Strategic Citizenship
Negotiating Membership in the Age of Dual Nationality

International Conference

Conference Program

March 7-8, 2016 / Whig Hall, Princeton University

www.multizens.org
MONDAY, MARCH 7TH 2016

8:00 WELCOME

9:15-10:30 KEYNOTE
Discussant: Peter J. Spiro
• The Instrumental Turn of Citizenship — Christian Joppke

10:45-12:45 PANEL 1: THE GLOBAL GEOGRAPHY OF MULTIPLE CITIZENSHIP
Discussant: Miguel Centeno
• The Ethno-Demographic Impact of Co-Ethnic Citizenship in Central and Eastern — Costica Dumbrava
• Multicitizenship for Migration: A Demographic Approach to the Past and Future of Latin American Multizens’ International Migration — Victoria Prieto and Andreu Domingo
• Compensatory citizenship: Dual Nationality as a Strategy of Global Upward Mobility — Yossi Harpaz

12:45-13:45 LUNCH

14:00-16:00 PANEL 2: THE POLITICS OF DIASPORIC CITIZENSHIP
Discussant: Diego Acosta
• Ethnic Identity, Transnational Belonging and Dual Citizenship — Trajectories and Strategies of Indian-American Immigrants — Daniel Naujoks
• Theorizing the Karta Polaka: Debordering and Rebordering the Limits of Citizenship in the EU’s Eastern Neighbourhood — Bastian Sendhardt
• American Dual Citizens in Israel: Navigating between multiple identities and pragmatic strategies — Ben Herzog

16:20 – 18:20 PANEL 3: KIN–STATE CITIZENSHIP AS IDENTITY AND EXPERIENCE
Discussant: Kim Scheppele
• Perceptions of Hungarian External Dual Citizenship and Voting Rights in the US, Israel, Serbia and Romania — Szabolcs Pogany
• Strategic, Symbolic or Legitimate? Analyzing Engaging with Dual Citizenship from the Bottom-Up — Eleanor Knott
• Extending Citizenship to the Diaspora: Ethnic Return Migrants as Legal, Racial, and Cultural Citizens — Takeyuki Tsuda

TUESDAY, MARCH 8TH 2016

8:30-10:30 PANEL 4: CITIZENSHIP, INEQUALITY AND MOBILITY
Discussant: Sherally Munshi
• How To Turn Ethnicity into Migration-Facilitating Capital: Bourdieu, Ethnic Capital, and Step-wise Migration of Korean Chinese to the U.S. — Jaeun Kim
• Illegibility as State Strategy: Legal Exclusion via the (Re-)Production of Undocumented Status — Amanda Cheong
• The Mestizo Nation Unbound: Dual citizenship of Euro-Mexicans and US-Mexicans — Pablo Mateos

10:45-12:00 KEYNOTE 2
Discussant: Dimitry Kochenov
• The Equality Puzzles of Plural Citizenship — Peter J. Spiro

12:00-12:45 LUNCH

12:45-14:45 PANEL 5: SELECTING THE “GOOD CITIZEN”
Discussant: Kristin Surak
• The State Strikes Back: Restricting Citizenship in the Netherlands and Canada — Willem Maas
• Probing “Citizenship of Convenience”: An Inquiry into the Motivations for Naturalization — Elke Winter
• The Tripartite Structure of European Investor Citizenship Programs: Interests and Strategies of States, Companies and Individuals — Jelena Dzankic

14:45-15:15 FINAL REMARKS AND END OF CONFERENCE

MORE INFORMATION:
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www.multizens.org
WELCOME

Welcome to Princeton University and the Strategic Citizenship conference. We thank you for taking part of this conference and we hope that you enjoy your stay in Princeton and the conference. This program contains all the information you need during your stay in Princeton. In case you need anything urgent, please call Yossi Harpaz at (347) 2798727 or Pablo Mateos +5213334907411

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- Mexican National Council for Science and Technology (CONACYT), Mexico - Grant Nr. 214542
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- Center for Migration and Development (CMD), Princeton University
Over the past two decades, there has been a worldwide legitimization of new forms of nation-state membership that challenge traditional conceptions of citizenship premised on the exclusive loyalty and residence. These are, above all, multiple citizenship and non-resident (or external) citizenship.

This legal reconfiguration has created new opportunities for individuals and families to strategize their national membership/s, decoupling citizenship and residence, legal status and identity. A series of pragmatic citizenship strategies have emerged at the individual and family levels, aimed at securing additional rights, especially mobility, security and access to economic opportunities. These developments are reopening questions about the meaning of national identity within citizenship and the future of national membership within a stratified global system.

