

What Is Citizenship?

- Legal definition
- Full membership in a political community
- Rights and obligations
- Social closure

Why National Citizenship Matters

- Elections
- Welfare state benefits
- Public-sector employment
- Social integration
- Demographics
- Pension Systems

Two Puzzles

#1: What Explains Historical Variation?

 #2: What Explains Continuity and Change in the 11 Relatively Restrictive Countries?

An Empirical Baseline

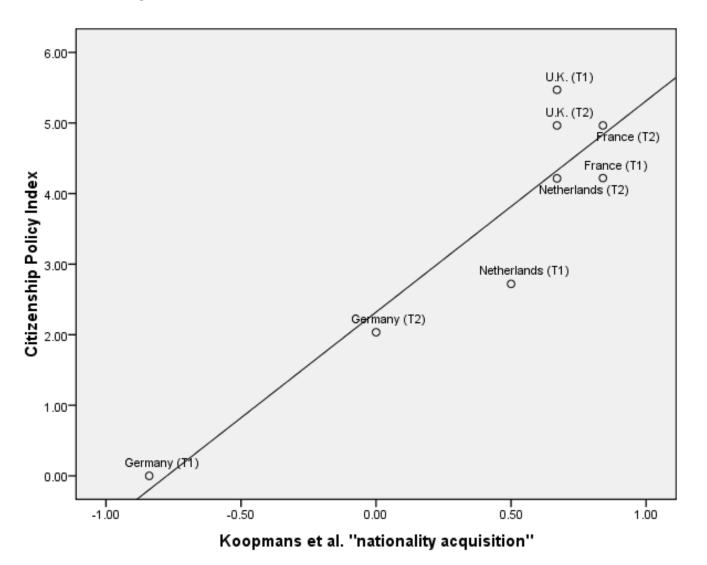
- The "new" Citizenship Policy Index (CPI)
 - Jus soli
 - Residency requirement for naturalization
 - Dual citizenship for immigrants

- What is new about this version of the CPI?
 - More nuanced measures from "NATAC"
 - "Correction" based on "naturalization rates"
 - Civic integration requirements

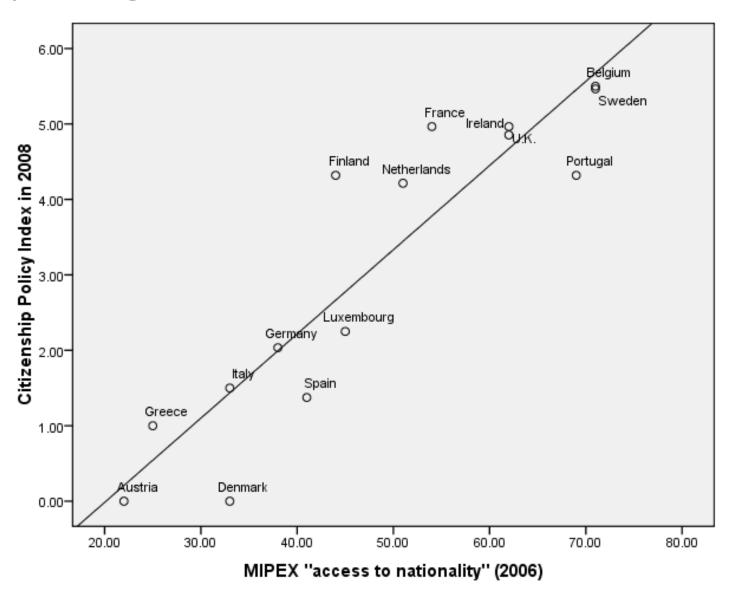
Table 1: The Three Main Components of Citizenship Policies for the EU-15 in the 1980s

