

Controversies in Citizenship Studies

Seminar given by [Maarten Vink](#) (Chair in Citizenship Studies, EUI/RSC)

10 meetings (20 credits, SPS)

Thursdays, 17:00-19:00

Register [online](#)

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INTRODUCTION

This seminar provides a critical introduction to citizenship studies. Through a series of scholarly controversies, we reflect on theoretical and empirical questions that are central to contemporary citizenship studies. These debates address essentially contested conceptions of citizenship; theories of citizenship regime variation; the current-day relevance or obsolescence of citizenship; theories of citizenship ascension; immigrant naturalisation and its socioeconomic and mobility pay-off; dual citizenship diffusion; the commodification and instrumentalization of citizenship; securitization trends in citizenship law; and above all, the place of citizenship within the international system as both a driver and a reflection of global inequality. Emphasising the interdisciplinary nature of citizenship studies, the seminar welcomes researchers with a background in social and political science, history, law or economics.

Participants who want to take the seminar for full credits are expected:

- to read all the texts marked as required reading
- to prepare a reaction paragraph on the readings for each week and upload it on the seminar platform by Wednesday, 18 hrs
- to read all reaction paragraphs and engage actively in discussions in class
- to introduce one or two seminar topics to the class on the basis of additional readings

If you want to audit the seminar without full participation, you need to register and do the reading for the units that you want to attend. Taking the course for half credits is possible if in accordance with departmental rules.

COURSE OBJECTIVE

Upon concluding the course, students will be well-versed in how citizenship has been conceptualized in a variety of disciplines, know which questions are key to contemporary citizenship studies and be familiar with theoretical approaches and empirical methods that can be used to analyse such questions. The course emphasises the interdisciplinary nature of citizenship studies and aims to familiarise participants with approaches to the study of citizenship from social and political science, history, law and economics broadly speaking. The course encourages participants to consider possible connections with their individual research themes and to bring arguments and evidence from their own research into the in weekly discussions.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

Be familiar with key definitions of citizenship. Know the theoretical and empirical questions that are central to contemporary citizenship studies. Understand theories and arguments about the place of citizenship within the international system as both a driver and a reflection of global inequality. Be able to critically assess the effectiveness of research designs within different disciplinary traditions.

GENERAL INTRODUCTIONS/COMPANIONS

In this seminar, we will discuss selected chapters from this Handbook, in addition to chapters from other books and selected articles:

Shachar, A., Bauböck, R., Bloemraad, I., & Vink, M. (Eds.). (2017). *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*. Oxford University Press (available electronically through EUI library catalogue [here](#)).

In recent years, several other Handbooks and short companions have been published on the topic of this seminar which provide good introductions:

Cohen, E.F. and C. Ghosh (2019). *Citizenship*. Polity Press [a [copy](#) available in the EUI library]

Giugno, M. and M. Grasso (Eds.). (2021) *Handbook of Citizenship and Migration*. Edward Elgar (available online [here](#)).

Spiro, P. (2020) *Citizenship: What everyone needs to know*. Oxford University Press. [[here](#)]

OUTLINE OF SEMINAR MEETINGS

1. A tale of domination, not liberation

“Citizenship, even in its earliest forms, was a principle of equality, and that during this period it was a developing institution.”
Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class*, p. 150.

“As an instrument of the preservation of spatial inequality in the world disconnected from any acceptable substantive justification, citizenship is thus an aberration of justice”.
Kochenov, *Citizenship*, p. 60.

