

(How) Does Citizenship Matter?

Theorizing Mechanisms & Methodology

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Background

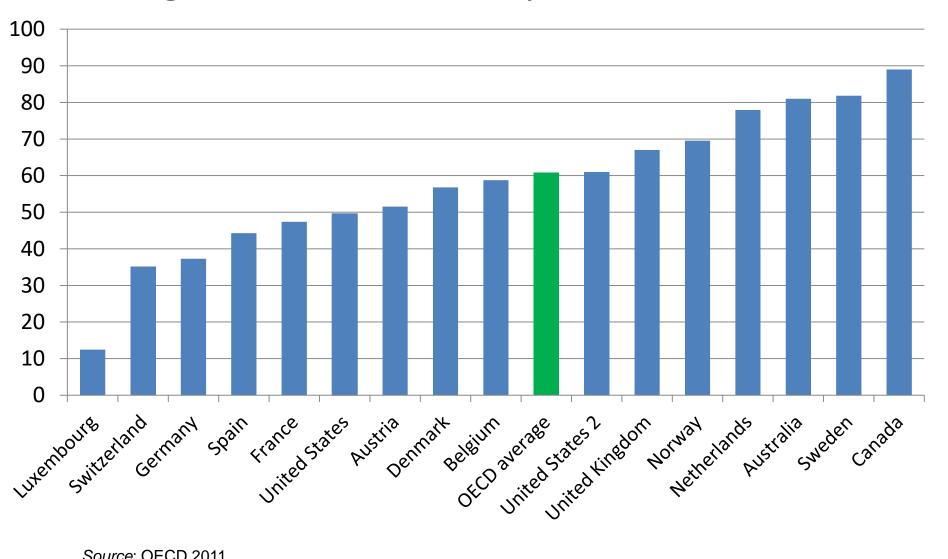
Explaining laws

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

Explaining individual naturalization

• (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

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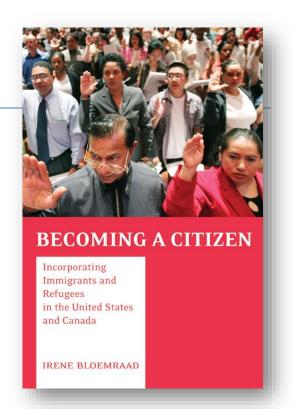
Explaining laws

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Of course it does, for those without

Without any citizenship

- A person has no secure residence, no protection against explusion;
- 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

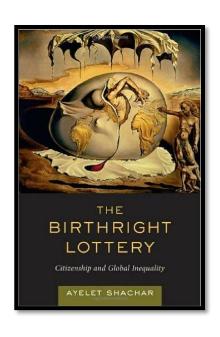


than in nation-states

"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
- Socio-economic integration
- Social integration/ cohesion

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

"Treatment" comparisons:

- narrow 'loss' or 'win' in Swiss citz vote
- change in German citizenship law (2000)
- Matters more for 'non-Western' immigrants

(Why) Does citizenship matter?

Beyond experimental treatment...

- narrow 'loss' or 'win' in Swiss citz vote
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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

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 fell 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)

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)

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 effices will be reduced in the same proportion.

Congressman Calls for End to 'Birthright Citizenship'

Says policy encourages illegal immigration



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)

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