	Country	Jus Soli	Naturalization	Dual Citizenship	CPI SCORE
		28.2	Requirements	for Immigrants	
		(0-2)	(0-2)	(0-2)	(0-6)
	Commony	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Germany				A00.000.0000
	Austria	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.50
tix	Luxembourg	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.50
Ë	Italy	0.00	0.72	0.00	0.72
Restrictive	Greece	0.00	0.00	1.25	1.25
	Spain	0.50	0.75	0.00	1.25
	Denmark	0.00	1.43	0.00	1.43
Medium	Finland	0.00	1.72	0.00	1.72
	Sweden	0.00	1.72	0.00	1.72
	Portugal	0.75	0.00	1.00	1.75
	Netherlands	1.50	1.22	0.00	2.72
	France	1.50	1.22	1.50	4.22
Liberal	Ireland	2.00	1.11	1.25	4.36
	Belgium	1.50	1.75	1.75	5.00
	U. K.	1.75	1.72	2.00	5.47

Comparing the CPI to Koopmans et al.'s Measures



Comparing the CPI in 2008 to MIPEX 2006



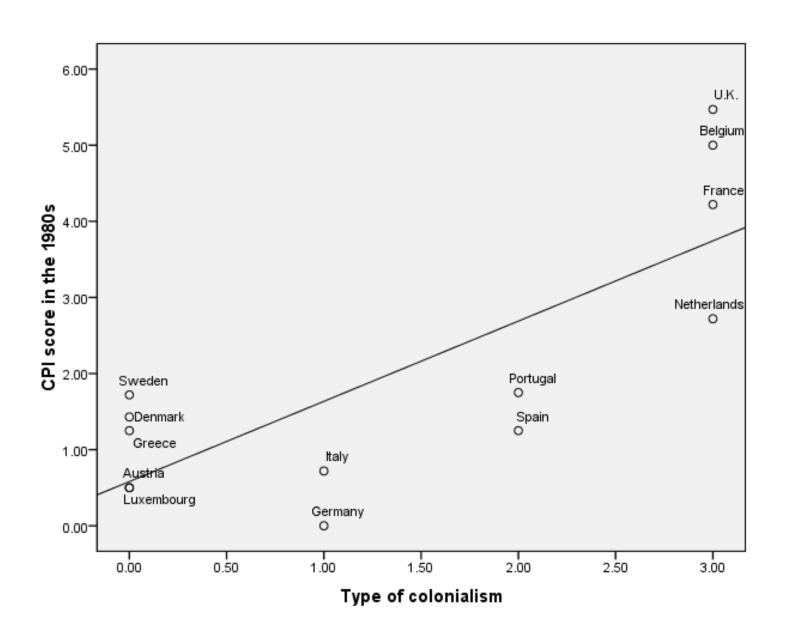
Puzzle #1

What distinguishes the historically liberal countries?

