

## Citizenship in the context of immigration and emigration

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Options course for

- MSc in Migration Studies (home option)
- MSc in Refugee and Forced Migration Studies
- MPhil in Development Studies

### Lecturers

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### Time and place

Hilary Term, Weeks 1-8, Monday, 4-6 pm  
Seminar Room 3, Queen Elizabeth House

### Overview

Citizenship can refer to a legal status, a set of rights, an individual's engagement in political life, or an identity. The course examines these different aspects of citizenship in the context of migration. Every state is tasked with defining membership and rights within the broader political community. Yet migration – both immigration and emigration – challenges the ideal-typical vision of a state wherein the borders of the citizenry perfectly coincide with territorial borders, and where citizens belong to the same nation forged by an (invented) shared history.

The course draws on theories and research from politics, sociology, anthropology, and history. It covers cases from most regions of the world, including Western Europe, North America, East Central Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. By looking at countries with different nation-building and migration histories, political systems, and levels of economic development, the course aims to enrich students' understanding of citizenship.

The course is divided into three parts. The first part of this course looks at the state's efforts to define and control its citizenry. What are the key principles used to establish who belongs and who does not? How is citizenship crafted in new states and post-conflict states, where the imperatives of nation building, state building, and reconciliation often collide?

The second part of the course looks at how migrants' political engagement and identities are shaped by citizenship policies. When and why do migrants remain active citizens in their home countries? When and why do they become engaged in their host state's political life? Are homeland-oriented and host-state oriented active citizenship necessarily contradictory? And how do citizenship policies affect identity?

The final section of the course looks at several emerging issues in citizenship research. We will look at the relationship between regionalism and citizenship within regional organizations in Europe, Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Americas. We will also look the trend of selectively liberal citizenship policies towards wealthy individuals and athletes.

At the end of the course, students will have a thorough understanding of citizenship's role in rights, identity, and status, and how it affects the lives of emigrants and immigrants.

### Teaching Arrangements

The course will be taught through eight two-hour sessions in Hilary Term. The course has a highly interactive nature and requires an active attitude from the students. Students are expected to write an essay, give a class presentation and engage in critical discussion during the class (45 minutes). The lecturers will structure the debates and relate them to each other in a mini-lecture at the end of the seminar stressing the take-home points of that week. Students are expected to come to each seminar with knowledge of the required readings.

### Essay and presentation

You should write an essay of approximately 2,500 words on one of the questions listed below. You should submit your essay via email to the lecturers and students by 6pm on Thursday the preceding week. At the start of the class you will give a 15 minute presentation on your essay (in weeks with 1 essay) or a joint 30 minute presentation (in weeks with 2 essays). We aim to return written feedback on your essay by the end of the week of your presentation.

### Course Outline and essay questions

*Week 1 - Citizenship in the context of immigration and emigration. An introduction (EE/SG)*

*Week 2. Who is a citizen? The power of states, societies and migrants (EE)*

1. What are the consequences of weakly institutionalised citizenship for migrants?
2. "It is through written documents [...] that much of the surveillance entailed by modern state administration is carried out" (Torpey, 2000:15). Discuss with reference to states with weak bureaucracies.

*Week 3 - Citizenship and nation building in new states (SG)*

1. What are the key challenges to developing citizenship frameworks in new, post-conflict states in Africa and postcommunist Europe? How are states' policy responses similar/different?
2. How can new, post-conflict states reconcile their desire to strengthen national cohesion and loyalty to the state with the realities of heterogeneous populations residing within state borders?

*Week 4 - Long-distance citizenship? Migrant involvement in home country politics (SG)*

1. When and why do states "engage" their diasporas? What do you find to be the most compelling explanation, and why?
2. Considering how actively emigrants lobby for the right to vote, why do so few of them vote in homeland elections in practice?

*Week 5 - Active citizenship: When do immigrants participate in host country politics? (SG)*

1. In your view, which factor(s) best explain(s) variation in immigrants' involvement in political affairs in the host country?
2. How does immigrant political incorporation highlight the different "lenses" of citizenship that we have discussed in this course?

