrants' cultural rights. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 40, 1480–1493.
- Wagner, U., Christ, O., & Heitmeyer, W. (2010). Anti-immigration bias. In J. F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. M. Esses (Eds.). *The Sage handbook of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination* (pp. 361–375). London: Sage.
- Wakefield, J. R. H., Hopkins, N., Cockburn, C., Shek, K. M., Muirhead, A., Reicher, S., et al. (2011). The impact of adopting ethnic or civic conceptions of national belonging for others' treatment. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 37, 1599–1610. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167211416131>.
- Wenzel, M., Mummendey, A., & Waldzus, S. (2007). Superordinate identities and intergroup conflict: The in-group projection model. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 18, 331–372.
- Witthén, M., Schlereth, D., & Hertel, G. (2007). Social indispensability in spite of temporal and spatial separation: Motivation gains in a sequential task during anonymous cooperation on the internet. *International Journal of Internet Science*, 2, 12–27.
- Wright, M., Citrin, J., & Wand, J. (2012). Alternative measures of American national identity: Implications for the civic-ethnic distinction. *Political Psychology*, 33, 469–482.
- Wright, M. (2011). Policy regimes and normative conceptions of nationalism in mass public opinion. *Comparative Political Studies*, 44, 598–624.
- Yogeeswaran, K., & Dasgupta, N. (2014). Conceptions of national identity in a globalized world: Antecedents and consequences. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 25, 189–227. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2014.972081>.