Required reading:

Marshall, T.H. (2019 [1950]), *Citizenship and Social Class*. Reproduced [abridged] in: J. Manza and M. Sauder, eds, *Inequality and Society*. W.W. Norton and Co, 2019, pp. 148-154. [[here](#)] [full edition [here](#)]

Kochenov, D. (2019). *Citizenship*. MIT Press, pp. 1-80. [[here](#)]

Shachar, A., Bauböck, R., Bloemraad, I., & Vink, M. (2017). Introduction: Citizenship - Quo vadis? In: Shachar, A., Bauböck, R., Bloemraad, I., & Vink, M., eds, *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, pp. 3-11. [[here](#)]

Additional readings:

Mantha-Hollands, A. and Orgad, L. (2020). Citizenship at a crossroad. *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 18(4) 1522–1525. [[here](#)] [part of review symposium discussing Kochenov]

Milanovic, B (2015), “[Global Inequality of Opportunity: How Much of Our Income Is Determined By Where We Live?](#)”, *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 97(2): 452-460.

Shachar, A. (2009). *The birthright lottery: Citizenship and global inequality*. Harvard University Press. [[here](#)]

2. Democratic theory for a messy reality

“(…) polities of different types do not always respect each other’s legitimate self-government claims, enjoy very unequal powers and are often locked in conflict with each other. This is a reality that we already know very well from the contrast between the norm of equal sovereignty of states and de facto dominance and inequality of power in the international state system. Just as the norm of equal sovereignty remains valid and operative for purposes of international law, despite a contrasting reality, we should think of the norms of democratic inclusion and self-government in the more complex environment populated by multiple types of polities as having validity independently of the distortions that we find in the contemporary world.”
Bauböck, *Democratic inclusion*, pp. 93-94.

Required reading:

Bauböck, R. (2018). *Democratic inclusion: a pluralistic theory of democratic inclusion*. In: *Democratic inclusion: Rainer Bauböck in dialogue*. Manchester University Press, pp. 1-102. [available in open access [here](#)]

+ one of the critical responses included in same book, by Carens, Miller, Honohan, Kymlicka/Donaldson, Owen or Spiro.

Additional readings:

Bauböck, R. (2018). Response to critics. In: *Democratic inclusion: Rainer Bauböck in dialogue*. Manchester University Press, pp. 227-284. [available in open access [here](#)]

Džankić, J. and Bauböck, R. (2021). Mobility without membership: do we need special passports for vulnerable groups? Forum debate on Global Citizenship Observatory (GLOBALCIT). [[here](#)]

Honohan, I. (2017). Liberal and Republic Conceptions of Citizenship. In: Shachar, A., Bauböck, R., Bloemraad, I., & Vink, M., eds, *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, pp. 83-106. [[here](#)]

Gans, C. (2017). Citizenship and Nationhood. In: Shachar, A., Bauböck, R., Bloemraad, I., & Vink, M., eds, *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, pp. 107-128. [[here](#)]

3. History + law = citizenship regime

“In global perspective, citizenship is a powerful instrument of social closure, shielding prosperous states from the migrant poor. Citizenship is also an instrument of closure within states. Every state establishes a conceptual, legal, and ideological boundary between citizens and foreigners. (...) Every state claims to be the state of, and for, a particular, bounded citizenry, usually conceived as a nation. The modern nation-state is in this sense inherently nationalistic.”
Brubaker, *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany*, p. x.

Required reading:

Brubaker, R. (1992). *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany*. Harvard University Press, pp. 1-72. [[here](#)]

Weil, P. (2001). Access to citizenship: A comparison of twenty-five nationality laws. In: Aleinikoff, T. and Klusmeyer, D., eds, *Citizenship today: Global perspectives and practices*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, pp. 17-35. [in [library](#) or [here](#)]

Vink, M. (2017). Comparing Citizenship Regimes. In: Shachar, A., Bauböck, R., Bloemraad, I., & Vink, M., eds, *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, pp. 221-244. [[here](#)]

Additional readings:

Brubaker, R. (1998). Myths and misconceptions in the study of nationalism. In J. Hall (Ed.), *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism* (pp. 272-306). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [\[here\]](#)

Brubaker, R. (2002). Ethnicity without groups. *European Journal of Sociology/Archives européennes de sociologie*, 43(2), 163-189. [\[here\]](#)

Vink, M. P., & Bauböck, R. (2013). Citizenship configurations: Analysing the multiple purposes of citizenship regimes in Europe. *Comparative European Politics*, 11(5), 621-648. [\[here\]](#)

Weil, P. (2011). From conditional to secured and sovereign: The new strategic link between the citizen and the nation-state in a globalized world, *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 9(3-4) 615–635 [\[here\]](#).