*Week 6 - How do citizenship policies affect immigrants' sense of belonging? (EE)*

1. "Although a civic conception of citizenship is reflected in policies, everyday reality reflects a 'thicker' notion of citizenship" (Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011: 931) Discuss.
2. What can we learn from comparing immigrants' sense of belonging in Europe and the Gulf region?

*Week 7 - Regionalism, labour mobility, and citizenship (SG)*

1. "European citizenship constitutes a unique experiment for stretching social and political bonds beyond national boundaries... [It] can be the prototype for institutional experimentation on citizenship on a global scale. (Kostakopoulou 2007, pg. 624). Discuss
2. In terms of legal status and rights, how do citizenship and worker mobility vary under different regional organizations/agreements?

*Week 8 - Who deserves to be a citizen? Olympic and investor citizenship (EE)*

1. Are Olympic citizenship, investor citizenship and the rise in citizenship tests all part of the same trend or are they paradoxical? Why?
2. The rise in investor citizenship programmes attests that contrary to the claim of authors such as Soysal and Spiro citizenship is still valuable. Discuss

**Readings**

Week 1 – Citizenship in the context of immigration and emigration. An introduction.

*This will be a joint lecture introducing the course, outlining its structure and how the different sessions will speak to each other. The different meanings of citizenship will be discussed. Citizenship can refer to a status, a set of rights, an identity or a mode of participation. What does each of these dimensions entail? What types of rights do citizens have? What do states expect of citizens and what can citizens and non-citizens expect of the state? We recommend to first read Kymlicka, then Brubaker then the other two texts. At the end of the session the division of essays will take place.*

- \*Brubaker, R. (1992) *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany* Cambridge: Harvard – chapter 1 (pp 21-34), Chapter 4 (pp75-84).
- \*Howard, M. M. (2006) '[Comparative citizenship: an agenda for cross-national research](#),' *Perspectives on politics*, 4(3):443-455.
- \*Joppke, Ch. (2007) '[Transformation of Citizenship: Status, Rights, Identity](#).' *Citizenship studies*, 11(1): 37-48.
- \*Kymlicka, W. (1998) '[Citizenship](#)'. In E. Craig (Ed.), *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*. London: Routledge.
- \*Marshall, T.H. (1998) 'Citizenship and Social Class' pp 93-111 in: G. Shafir (ed.) *The Citizenship Debates: A Reader* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities*. Revised and extended edition. London / New York: Verso.
- Bauböck, R., E. Ersboll, K. Groenendijk & H. Waldrauch (eds.) (2006) *Acquisition and Loss of Nationality: Policies and Trends in 15 European States*. [Volume 1 'Comparative Analyses'](#) & [Volume 2 'Country Analyses'](#). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- EUDO observatory on citizenship <http://eudo-citizenship.eu/>
- Hammar, T. (1990) *Democracy and the Nation State: Aliens, Denizens, and Citizens in a World of International Migration*. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Hansen, R. & P. Weil (2001) 'Introduction: Citizenship, Immigration and Nationality: Toward a Convergence in Europe?,' pp 1-15 in: R. Hansen, P. Weil (eds) *Towards a European Nationality: Citizenship, Immigration and Nationality Law in the EU* Basingstoke: Palgrave
- Joppke, Ch. (2010) *Citizenship and Immigration* Cambridge: Polity
- Soysal, Y. (1998) "Toward a Postnational Model of Membership", pp. 189-217 in: G. Shafir (ed.) *The Citizenship Debates: A Reader* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Week 2 - Determining who is a citizen. The power of states, societies and migrants

*Much of the citizenship literature implicitly assumes that states are able them to determine who is a citizen and who is not, as well as enforce those decisions. However, in countries with weak institutions and ethnic groups that live in regions spanning multiple states, it is difficult to determine who does and who does not belong to the citizenry as defined by nationality laws. As Sadiq (2008) points out this can lead to undocumented natives and 'documentary citizenship' of irregular migrants. This session looks at how migrants, local and national authorities may use ambiguities about citizenship status to their advantage. You are recommended to first read Torpey and then the three other readings.*