New research has begun to emerge which seeks to understand these transformations from a “bottom-up” empirical approach that provides a crucial complement to the “top-down”, state-focused approaches that traditionally dominated the study of citizenship. This conference brings together researchers working in the context of these new perspectives; by fostering these new discussions, it aims to contribute to the development of a comparative, theoretically-informed approach to external and multiple citizenship practices.
**PROGRAM OUTLINE**

**Monday, March 7th 2016**

8:00-9:00 BREAKFAST (Whig Hall)

**9:00 – 9:15 WELCOME**

**9:15-10:30 KEYNOTE 1**
- The Instrumental Turn of Citizenship - Christian Joppke

**10:30- 10:45 COFFEE BREAK**

**10:45-12:45 PANEL 1: THE GLOBAL GEOGRAPHY OF MULTIPLE CITIZENSHIP**
- The Ethno-Demographic Impact of Co-Ethnic Citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe - Costica Dumbrava
- Multicitizenship for Mobility: A Demographic Approach to the Latin-American-born Spanish Citizens' Potential for International Migration - Victoria Prieto and Andreu Domingo
- Compensatory citizenship: Dual Nationality as a Strategy of Global Upward Mobility - Yossi Harpaz

**12:45-13:45 LUNCH**

**14:00-16:00 PANEL 2: THE POLITICS OF DIASPORA CITIZENSHIP**
- Ethnic Identity, Transnational Belonging and Dual Citizenship – Trajectories and Strategies of Indian-American Immigrants - Daniel Naujoks
- Theorizing the Karta Polaka: Debordering and Rebordering the Limits of Citizenship in the EU’s Eastern Neighbourhood - Bastian Sendhardt
- American Dual Citizens in Israel: Navigating between multiple identities and pragmatic strategies - Ben Herzog

**16:00- 16:20 COFFEE BREAK**

**16:20 – 18:20 PANEL 3: KIN-STATE CITIZENSHIP AS IDENTITY AND EXPERIENCE**
- Perceptions of Hungarian External Dual Citizenship and Voting Rights in the US, Israel, Serbia and Romania - Szabolcs Pogany
- Strategic, Symbolic or Legitimate? Analysing Engaging with Dual Citizenship from the Bottom-Up - Eleanor Knott
- Extending Citizenship to the Diaspora: Ethnic Return Migrants as Legal, Racial, and Cultural Citizens - Takeyuki Tsuda

**18:30 END OF DAY**

**19:30 CONFERENCE DINNER**
Tuesday, March 8th 2016

7:30-8:30 BREAKFAST (Whig Hall)

8:30-10:30 PANEL 4: CITIZENSHIP, INEQUALITY AND MOBILITY

- How to Turn Ethnicity into Migration-Facilitating Capital: Bourdieu, Ethnic Capital, and Stepwise Migration of Korean Chinese to the U.S. - Jaeeun Kim
- Illegibility as State Strategy: Legal Exclusion via the (Re-)Production of Undocumented Status. Evidence from Myanmar - Amanda Cheong
- The Mestizo Nation Unbound: Dual citizenship of Euro-Mexicans and US-Mexicans - Pablo Mateos

10:30-10:45 COFFEE BREAK

10:45-12:00 KEYNOTE 2

- The Equality Puzzles of Plural Citizenship - Peter J. Spiro

12:00-12:45 LUNCH

12:45-14:45 PANEL 5: SELECTING THE “GOOD CITIZEN”

- The State Strikes Back: Restricting Citizenship in the Netherlands and Canada - Willem Maas
- Probing “Citizenship of Convenience”: An Inquiry into the Motivations for Naturalization - Elke Winter
- The Tripartite Structure of European Investor Citizenship Programs: Interests and Strategies of States, Companies and Individuals - Jelena Dzankic

14:45-15:15 FINAL REMARKS AND END OF CONFERENCE

15:15-16:00 COFFEE & DRINKS

LIST OF SPEAKERS AND DISCUSSANTS

CONFERENCE LOGISTICS

Meals
Monday, March 7th 2016

8:00-9:00 BREAKFAST (Whig Hall)

9:00 – 9:15 WELCOME
Pablo Mateos, Yossi Harpaz

9:15-10:30 KEYNOTE 1
Chair: Yossi Harpaz
Discussant: Peter J. Spiro

– The Instrumental Turn of Citizenship
  
  Christian Joppke

Instrumentalism is the heart of an inevitable lightening of citizenship in liberal societies. Three cases of instrumentalism are discussed and compared: the selling of citizenship, expanding provisions of external citizenship, and the evolving European Union citizenship as a citizenship without duties. While the instrumental turn tends to be deplored, even counteracted, by the very states that reinforce the trend, and is criticized by some normative theorists, it is deeply grounded in the thinning of public morality and the advancing of legal individualism in liberal societies.

