

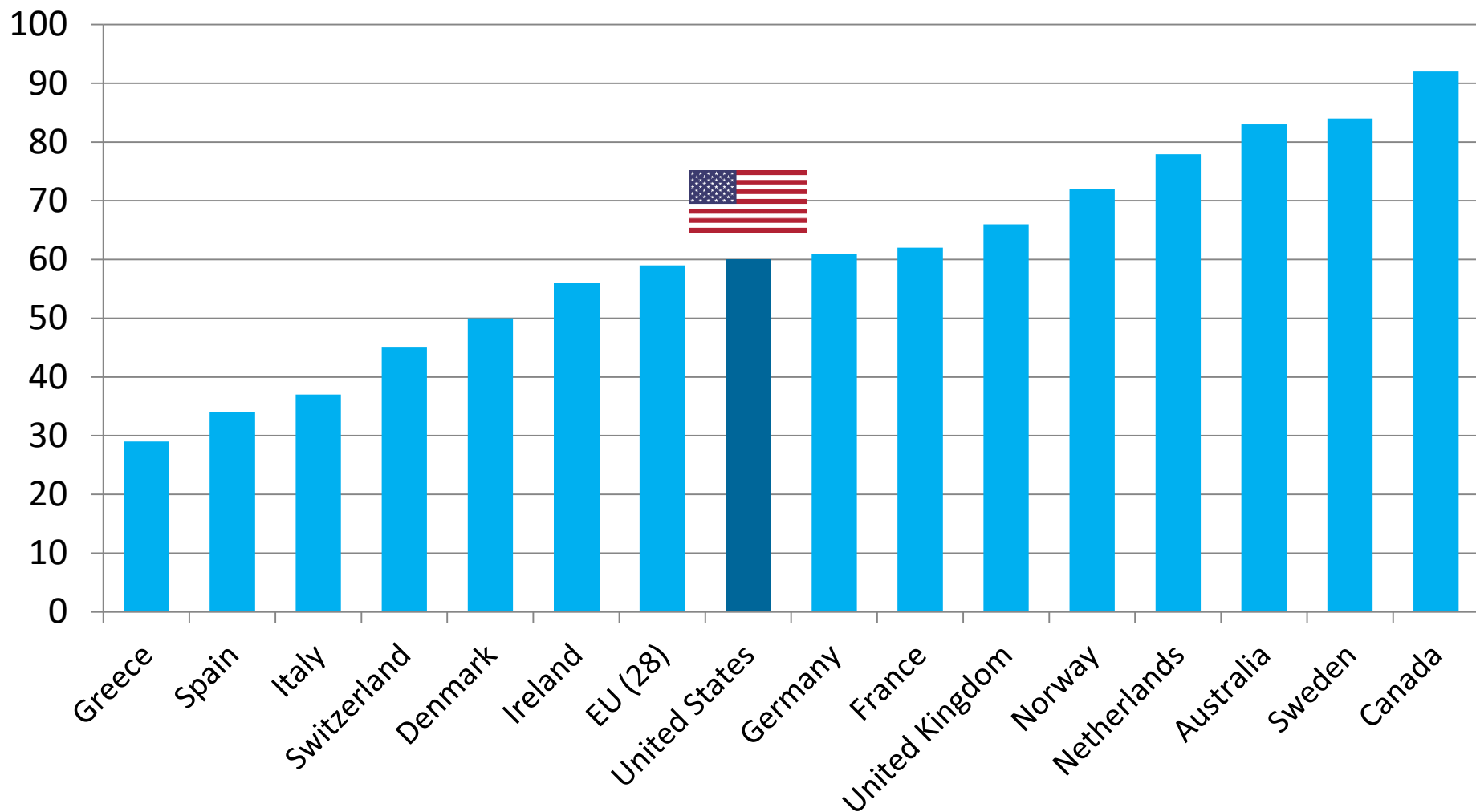


Understanding Membership

(How) Does Citizenship Matter?

Irene Bloemraad

Citizenship Acquisition Compared: Working-age immigrants with at least 10 years of residence



Source: OECD 2015: 205

Explaining Citizenship



**National laws
structure access**

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

Explaining Citizenship



Individual choice and ability

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

Explaining Citizenship

Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program:
Groups of Five

VIDEO GUIDE



Public-private partnership

(Canada-US): public policy sends symbolic welcome
and builds civic infrastructures



Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program:
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➤ **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, January 2014

“postnational” critique⁺

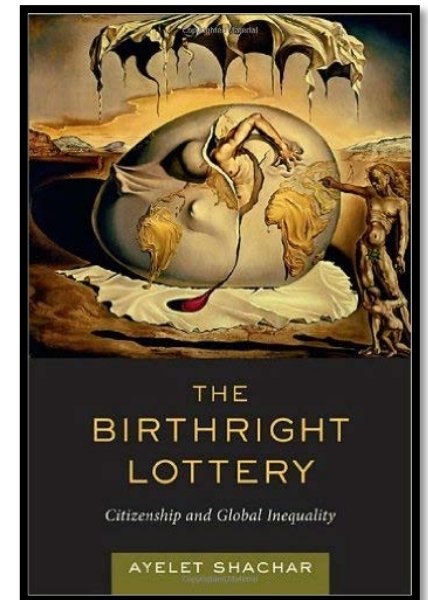
Human Rights



- 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 – 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 offices will be reduced in the same proportion.

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)

TRUMP'S IMMIGRATION PLAN

- End birthright citizenship
- Triple number of immigration enforcement agents
- Cut grants to "sanctuary cities"
- Confiscate remittances
- Make Mexico pay for a wall



LIVE

MSNBC



Thank you!

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