- \*Bakewell, O. (2007) ['The meaning and use of identity papers: handheld and heartfelt nationality in the borderlands of North West Zambia'](#), IMI Working Papers WP-5-2007
- \*Kibreab, G (2012) 'Invisible Integration in the Greater Horn Region', pp 69-110, in R. Berekteab & K. Mengisteab (eds) *Regional Integration, Identity & Citizenship in the Greater Horn of Africa*, Oxford : James Currey (available as SSL e-reading via WebLearn)
- \*Sadiq, K. (2005) ['When States Prefer Non-Citizens Over Citizens: Conflict Over Illegal Immigration into Malaysia'](#), *International Studies Quarterly*, 49(1): 101–122
- \*Torpey, J. (2000) *The invention of the passport: surveillance, citizenship and the state*. Cambridge University Press, Pages 1-20 (Introduction, Chapter 1 "Coming and going")
- Balaton-Chrimes, S (2014) [Statelessness, identity cards and citizenship as status in the case of the Nubians of Kenya](#), *Citizenship Studies* 18(1)
- Economist* (2011) ['India's identity revolution'](#) (short piece on India's Unique Identification project aimed at improving the provision of public services to all Indians).
- Economist* (2012) ['India's north-east. A neglected crisis Violence in distant Assam boils over in the rest of the country'](#)
- Economist* (2014) ['The border is not the problem'](#) (on why irregular migrants prefer Britain over France and why increased border control in the US might do little to reduce the number of irregular migrants).
- Irin news* (2014) [Statelessness = invisibility in West Africa](#)
- Manby, B. (2009) *Struggles for Citizenship in Africa*, London: Zed Books. (Especially Chapter 1 ['Introduction'](#) and Chapter 6 ['The importance of paperwork'](#))
- Reeves, M. (2013) ['Clean fake: Authenticating documents and persons in migrant Moscow'](#), *American Ethnologist*, 40(3): 508-524.
- Rutherford, Blair (2011) ['The uneasy ties of working and belonging: the changing situation for undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in northern South Africa'](#), *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34:8, 1303-1319
- Sadiq, K. (2008) [Paper Citizens: How Illegal Immigrants Acquire Citizenship in Developing Countries](#) New York: Oxford University Press (In particular chapter 3 "blurred membership" on undocumented natives, and chapters 4 and 5 on irregular migrants' exercise of citizenship rights).

### Week 3 - Citizenship and Nation-Building in New States

*The process of defining membership in the national political community is contentious in any state, but in new, and especially post-conflict, states the process can be particularly problematic. What are the unique challenges of balancing the imperatives of sovereignty, nation building, and keeping the peace in post-conflict societies? How are "initial" citizenries determined in new states, and how do new states deal with "liminality" (see Riggan's article)? How does the contemporary process of exerting "state-ness" through citizenship differ from its historical counterpart? What role do external actors and international norms play in drafting/moderating citizenship policies in new states? This session explores these questions by looking at citizenship policies and citizenship education in new and/or post-conflict states.*