10:30- 10:45 COFFEE BREAK

10:45-12:45 PANEL 1: THE GLOBAL GEOGRAPHY OF MULTIPLE CITIZENSHIP
Chair: Willem Maas
Discussants: Jaeeun Kim and Diego Acosta

– The Ethno-Demographic Impact of Co-Ethnic Citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe
  
  Costica Dumbrava

Many countries in Central and Eastern Europe grant preferential access to citizenship to co-ethnics living aboard. This trend overlaps with several key demographic changes, such as a dramatic decrease of fertility rates, high emigration and changes in the ethnic structure of the populations. The paper analyses policies of co-ethnic citizenship in CEE in order to assess the demographic impact of co-ethnic citizenship both on the kin states and on the communities of co-ethnics. It shows that, despite their huge ethno-demographic potential, co-ethnic citizenship policies contribute very little to the demographic recovery of the kin states. They also tend to weaken rather than strengthen the demographic and political situation of the co-ethnic groups, in the name in which they are promoted.
Multicitizenship for Mobility: A Demographic Approach to the Latin-American-born Spanish Citizens' Potential for International Migration

Victoria Prieto and Andreu Domingo

According to the Spanish Population Register, 905,141 Latin-American-born Spanish citizens were residing at birthplace by the end of 2014. In most of the cases, these ‘multizens’ hold a passport that allows them to migrate to any European Union destination or simplifies their migration pathway to the United States. To these potential migrants residing abroad, we should add the 1,082,885 Spanish citizens born in Latin America, who on the same year lived in Spain and the 68,030 that lived in a third country. This means that more than 2 million Latin Americans are European citizens that may migrate from their birthplace, from Spain or a third country, in any direction.

This paper describes the recent trends in the stock and mobility of two of these groups of Latin-American-born Spanish citizens. It also assesses their migration potential from Latin America and from Spain to the horizon 2050, taking as a base population the United Nations demographic projection. For the analysis of migration intensities, we estimated migration rates based on the Spanish Current Population Register, the Spanish Population Register for Residents Abroad, and the Residential Variation Statistics.

Compensatory citizenship: Dual Nationality as a Strategy of Global Upward Mobility

Yossi Harpaz

Many countries grant preferential access to citizenship to various groups of people on grounds of shared ethnicity, historical or cultural ties. In the case of EU countries such policies do not only create a special route to national citizenship but also trigger significant migration opportunities; since all national citizens are entitled to entry and stay in the EU area of freedom of movement. The Western press has been quick to sound the alarm bell on “millions” of Moldovans entering the EU through the Romanian backdoor. In the meantime, however, it was reported that one actual million of residents of Latin American countries silently claimed and secured Italian passports. This paper will analyse recent citizenship policies of EU countries in order to provide estimates about the number of both potential and actual people who could acquire/have acquired the citizenship of a EU country through preferential treatment based on ethno-cultural grounds (Euro-ethnizens). Firstly, it will develop a comparative typology of ethno-cultural rules of citizenship in Europe. Secondly, it will identify groups of people that can qualify for preferential treatment in different EU countries (e.g. ethnic minorities, emigrant diaspora, former citizens). Lastly it will gather and analyse evidence about the actual number of Euro-ethnizens (national statistics, expert reports, secondary literature). This primarily analytical and empirical investigation will shed light over a politically contested practice and provide the background for further normative inquiries into the relationship between citizenship, migration, ethnicity and privilege.
14:00-16:00 PANEL 2: THE POLITICS OF DIASPORA CITIZENSHIP
Chair: Jelena Dzaknic
Discussant: Diego Acosta

- **Ethnic Identity, Transnational Belonging and Dual Citizenship – Trajectories and Strategies of Indian-American Immigrants**
  
