



(How) Does Citizenship Matter?

Theorizing Mechanisms & Methodology

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Background: Explaining Citizenship

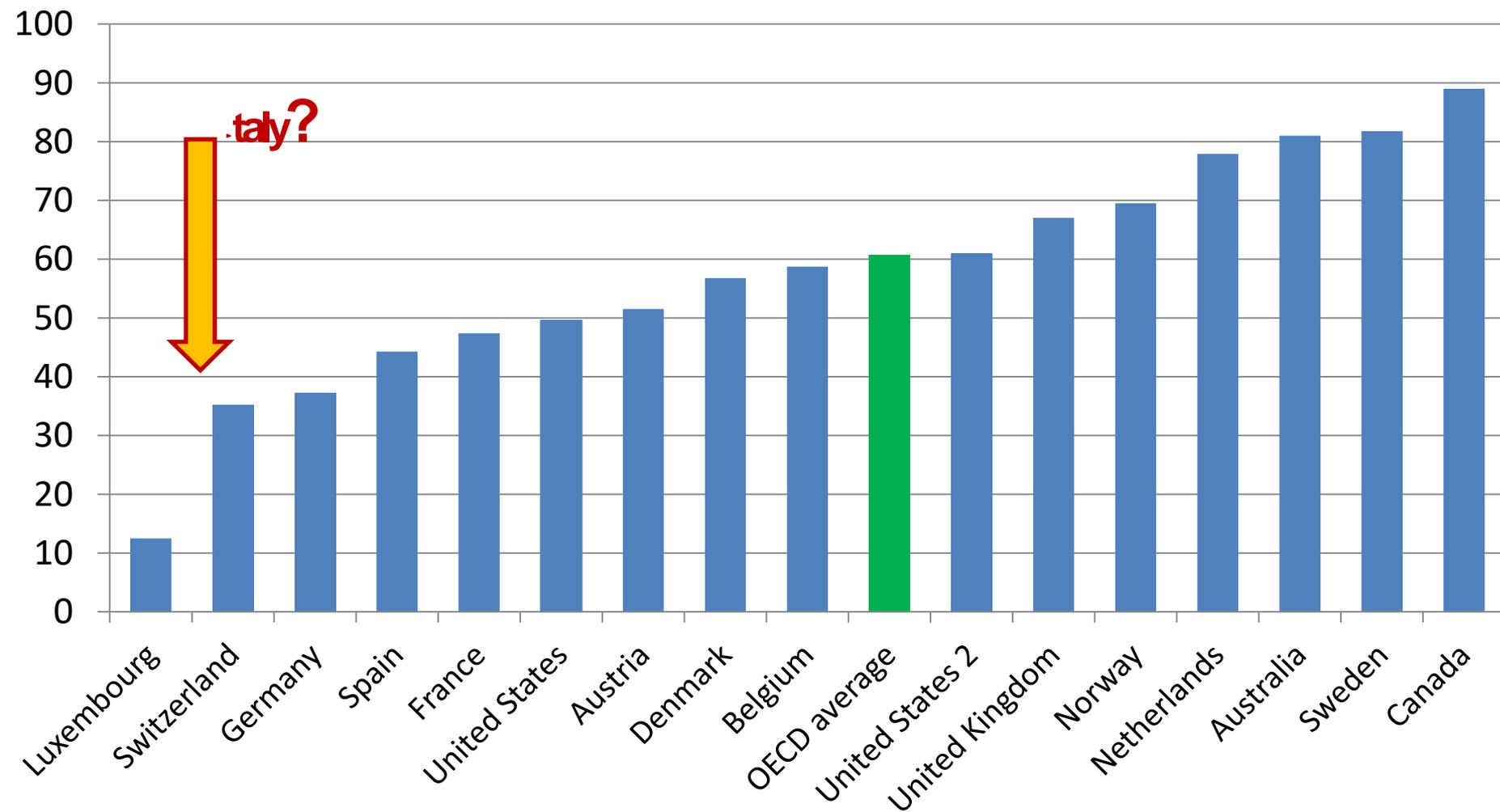
Laws structure access

- (Europe): 'civic' and 'ethnic' nationalism → citizenship

Individual choice and ability

- (N. America): individual and group variation based on skills, motivations, resources, etc.