- \*Brubaker, W. Rogers (1992) "Citizenship Struggles in Soviet Successor States" *International Migration Review* 26(2) 269-291
- \*Copnall, J. (2012) ["Dispossessed: the South Sudanese without a nationality."](#) BBC, April 6, 2012.
- \*Ragazzi, F. and I. Štikš (2009) "Croatian Citizenship: From Ethnic Engineering to Inclusiveness." pgs. 339-363 in R. Bauböck et al (eds), [Citizenship Policies in the New Europe: Expanded and Updated Edition](#) Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. (Available electronically via Solo)
- \*Riggan, J. (2011) "In Between Nations: Ethiopian-Born Eritreans, Liminality, and War." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 34(1) 131-154
- \*["South Sudan: millions wait for proof they are citizens of a new nation,"](#) *The Guardian*, July 10, 2012.
- Black, R., and S. Gent (2006) "Sustainable Return in Post-Conflict Contexts." *International Migration* 44 (3): 15-38.
- ["Ethiopia-Eritrea: Stalemate Takes Toll on Eritreans and Ethiopians of Eritrean Origin."](#) Refugees International, May 30, 2008.
- Herbst, J. (2000) *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapters 1 and 8. (The politics of migration and citizenship), Princeton: Princeton University Press. (Available as an e-book through Bodleian)
- Hickey, S. (2007) "Caught at the Crossroads: Citizenship, Marginality and the Mbororo Fulani in Northwest Cameroon." In E. Nugent and D. Dorman (eds) *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizenship in Africa*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, pgs.83-104. Digital version available through Bodleian
- Jerónimo, P. (2011) "Citizenship and State-Building in East Timor." *Pacific Rim Law and Policy Journal*
- Krasniqi, G. (2012) [Country Report: Kosovo](#). European University Institute. EUDO Citizenship Observatory.
- Krūma, Kristīne (2009) "Checks and Balances in Latvian Nationality Policies: National Agendas and International Frameworks." In R. Bauböck et al (eds), *Citizenship Policies in the New Europe: Expanded and Updated Edition*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pgs. 67-96 (Available electronically via Solo)
- Kusá, Dagmar (2009) "The Slovak Question and the Slovak Answer: Citizenship During the Quest for National Self-Determination and After." In R. Bauböck et al (eds), [Citizenship Policies in the New Europe: Expanded and Updated Edition](#) Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pgs. 275-303 (Available electronically via Solo)
- Maktabi, Rania (2000) "State Formation and Citizenship in Lebanon." In Butenschon et al (eds), *Citizenship and the State in the Middle East: Approaches and Applications* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, pgs. 146-178.
- Manby, Bronwen (2012) [The Right to a Nationality and the Secession of South Sudan: A Commentary On the Impact of the New Laws](#). Open Society Initiative for Eastern Africa.
- Mann, Michael (2003) "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results." In Neil Brenner et al (eds) *State/Space: A Reader*, pgs. 53-64, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.



- Nzongola-Ntalaja, Georges (2007) "The Politics of Citizenship in the Democratic Republic of Congo." In Nugent and Daniel Dorman (eds), *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizenship in Africa*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, pgs. 69-80. (Available electronically via Solo)
- Omejec, Jasna (1998) "Initial Citizenry of the Republic of Croatia at the Time of the Dissolution of Legal Ties with the SFRY, and Acquisition and Termination of Croatian Citizenship." *Croatian Critical Law Review* 3 (1-2): 99-127.
- Smith, Graham (1996) "The Ethnic Democracy Thesis and the Citizenship Question in Estonia and Latvia," *Nationalities Papers* 24(2): 199-216

#### Week 4 – Long-distance citizenship? Migrant involvement in home country politics

*Most states remain connected to their emigrants to an extent, but some states are particularly proactive in engaging emigrants and their progeny born abroad, often wrapping their claims to diaspora populations in the language of belonging and nationhood. Emigrants, in turn, also often wish to retain rights in the origin country, most importantly the right of re-entry and settlement, but also political rights to influence the future of their origin country. This session will look at the range of claims made on and by emigrants and discusses what this means for the conception of citizenship through its various lenses.*