4. Devaluating and re-evaluating citizenship

“This new model, which I call *postnational*, reflects a different logic and praxis: what were previously defined as national rights become entitlements legitimized on the basis of personhood. (...) Postnational citizenship confers upon every person the right and duty of participation in the authority structures and public life of a polity, regardless of their historical or cultural ties to that community.”
Soysal, *Limits of citizenship*, p. 3.

Required reading:

Soysal, Y. N. (1994). *Limits of citizenship: Migrants and postnational membership in Europe*. University of Chicago Press, pp. 1-44, 119-167. [two [copies](#) are placed on Reserve shelf for short loan time (2 hours) in EUI Library from 1-15 February 2022.]

Joppke, C. (2017). Citizenship in Immigration States. In: Shachar, A., Bauböck, R., Bloemraad, I., & Vink, M., eds, *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, pp. 385-406. [\[here\]](#)

Additional readings:

Schuck, P. H. (1989). Membership in the liberal polity: The devaluation of American citizenship. *Geo. Immigr. LJ*, 3, 1. [\[here\]](#)

Schuck, P. H. (1997). The re-evaluation of American citizenship. *Geo. Immigr. LJ*, 12, 1. [\[here\]](#)

5. Migration + politics = citizenship regime change

“If, however, anti-immigrant sentiment is “activated” and mobilized politically, it will essentially trump the liberalizing pressures, resulting in restrictive continuity. (...) The findings show a clear relationship between the strength of the far right and the absence of citizenship liberalization.”
Howard, *The politics of citizenship in Europe*, p. 11.

Required reading:

Howard, M. M. (2009). *The politics of citizenship in Europe*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-69. [\[here\]](#)

Graeber, J. (2020) Parties on the Left, Parties on the Right: Electoral Competition and Citizenship Policy Change in Europe. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-19. [\[here\]](#)

Goodman, S. W., & Pepinsky, T. B. (2021). The Exclusionary Foundations of Embedded Liberalism. *International Organization*, 75(2), 411-439. [\[here\]](#)

Additional readings:

Joppke, C. (2003). Citizenship between de-and re-ethnicization. *European Journal of Sociology/Archives européennes de sociologie*, 44(3), 429-458. [\[here\]](#)

Koopmans, R., Michalowski, I., & Waibel, S. (2012). Citizenship rights for immigrants: National political processes and cross-national convergence in Western Europe, 1980–2008. *American journal of sociology*, 117(4), 1202-1245. [\[here\]](#)

Koopmans, R., & Michalowski, I. (2017). Why do states extend rights to immigrants? Institutional settings and historical legacies across 44 countries worldwide. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(1), 41-74. [\[here\]](#)

6. Everybody wants to be a citizen: immigrant naturalisation propensity

“Costs, benefits and meaning of naturalization are the most immediate considerations in immigrants’ decisions to naturalize”.
Yang, Explaining immigrant naturalization.

“Current theories explaining naturalization differences - focusing on citizenship laws, group traits or the characteristics of individual migrants - fail to explain the naturalization gap. Instead, I propose an institutional approach to citizenship acquisition.”
Bloemraad, The North American Naturalization Gap

Required reading:

Yang, P. Q. (1994). Explaining immigrant naturalization. *International migration review*, 28(3), 449-477. [\[here\]](#)

Bloemraad, I. (2002). The North American Naturalization Gap: An Institutional Approach to Citizenship Acquisition in the United States and Canada. *International Migration Review*, 36(1), 193-228. [\[here\]](#)

Hainmueller, J., & Hangartner, D. (2013). Who gets a Swiss passport? A natural experiment in immigrant discrimination. *American political science review*, 159-187. [\[here\]](#)