Comparative Naturalization Levels: Working-age immigrants with at least 10 years of residence



Source: OECD 2011

Background

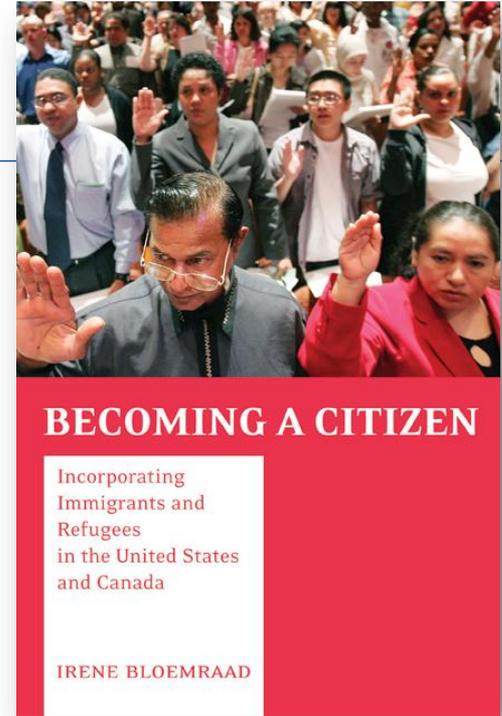
Laws structure access

- (Europe): 'civic' and 'ethnic' nationalism → citizenship

Individual choice and ability

- (N. America): individual and group variation based on skills, motivations, resources, etc.

➤ **But, does citizenship actually matter?**



Of course it does, for those without

Without any citizenship

- A person has no secure residence, no protection against expulsion;
- Int'l travel is very hard.



- UN push for a legal 'right' to nationality (1954 and 1961 Conventions), and moral suasion, e.g., "I Belong" campaign

But what about for secure migrants?

**“The real prize is legal residency,
not citizenship.”**

- Peter Spiro
(2007: 159)



House speaker John Boehner,
proposing legalization without a path to citizenship

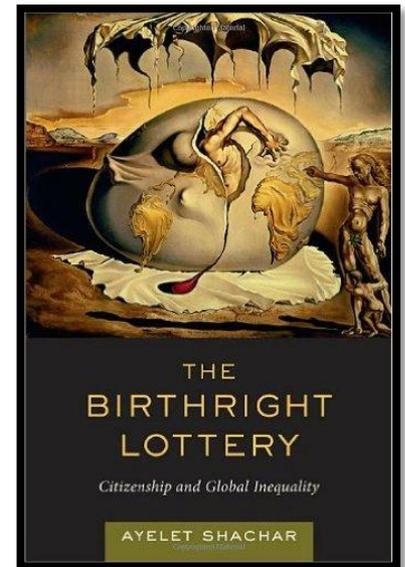
“postnational” critique⁺



- Rights based on common humanity, legal residency, or social/economic contribution.
- Identity more local and transnational, rather than in nation-states

“hollow promise” critique

- **failed promise:** substantive citizenship – defined as equality of rights, participation and outcomes – varies so widely, formal citizenship is irrelevant
- **outright deflection:** citizenship divides those in structurally vulnerable positions, hindering mobilization to true equality



Surveying the (limited!) evidence:

- **Political and civic engagement**
 - More local voting, even if citizenship not needed
 - **Socio-economic integration**
 - Income boost of 2-10%
 - **Social integration/ cohesion**
 - Greater identification with country
- Modest 'yes' for all, but no big effects.

Methodological challenges:

- **Data limitations**

- Cross-sectional vs. longitudinal data
- Lack citizenship, immigration variables, timing

- **Causal identification**

- **“selection” into citizenship** [law, indiv. action]
- across countries: endogeneity

- **Responses**

- Multiple regression, IVs, diff.-in-diff. analysis, Heckman selection, fixed effects, quasi-experiments

Methods, and Theory:

- narrow 'loss' or 'win' in Swiss citz vote
- change in German citizenship law (2000)
- **Matters more for 'non-Western' immigrants**
- **Perhaps more for younger, recent migrants**

For whom, in what contexts and why does citizenship matter?