- \*Brand, Laurie A. (2014) "[Arab uprisings and the changing frontiers of transnational citizenship: voting from abroad in political transitions,](#)" *Political Geography* 41(2014) 54-63
- \*Gamlen, A. (2008) "[The emigration state and the modern geopolitical imagination,](#)" *Political Geography*, 27(8): 840-856.
- \*Gezer, Ozlem and Anna Reimann. "[Erdogan Urges Turks Not to Assimilate: 'You Are Part of Germany, But Also Part of Our Great Turkey.'](#)" *Der Spiegel*, February 28, 2011.
- \*Itzigsohn, José, and Daniela Villacrés (2008) "[Migrant Political Transnationalism and the Practice of Democracy: Dominican External Voting Rights and Salvadoran Home Town Associations.](#)" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31 (4): 664-686.
- \*Suro, Roberto, and Gabriel Escobar (2006) "[Survey of Mexicans Living in the U.S. on Absentee Voting in Mexican Elections.](#)" *Pew Hispanic Center Report*. **Please read the overview only; it is not necessary to read the entire report.**
- Anderson, Benedict (1992) "The New World Disorder." *New Left Review* 193: 3-13.
- Barry, Kim (2005) Home and Away: The Construction of Citizenship in an Emigration Context, *New York University Law Review*, 81: 11-59
- Bauböck, Rainer (2009) "The Rights and Duties of External Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 13 (5): 475-499.
- Bauböck, Rainer (2007) "Stakeholder Citizenship and Transnational Political Participation: A Normative Evaluation of External Voting." *Fordham L. Rev.* 75 (5): 2393-2448.
- Bloemraad, Irene (2004) Who Claims Dual Citizenship? The Limits of Postnationalism, the Possibilities of Transnationalism, and the Persistence of Traditional Citizenship. *International Migration Review*, 38(2), 389-426.
- Brand, Laurie A (2006) *Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Brøndsted Sejersen, Tanja (2008) "'I Vow to Thee My Countries' - The Expansion of Dual Citizenship in the 21st Century." *International Migration Review* 42 (3): 523-549.
- Cano, Gustavo, and Alexandra Délano (2007) "The Mexican Government and Organized Mexican Immigrants in the United States: A Historical Analysis of Political Transnationalism (1848-2005)." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33 (5): 695-725.
- Choate, Mark I (2008) *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Collyer, Michael (2014) "A Geography of Extra-Territorial Citizenship: Explanations of External Voting." *Migration Studies* 2(1) 55-72
- Fitzgerald, David (2009) *A Nation of Emigrants: How Mexico Manages its Migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gabaccia, Donna R et al (2007) "Emigration and Nation-Building During the Mass Migrations from Europe." In N.L. Green and F. Weil (eds.) *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 63–90.
- Goldring, Luis (2002) "The Mexican State and Transmigrant Organizations: Negotiating the Boundaries of Membership and Participation." *Latin American Research Review* 37 (3): 55–99.
- Guarnizo, L. E, A. Portes, and W. Haller (2003) "Assimilation and Transnationalism: Determinants of Transnational Political Action Among Contemporary Migrants." *American Journal of Sociology* 108 (6): 1211–1248.
- Guotu, Zhuang (2013) "China's Policies on Chinese Overseas: Past and Present." In C.B. Tan (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of the Chinese Diaspora* New York: Routledge, pgs. 31-41.
- Jones-Correa, Michael (2001) "Under Two Flags : Dual Nationality in Latin America and Its Consequences for Naturalization in the United States." *International Migration* 35 (4): 997–1029.
- Joppke, Christian (2003) "Citizenship Between De- and Re-Ethnicization." *European Journal of Sociology* 44 (3): 429–458.
- Lafleur, J.-M. (2011) '[Why do states enfranchise citizens abroad? Comparative insights from Mexico, Italy and Belgium,](#)' *Global Networks*, 11(4): 481–501.
- Levitt, Peggy, and Rafael De la Dehesa (2003) "Transnational Migration and the Redefinition of the State: Variations and Explanations." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 26 (4): 587–611.
- Marcelli, Enrico A, and Wayne A Cornelius (2005) "Immigrant Voting in Home Country Elections: Potential Consequences of Extending the Franchise to Expatriate Mexicans Residing in the United States." *Mexican Studies* 21 (2): 429–460.
- Mügge, Liza (2012) '[Managing Transnationalism: Continuity and Change in Turkish State Policy,](#)' *International Migration*, 50: 20–38.
- Østergaard-Nielsen, Eva (2003) *International Migration and Sending Countries: Perceptions, Policies, and Transnational Relations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, Robert Courtney (2008) 'Contradictions of diasporic institutionalization in Mexican politics: the 2006 migrant vote and other forms of inclusion and control', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31(4): 708-741
- Whitaker, Beth Elise (2011) '[The Politics of Home: Dual Citizenship and the African Diaspora,](#)' *International Migration Review*, 45(4):755–783.
- Yen-Fen, Tseng & Jieh-Min Wu (2011) '[Reconfiguring citizenship and nationality: dual citizenship of Taiwanese migrants in China,](#)' *Citizenship Studies*, 15:02, 265-282

Week 5 - Active Citizenship: When do Immigrants Participate in Host Country Politics?