Argument #1

- Colonialism
- Early Democratization

Type of Colonialism and Historical CPI



Onset of Democratization and Historical CPI

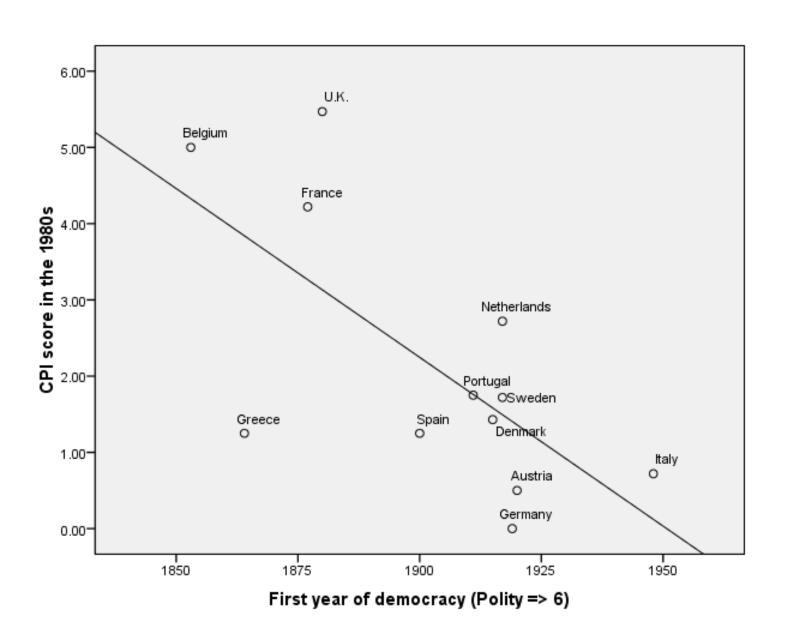


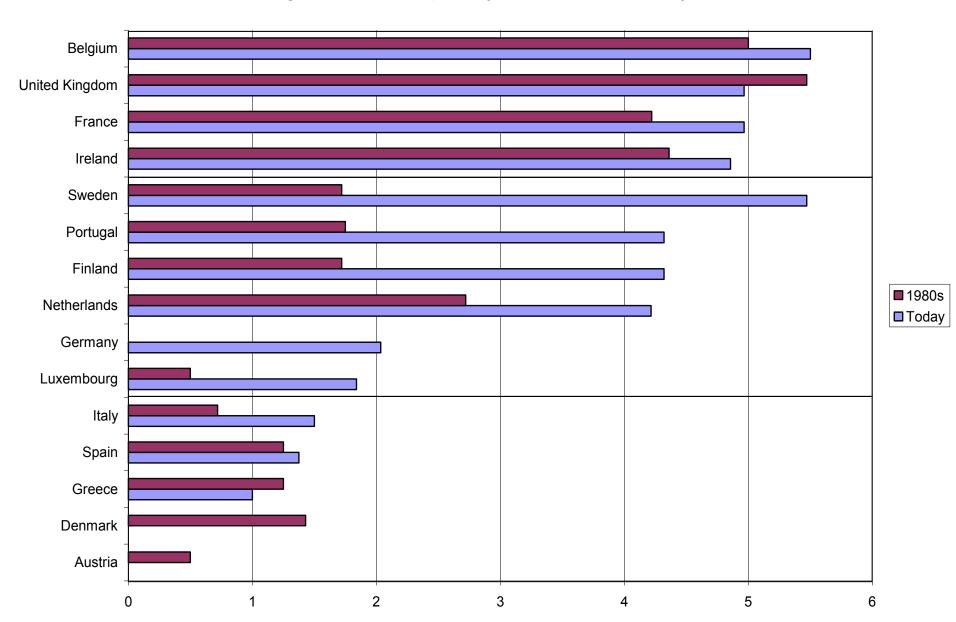
Figure 2: What Explains Different Historical Patterns of Citizenship Laws?

Major Colonial Power? Yes No Belgium Greece France U.K. Early Democratizer? (Ireland) **Netherlands** Austria Denmark Germany Italy Luxembourg Spain **Portugal** Sweden (Finland)

Puzzle #2

 Of the 11 historically restrictive countries, why have 6 of them liberalized their citizenship policies, while 5 have not?

Figure 1: Citizenship Policy Index, 1980s and Today



Argument #2

• The Politics of Citizenship...

Figure 3: Latent Pressures on National Citizenship Policies

<u>Latent Pressures for Liberalization:</u> <u>Latent Pressures for Restrictiveness:</u>