Theorizing Mechanisms

- **Access** – laws restrict rights, benefits, access
- **Investment/ socialization** – by individuals (in job training, language, civic norms)
- **Social psychological effects** – well-being, identity
- **Signaling** – to others (employers, teachers...)
- **Standing/ legitimacy** – for claims-making
- **Mobilization** – invitations to participate

Birthright Citizenship & Legitimacy

14th Amendment

Section 1: No state may abridge the privileges and immunities of any of its citizens, or deny them due process of law or equal protection of the laws.

Section 2: When any state denies the right to vote at any election to any of its male citizens of voting age, its representation in elections for national officers will be reduced in the same proportion.

Congressman Calls for End to 'Birthright Citizenship'

Says policy encourages
illegal immigration



May 28, 2009 1:00 PM CDT

I: What does it mean, to be American?

...most people picture Americans with money, white... [but] we are all 100% Americans, we were born here. No matter what people say. We are Americans.

(US-born Mexican American)



Questions? Suggestions?

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Being American: rights and respect

What does it mean to be an American?

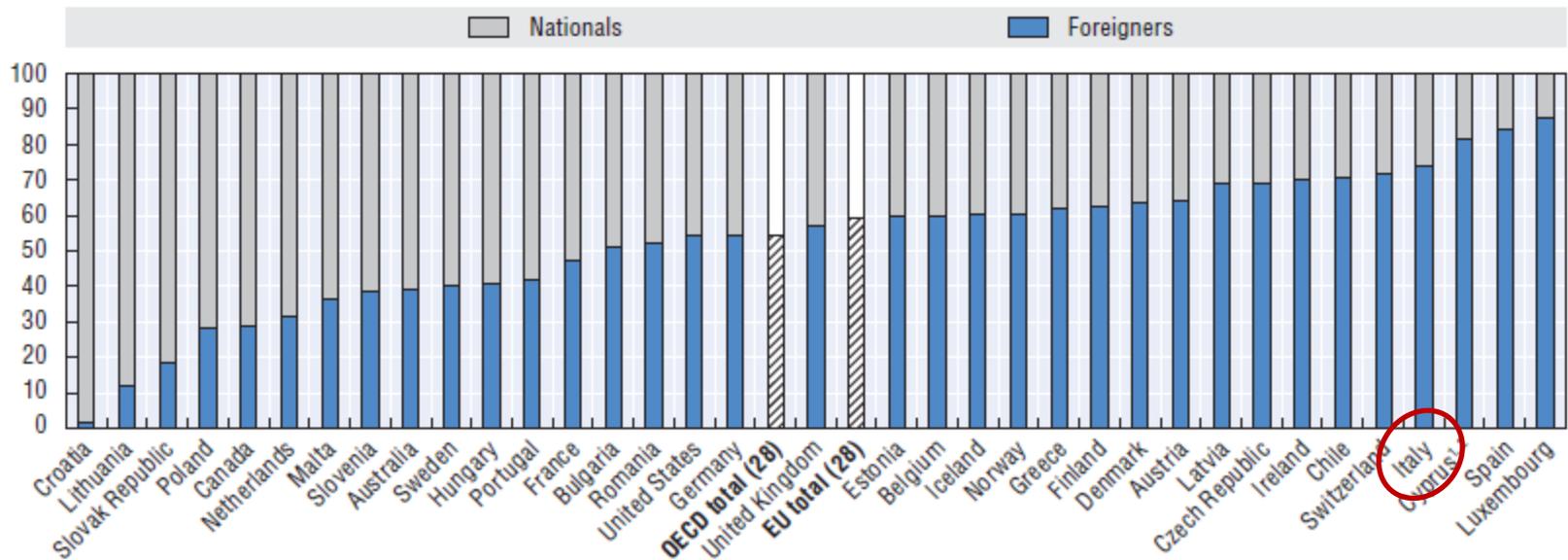
[*pause*] Well, what can I say? It means a lot because you have a lot of rights. Voting, a lot of things. ...for Americans, it is always better, more respect. And we, us Mexicans, there is a lot of discrimination. Even if they have fixed their residency, I still feel I am being discriminated that way. Rejected. Even if we have papers. I think that it is better to be a citizen like my children, all the boys. Maybe... they were born here and they feel much better.