*Political incorporation is the process through which individuals engage in and are engaged by political institutions. In previous sessions we looked at the policy side of incorporation – the policies that shape and constrain migrant political incorporation. This session explores variation in the behavioural aspects of migrants’ political incorporation (“active” citizenship) – voting in elections, acquiring citizenship, running for office, and participating in protests or civic associations. How do generational factors, country of origin effects, socioeconomic factors, and meso-level organizations like unions and migrant associations affect behavioural aspects of immigrant incorporation?*

- \*Cordero-Guzman, Hector (2008) “Voting with their feet: non-profit organizations and immigrant mobilization,” *American Behavioral Scientist*, 52(4):598-617
- \*Dronkers, Jaap and Maarten Peter Vink (2012) “Explaining access to citizenship in Europe: how citizenship policies affect naturalization rates,” *European Union Politics*, 13(3): 390-412
- \*Ramakrishnan, S. Karthick and Thomas J. Espenshade (2001) “Immigrant Incorporation and Political Participation in the United States.” *International Migration Review*, 35(3): 870-909
- \*Simpson Bueker, Catherine (2005) “Political Incorporation Among Immigrants from Ten Areas of Origin: The Persistence of Source Country Effects.” *International Migration Review*, 39 (1): 103–140.
- Alba, Richard and Nancy Foner (2009) “Entering the Precincts of Power: Do National Differences Matter for Immigrant Minority Political Representation?” in Hochschild et al (eds.), *Bringing Outsiders in: Transatlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*, pgs. 277-294.
- Bilodeau, Antoine (2008) “Immigrants’ Voice Through Protest Politics in Canada and Australia: Assessing the Impact of Pre-Migration Political Repression.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(6): 975-1002
- Bloemraad, Irene (2006) *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bloemraad, Irene and Christine Trost (2011) “It’s a Family Affair: Intergenerational Mobilization in the Spring 2006 Protests.” In K. Voss and I. Bloemraad (eds.) *Rallying for Immigrant Rights: The Fight for Inclusion in 21<sup>st</sup> Century America* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Callahan, Rebecca M. et al (2008) “Preparing for citizenship: immigrant high school students’ curriculum and socialization,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 36(2) 6-31.
- Chung, Erin Aeran (2010) *Immigration and Citizenship in Japan*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pgs. 28-59 (chapter 1 - “Is Japan an Outlier: Cross-National Patterns of Immigrant Incorporation and Noncitizen Political Engagement”)
- De Rooij, Eline A (2012) “Patterns of Immigrant Political Participation: Explaining Differences in Types of Political Participation between Immigrants and the Majority Population in Europe.” *European Sociological Review* 28(4):455-481.
- DeSipio, Louis (2011) “Immigrant Incorporation in an Era of Weak Civic Institutions: Immigrant Civic and Political Participation in the United States.” *American Behavioral Scientist* 55(9)2289-1213.
- Jones-Correa, Michael, 2013, “Thru-Ways, By-Ways, and Cul-de-Sacs of Immigrant Political Incorporation.” In J. Hochschild et al (eds) *Outsiders No More? Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pgs. 176-194.
- Martinez, Lisa M (2011) “Mobilizing Marchers in the Mile-High City: The Role of Community-Based Organizations.” In K. Voss and I. Bloemraad (eds.) *Rallying for Immigrant Rights: The Fight for Inclusion in 21<sup>st</sup> Century America* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mollenkopf, John et al (2001) “Immigrant Political Participation in New York and Los Angeles.” In M. Jones-Correa (ed) *Governing American Cities: Inter-Ethnic Coalitions, Competition, and Conflict*, pgs. 17-70
- Ramakrishnan, S. Karthick (2005) *Democracy in Immigrant America: Changing Demographics and Political Participation* Palo Alto, CA: Stanford Univ. Press. Chapters 1, 4, 5



Street, Alex (2014) "My child will be a citizen: intergenerational motives for naturalization," *World Politics* 66(2) 264-292

Tam Cho, Wendy K (1999) "Naturalization, Socialization, Participation: Immigrants and (Non-) Voting." *Journal of Politics* 61(4): 1140-1155.