Additional readings:

Vink, M. P., Prokic-Breuer, T., & Dronkers, J. (2013). Immigrant naturalization in the context of institutional diversity: policy matters, but to whom?. *International Migration*, 51(5), 1-20. [\[here\]](#)

Street, A. (2014). My child will be a citizen: Intergenerational motives for naturalization. *World Politics*, 66(2), 264-292. [\[here\]](#)

Peters, F., Vink, M., & Schmeets, H. (2016). The ecology of immigrant naturalisation: A life course approach in the context of institutional conditions. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(3), 359-381. [\[here\]](#)

Vink, M., Tegunimataka, A., Peters, F., & Bevelander, P. (2021). Long-term heterogeneity in immigrant naturalisation: the conditional relevance of civic integration and dual citizenship. *European Sociological Review*. [\[here\]](#)

7. Does citizenship matter?

“Does holding or providing citizenship matter? Normative or political claims about dignity, equality, or state sovereignty have limited purchase unless we know the answers to two empirical questions. Does holding citizenship status affect individuals’ life experiences? By being more or less generous in providing citizenship to residents, do states reap benefits or face particular disadvantages?”
Bloemraad, *Does citizenship matter*, p. 526.

Required reading:

Bloemraad, I. (2017). Does citizenship matter? In: Shachar, A., Bauböck, R., Bloemraad, I., & Vink, M., eds, *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, pp. 526-550. [\[here\]](#)

Erdal, M. B., Doeland, E. M., & Tellander, E. (2018). How citizenship matters (or not): the citizenship–belonging nexus explored among residents in Oslo, Norway. *Citizenship Studies*, 22(7), 705-724. [\[here\]](#)

Hainmueller, J., Hangartner, D., & Pietrantuono, G. (2017). Catalyst or crown: Does naturalization promote the long-term social integration of immigrants? *American Political Science Review*, 111(2), 256-276. [\[here\]](#)

Peters, F., Vink, M., & Schmeets, H. (2018). Anticipating the citizenship premium: before and after effects of immigrant naturalisation on employment. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(7), 1051-1080. [\[here\]](#)

Additional readings:

Hainmueller, J., Hangartner, D., & Pietrantuono, G. (2015). Naturalization fosters the long-term political integration of immigrants. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 112(41), 12651-12656. [\[here\]](#)

Hainmueller, J., Hangartner, D., & Ward, D. (2019). The effect of citizenship on the long-term earnings of marginalized immigrants: Quasi-experimental evidence from Switzerland. *Science advances*, 5(12). [\[here\]](#)

Steinhardt, M. F. (2012). Does citizenship matter? The economic impact of naturalizations in Germany. *Labour Economics*, 19(6), 813-823. [\[here\]](#)

Peters, F., Schmeets, H., & Vink, M. (2019). Naturalisation and immigrant earnings: why and to whom citizenship matters. *European Journal of Population*, 36, 511-545. [\[here\]](#)

8. Dual citizenship

“The rise of dual citizenship could hardly have been imaginable to a time traveler from a hundred or even fifty years ago. Dual nationality was once considered an offense to nature, an abomination on the order of bigamy. It was the stuff of titanic battles between the United States and European sovereigns. As those conflicts dissipated, dual citizenship continued to be an oddity, a condition that, if not quite freakish, was nonetheless vaguely disreputable, a status one could hold but not advertise. The mantle of loyalty and allegiance that has historically hung so heavily over citizenship continued to cloud popular perceptions of the status. Even today, some Americans mistakenly understand dual citizenship to somehow be “illegal,” when in fact it is completely tolerated. Only recently has the status largely shed the opprobrium to which it was once attached.”
Spiro, *At Home in Two Countries*, p. 4.