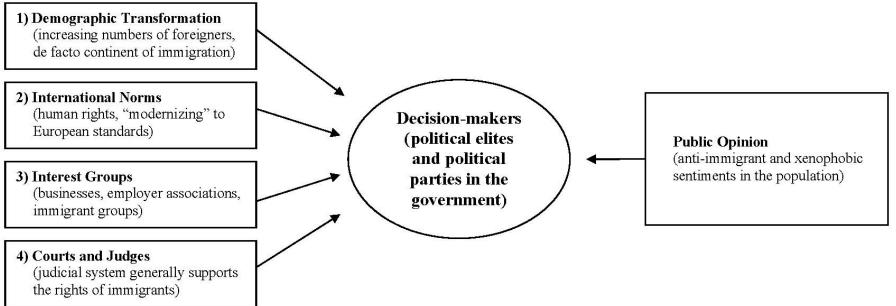
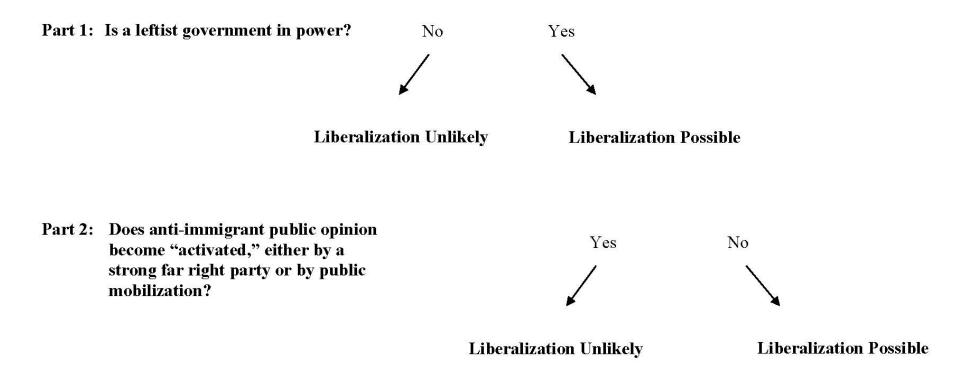


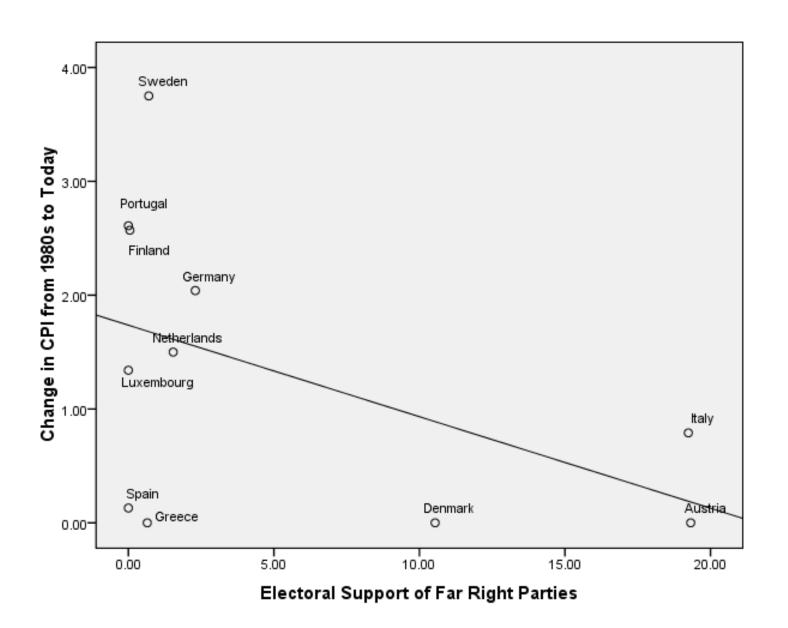
Figure 4: A Two-Part Political Model for Explaining Citizenship Liberalization



Operationalization of the Argument

 Electoral strength of far right parties (1992-2006)

Far Right Strength and CPI Liberalization



Conclusions

- Only part of the larger political story...
- The limits of medium-N analysis...
- Normative problem:
 - Is "democracy" more "democratic"?
- Policy implication:
 - Beware of "direct democracy"!