### Week 6 – How do citizenship policies affect immigrants' sense of belonging?

*The intense debate around citizenship and immigrant integration policies seems to suggest that policies are a very important factor in determining the lives of immigrants. Last week we looked at the determinants of political participation. This week we will look at how identity of immigrants and their children is influenced by the policies of their countries of residence.*

- \*Ali, S. (2011) '[Going and Coming and Going Again: Second-Generation Migrants in Dubai](#),' *Mobilities*, 6(4): 553-568.
- \*Bloemraad, I. and M. Wright (2014) "["Utter Failure" or Unity out of Diversity? Debating and Evaluating Policies of Multiculturalism](#)," *International Migration Review* 48: S292-S334.
- \*Ersanilli, E. and S. Saharso (2011) '[The Settlement Country and Ethnic Identification of Children of Turkish Immigrants in Germany, France, and the Netherlands: What Role Do National Integration Policies Play?](#),' *International Migration Review*, 45(4):907–937.
- \*Vora, N. (2011) '[Unofficial Citizens: Indian Entrepreneurs and the State-Effect in Dubai, United Arab Emirates](#),' *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 79: 122-139
- Alba, R. (2005) '[Bright vs. blurred boundaries: Second-generation assimilation and exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States](#),' *Ethnic and racial studies*, 28(1):20-49.
- Anghel, R. G. (2012) '[On Successfulness: How National Models of Integration Policies Shape Migrants' Incorporation](#),' *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 10(3):319-33
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006) *Immigrant youth in cultural transition: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation across national context* New Jersey: Mahwah.
- Crul, M., Schneider, J., & Lelie, F. (Eds.) (2012) *The European second generation compared: does the integration context matter?* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Ersanilli, E. & R. Koopmans (2010) '[Rewarding integration? Citizenship regulations and socio-cultural integration of immigrants in the Netherlands, France and Germany](#),' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(5):773-791
- Landau, L. B. and I. Freemantle (2009) "[Tactical Cosmopolitanism and Idioms of Belonging: Insertion and Self-Exclusion in Johannesburg](#)," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(3): 375-390
- Kastoryano, R. (2002) *Negotiating identities: States and immigrants in France and Germany*. Princeton University Press.
- Koopmans, R. (2010) '[Trade-Offs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective](#),' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(1):1-26
- Koopmans, R. (2013) '[Multiculturalism for Immigration: A Contested Field in Cross-National Comparison](#),' *Annual Review of Sociology*, 39: 147-169
- Koopmans, R., P. Statham, M. Giugni, and F. Passy (2005) *Contested Citizenship. Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Schiffauer, W. (Ed.). (2004) *Civil enculturation: nation-state, schools and ethnic difference in four European countries*. Berghahn Books.
- Scott, D. (2013) '[Negotiated denizenship: foreign nationals' tactics of belonging in a Cape Town township](#),' *Social Dynamics*, 39(3): 520-535.
- Simon, Patrick (2012) '[French National Identity and integration. Who belongs to the national community?](#)' Washington D.C.: Migration Policy Institute

### Week 7 - Regionalism, Labour Mobility, and Citizenship

*Since the end of World War II, there has been a move towards regionalism. In various guises and with varying degrees of economic and political integration (as well as varying liberalization of capital and labour mobility), regionalism introduces a host of issues concerning citizenship, mobility, and rights. This session looks at citizenship and labour mobility issues in regional/supranational organizations and trade agreements like the European Union, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Economic Community of West African States, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and the Caribbean Community. How have these regional associations reshaped the mobility of capital, goods, and labour, and with what implications and challenges for citizenship?*

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### Week 8 – Who deserves to be a citizen? Investor and Olympic citizenship

*Over the last decade, several European countries have implemented or formalised their citizenship tests. Several have added oaths of allegiance and set-up citizenship ceremonies. These changes have mostly been justified by a desire to grant citizenship to those who deserve citizenship by virtue of speaking the language and knowing the history and culture of the country. While these can be seen as a restriction of access to citizenship, other pathways have been more open. St Kitts and Nevis grants citizenship to those who invest substantial sum, advertising it as ‘the smart way for you and your family to secure your future prosperity’. Several other countries in the Caribbean, Europe and the Americas offer citizenship or residence permits (a first step towards citizenship) to rich investors. Top-athletes can obtain citizenship if they commit to competing in international competitions on behalf of their new country. In this session we will discuss what these fast-tracks to citizenship imply for the connection between citizenship status and identity and how they relate to the spread of citizenship tests. We will also revisit the argument that citizenship has lost all value because few rights depend upon it (Soysal, 1994; Spiro, 2008).*

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