(Mexican-born legal permanent resident)

Comparative Citizenship Levels:

Figure 3.4. Distribution of foreign-born population aged 15 to 64, by nationality, 2010-11

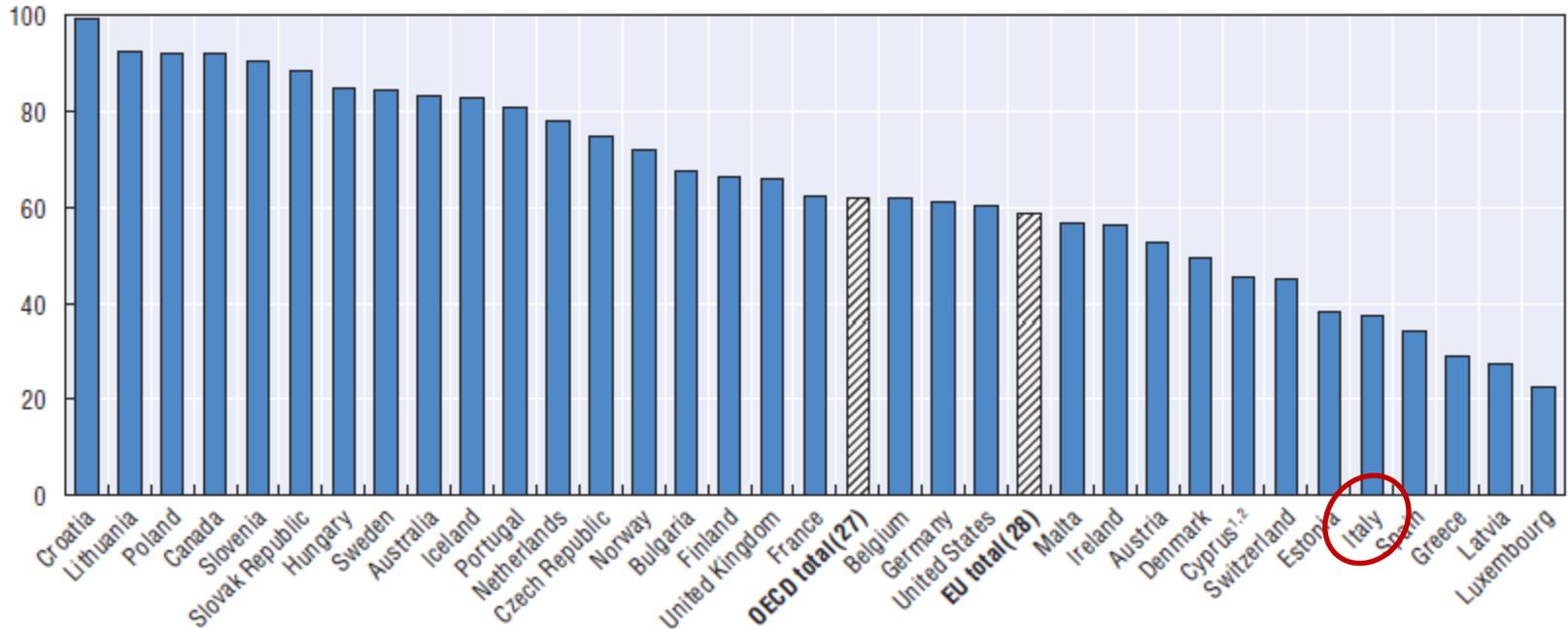
Total = 100



StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933212187>

Comparative Citizenship Levels:

Figure 11.1. Share of nationals among the foreign-born population who have resided in the host country for at least ten years, population aged 15 and over, 2012-13



StatLink  <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933213020>

Signaling Americanness

In your mind, what does it mean to be American?

Um... I guess, just if they have a job, a house, a family, I guess they are American. ...I guess you're only American if you were born here... If you are a naturalized citizen then you're just a person who came here.

Do you think of your parents as American?

Not really.

Why not?

Because, I don't know, they don't do anything American. They are just Asian. ...I mean 'American' is like anything a white person does. Basically, you know, have dinner with the whole family at the dinner table. Yeah. Just anything a white person does. And my parents don't do any of that. (US-born Vn-Am teen, natz parents)