Varieties of Citizenship in the European Union

PART I: ARGUMENT

- Chapter 1 Citizenship in Cross-National Perspective
- Chapter 2 Historical Variation and Legacies
- Chapter 3 Continuity and Change in the Contemporary Period

PART II: CASES

- Chapter 4 **Liberalizing Change** (Finland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, and Sweden)
- Chapter 5 Restrictive Continuity
 (Austria, Denmark, Greece, Italy, and Spain)
- Chapter 6 Partial Liberalization with a Restrictive Backlash (Germany)
- Chapter 7 Citizenship Battles in the Historically Liberal Countries (Belgium, France, Ireland, and the U.K.)
- Chapter 8 The New European Frontier (The 12 Accession Countries)

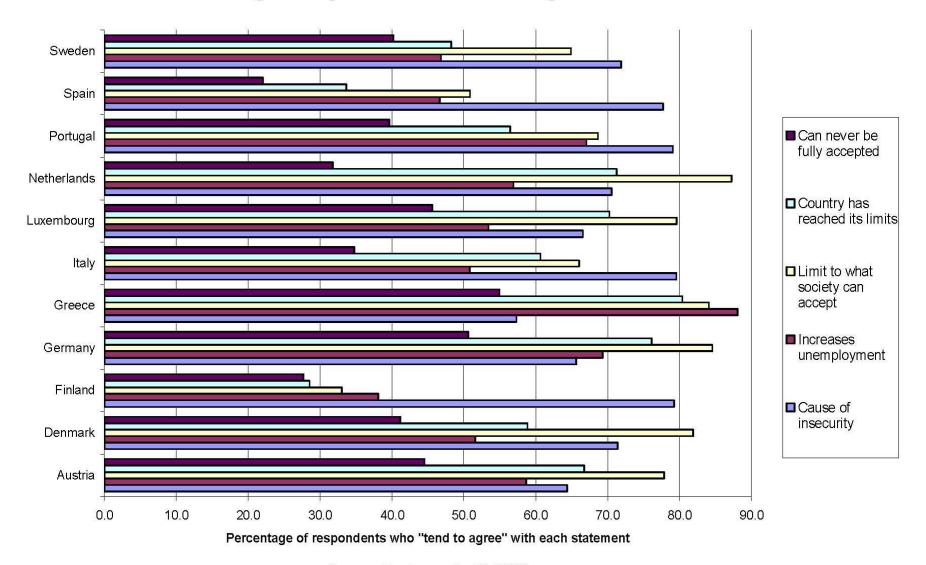
Table 2: The Three Main Components of Citizenship Policies for the EU-15 Today

Country		Jus Soli	Naturalization	Dual Citizenship	CPI SCORE
		(0-2)	Requirements (0-2)	for Immigrants (0-2)	(0-6)
					2
e	Austria	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
it.	Denmark	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
L J	Greece	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
Restrictive	Spain	0.50	0.38	0.50	1.38
	Italy	0.00	0.25	1.25	1.50
Med.	Luxembourg	1.00	0.84	0.00	1.84
Me	Germany	0.75	0.54	0.75	2.04
	Netherlands	1.50	1.22	1.50	4.22
	Finland	1.00	1.32	2.00	4.32
_	Portugal	1.75	1.07	1.50	4.32
Liberal	Ireland	2.00	1.36	1.50	4.86
	France	1.50	1.47	2.00	4.97
	U. K.	1.75	1.22	2.00	4.97
	Sweden	1.50	1.72	2.00	5.22
	Belgium	1.50	2.00	2.00	5.50