  *Daniel Naujoks*

Scholarship on immigration, citizenship and ethnic identification has shed light on many aspects of immigrant incorporation. One of the questions remaining is in what way the extension of membership rights by the home country affects migrants’ political, social and cultural integration in the country of residence. This is directly connected to the transnational repercussions of the external citizenship regimes that have been promoted in many parts of the world. Based on 50 interviews, this paper analyzes and theorizes how a diasporic state-membership status—namely, the Overseas Citizenship of India—affects mechanisms and strategies of belonging, national identification and commitment for persons of Indian descent in the U.S. Drawing on the theoretical framework of ethnic identity, social identity theory, and anthropology, as well as social and ethnic psychology, the paper addresses concrete ways how dual citizenship affects ethnic self-categorization and commitment. The analysis includes the individuals’ perceived right to call themselves ‘citizens of both countries,’ as well as citizenship status as an argumentative tool and a reminder in the process of external identity negotiation. The paper shows that a dual legal status helps immigrants resist the often exclusive norms of national community, both in the U.S. and in India, and allows them to gain public recognition through officially sanctioned multiple belonging. For this reason, the paper shows the strategic use and impact of state policies at the individual level. Although the final identification process is located at the individual level, the paper also addresses the effect on group processes, both within the ethnic Indian community in the U.S. and between this community, the U.S. mainstream and other groups. The paper offers an empirically grounded theory of identificatory processes that are associated with immigrant naturalization, multiple belonging and transnational as well as local practices. Contrary to theories claiming that dual citizenship is eroding national (U.S.) citizenship, the paper highlights how a quasi dual citizenship enhances political participation and civic activism in the U.S.

- **Theorizing the Karta Polaka: Debordering and Rebordering the Limits of Citizenship in the EU’s Eastern Neighbourhood**
  
  *Bastian Sendhardt*

After Poland’s Schengen accession, members of the Polish minority in countries such as Ukraine, as third-country citizens, needed a visa when travelling to Poland. In order to mitigate these negative effects of EU membership, Poland passed the Act on the Karta Polaka...
(Pole’s Card). This document addresses the Polish diaspora in the USSR successor states. The card confirms the holder’s belonging to the Polish nation and grants partial access to the Polish welfare state. This paper theoretically underpins and analyzes this Act and the changing borders of (Polish) citizenship in the context of EU enlargement, in other words: the citizenship aspect of the Europeanization of the Polish-Ukrainian border. In case of the Karta Polaka, non-resident non-citizens have access to the Polish welfare state. I understand citizenship as a status granting access to the welfare state which on a territorial basis offers inclusion into other functional systems. This understanding of citizenship makes sense only when seen against the background of the primacy of functional differentiation in world society. However, this observation also points to the endurance of territorial patterns in world society. When understanding territorial borders in a more abstract way, that is, not as physical border installations but as cognitive lines creating abstract categories we see the connection between categories such as state territory, citizenship or the nation as a form of collective identity. All of these are categories with clear-cut borders and thus—at least in theory—with an exact ‘inside/outside distinction’. Of course, in today’s globalizing world society, there are countless derogations from these ideal-type fixed categories, such as dual citizenship, rights of residence or, as will be shown here, the Karta Polaka, but also affirmations of them. These phenomena can be analyzed as derogations from (debordering) and affirmations of the principle of territoriality (rebordering).

American Dual Citizens in Israel: Navigating between multiple identities and pragmatic strategies

Ben Herzog

Menachem Binyamin Zivotofsky, a 12-year-old American boy born in Jerusalem filed suit against the U.S. to obtain a passport stating that his place of birth was Israel. Since the United States considers Jerusalem disputed territory according to international law, it has never agreed to register any country for a citizen born in Jerusalem. While this case highlights American legal issues regarding the relations between Congress and the President or the international controversy over Jerusalem, it also offers a perspective on the relations between the American public, American Jews and the American dual citizens in Israel. In this paper I analyze the transnational practices of American Jews in Israel, as portrayed in the Zivotofsky case. Those include institutional connections with American state and non-state associations and transnational personal and professional relations. I argue that looking at the different narratives and practices presented allows us to understand the intersecting identity, ideology and politics of the American diaspora in Israel. The fact that former Americans participate in the American legal system is both an indicator of dual or diasporic identity and a utilization of their legal status (as Americans) for Israeli interests. Dual citizenship can be both a strategic tool and a meaningful identity.
16:00- 16:20 COFFEE BREAK

16:20 – 18:20 PANEL 3: KIN-STATE CITIZENSHIP AS IDENTITY AND EXPERIENCE
Chair: Costica Dumbrava
Discussant: Kim Scheppele

– Perceptions of Hungarian External Dual Citizenship and Voting Rights in the US, Israel, Serbia and Romania
Szabolcs Pogonyi