Required reading:

Spiro, *At home in two countries*. NYU Press, pp. 1-21, 87-130. [\[here\]](#)

Vink, M., Schakel, A. H., Reichel, D., Luk, N. C., & de Groot, G. R. (2019). The international diffusion of expatriate dual citizenship. *Migration Studies* 7(3) 362-383. [\[here\]](#)

Alarian, H. M., & Goodman, S. W. (2017). Dual citizenship allowance and migration flow: An origin story. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(1), 133-167. [\[here\]](#)

Additional readings:

Peters, F., & Vink, M. (2021). Heterogeneous effects of dual citizenship acceptance on immigrant naturalisation: Quasi-experimental evidence from two European policy reforms. [\[here\]](#)

Turcu, A., & Urbatsch, R. (2015). Diffusion of diaspora enfranchisement norms: A multinational study. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(4), 407-437. [\[here\]](#)

9. Securitising citizenship

“Yet the practically inviolable nature of citizenship and nationality should not obscure the fact that states have always possessed some grounds through which to take away citizenship, including fraud, disloyalty, acquisition of another citizenship, marriage to a foreigner, and threat to public order.

Indeed, in recent years, denationalization powers have gained increasing intellectual and political attention as many liberal states have created new laws or enforced old ones to strip citizenship from individuals involved with terrorism.”

Gibney, Denationalization, p. 358

Required reading:

Isin, E. F. (2004). The neurotic citizen. *Citizenship studies*, 8(3), 217-235. [\[here\]](#)

Gibney, M. (2017). Denationalization. In: Shachar, A., Bauböck, R., Bloemraad, I., & Vink, M., eds, *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, pp. 358-382. [\[here\]](#)

Macklin, A. (2018). The return of banishment: Do the new denationalisation policies weaken citizenship? In Bauböck, R., ed. *Debating transformations of national citizenship* (pp. 163-172). Springer, Cham. [\[here\]](#) [part of a GLOBALCIT review symposium, see responses [here\]](#)

Additional readings:

Gibney, M. J. (2020). Banishment and the pre-history of legitimate expulsion power. *Citizenship Studies*, 24(3), 277-300. [\[here\]](#)

Cohen, E. F. (2016). When Democracies Denationalize: The Epistemological Case against Revoking Citizenship. *Ethics & International Affairs*, 30(2), 253-259. [\[here\]](#)

Gibney, M. J. (2013). Should citizenship be conditional? The ethics of denationalization. *The Journal of Politics*, 75(3), 646-658. [\[here\]](#)

Pillai, S., & Williams, G. (2017). Twenty-first century banishment: citizenship stripping in common law nations. *International & Comparative Law Quarterly*, 66(3), 521-555. [\[here\]](#)

10. The commodification of citizenship

"(...) individuals' attitudes towards the potential to obtain dual citizenship are shaped by their position in the global hierarchy of citizenship value."
Harpaz, *Compensatory citizenship*, p. 897

"Many naturalisers were not compensating for the failures of their citizenship at birth, but manoeuvring within a world of state competition."
Surak, *Millionaire mobility and the sale of citizenship*, p. 166.

"The proliferation of investment-based citizenship programmes both in Europe and worldwide has established a sui generis market, which treats national membership as an industry."
Džankic, *The global market for investor citizenship*, p. 147.

Required reading:

Harpaz, Y. (2019). *Compensatory citizenship: dual nationality as a strategy of global upward mobility*. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(6), 897-916. [[here](#)]

Surak, K. (2021). *Millionaire mobility and the sale of citizenship*. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 47(1), 166-189. [[here](#)]

Džankic, J. (2019). 'Long-Distance Citizens': Strategies and Interests of States, Companies and Individuals in the Global Race for Wealth. In: *The global market for investor citizenship*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 137-170. [[here](#)]

Additional readings:

Harpaz, Y. (2019). *Citizenship 2.0: dual nationality as a global asset*. Princeton University Press. [[in library](#)]

Various authors (2018). Should citizenship be for sale? In Bauböck, R., ed. *Debating transformations of national citizenship* (pp. 3-70). Springer, Cham. [[here](#)]