Table 4: Country Groupings Based on Historical Traditions and Recent Changes

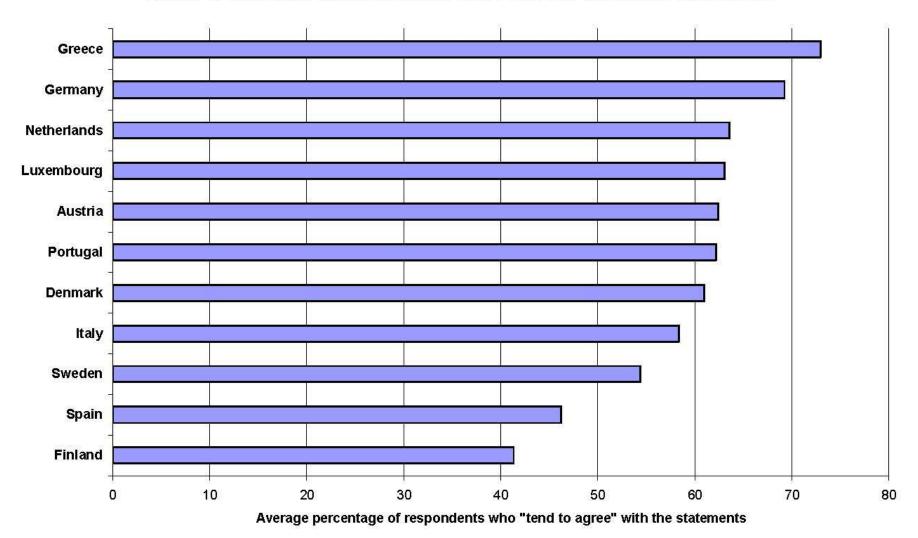
Grouping	Country		
0.000	Austria		
Restrictive	Denmark		
Continuity	Greece		
**************************************	Italy		
	Spain		
	Finland		
	Germany		
Liberalizing	Luxembourg		
Change	Netherlands		
2/07	Portugal		
	Sweden		
	Belgium		
Historically	France		
Liberal	Ireland		
	U.K.		

Figure 1: Agreement with Five Anti-Immigrant Statements



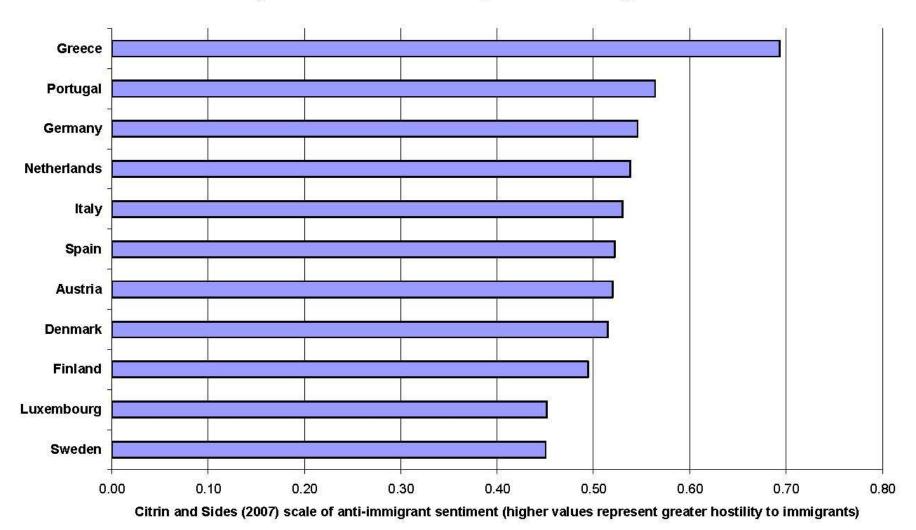
Source: Eurobarometer 53 (2000)

Figure 2: Average Agreement Rate with Five Anti-Immigrant Statements



Source: Eurobarometer 53 (2000)

Figure 3: Perceived Consequences of Immigrants



Source: 2002 European Social Survey

Table 3: Correlations between Country-Level Factors and Citizenship Liberalization

Variable	Expected direction	Correlation	Significance	N
GDP per capita	+	.02	.48	11
Economic Growth	+	03	.47	11
Unemployment	 .	06	.43	11
Number of foreigners	+	04	.45	11
Percentage of foreigners	+	12	.36	11
Anti-immigrant sentiment	#:	27	.21	11
Support for far right parties	•	48	.067	11