This paper explores how the political inclusion of non-resident Hungarians and the subsequent institutionalization of diaspora involvement after 2010 impacted the national identification of newly naturalized non-resident Hungarians in different diasporic contexts. Through the systematic analysis of semi-structured interviews, the paper investigates how citizenship as a legal institution is perceived, practiced and consumed by Hungarians living in the US, Israel, Serbia and Romania. The interviews suggest that citizenship is considered by the recipients both as a strategic/instrumental asset as well as a marker of identity. The institutionalization of non-resident citizenship and voting rights is regarded by Hungarians outside the country as the indication of the Hungarian government’s willingness to help the material and symbolic interests of non-resident Hungarians. The paper claims that Hungarians living in the neighboring countries regard Hungarian citizenship primarily as a marker of identity, while diaspora Hungarians in the US and Israel are also motivated by more pragmatic considerations. The paper also points out that the formal inclusion in the citizenry (which new members take as an official recognition of their full and equal membership in the Hungarian nation defined in ethnocultural terms) creates a sense of duty as well. Newly naturalized non-resident Hungarians consider it a moral obligation to maintain their national culture on the peripheries of the Hungarian transnation. In addition, they also regard it as a duty to participate in the Hungarian parliamentary elections. Moreover, citizenship is also considered as a valuable symbolic asset which can be instrumentalized as means of social closure. Non-resident citizenship enables ethnic Hungarians to entrench perceived ethnic boundaries and symbolically distance themselves from titular majorities in the neighboring countries, and through this, elevate their social status. Interestingly, formal and legal acknowledgement of equal membership in the nation also makes some recipients realize the differences of nationhood conceptions of members of the kin-minority and Hungarians living in the kin-state.
--- Strategic, Symbolic or Legitimate? Analysing Engaging with Dual Citizenship from the Bottom-Up

*Eleanor Knott*

Why do individuals acquire dual citizenship from kin-states? Using the case study of Moldova and engagement with Romanian citizenship acquisition (or reacquisition) this paper argues it is both important to study kin-state citizenship acquisition from the bottom-up, by analyzing the lived experience of acquisition, to understand more fully the social and political impacts of this status. Secondly this paper argues for understanding motivations for engagement with kin-state citizenship beyond a strategic-symbolic continuum to consider also a third normative dimension, where kin-state citizenship is constructed as natural and normal and, thus, legitimate. Focusing on this normative dimension helps to understand engagement with kin-state citizenship, and a richer understanding of this engagement than a ‘strategic’ dimension suggests, even for those who do not identify co-ethnically or with the kin-state, by demonstrating how ties of legitimacy can bind those to the kin-state irrespective of kin-state identification.

--- Extending Citizenship to the Diaspora: Ethnic Return Migrants as Legal, Racial, and Cultural Citizens

*Takeyuki Tsuda*

Ethnic nation-states have reached out to their diasporic descendants born abroad in order to encourage them to return migrate to their ancestral homeland. These ethnic return migrants are often imagined as racial and cultural citizens who are members of a broader ethnic nation beyond state borders. Homeland governments either confer formal, extraterritorial citizenship to these diasporic descendants, which gives them the right to return migrate, or offer them partial citizenship and rights through preferential visas. Ethnic return migration apparently provides ethnic nation-states with a much-needed unskilled labor force without causing ethnonational disruption because the immigrants are presumed to be co-ethnics with cultural citizenship. The presentation first compares ethnic return migration policies in European and East Asian countries and their relevance for various types of citizenship and national belonging across borders. It then analyzes the development of such policies in Japan, which has encouraged the ethnic return migration of Japanese descendants (the *nikkeijin*) living in various South American countries. Although the Japanese government assumed they would be ethnically similar as cultural citizens, they have not assimilated and socially integrated into Japanese society as expected. As a result, Japan (and other ethnic nation-states) have imposed restrictions on ethnic return migrants.

18:30 END OF DAY

19:30 CONFERENCE DINNER
Tuesday, March 8th 2016

7:30-8:30 BREAKFAST (Whig Hall)

8:30-10:30 PANEL 4: CITIZENSHIP, INEQUALITY AND MOBILITY
Chair: Szabolcs Pogonyi
Discussant: Sheraally Munshi

- How to Turn Ethnicity into Migration-Facilitating Capital: Bourdieu, Ethnic Capital, and Stepwise Migration of Korean Chinese to the U.S.
  
  Jaeun Kim

This paper critically examines the shortcomings of the literature on ethnic capital: a failure to theorize the relationship between ethnicity, migration, and stratification beyond ‘methodological nationalism’; the inadequate theorization of the state’s role in shaping the capitalization of ethnicity; and the tendency to conceive ethnicity in a ‘groupist’ manner. Building on Bourdieu, I propose an alternative approach, focusing on how the dynamic interplay among the state, the migration industry, and migrants turns ethnicity into migration-facilitating capital. I highlight the cardinal importance of state power in the valorization, conversion, and legitimization of ethnicity as migration-facilitating capital. I conceptualize the migration industry as a ‘conversion’ expert that helps migrants convert their economic capital into migration-facilitating resources, including ethnic capital. Instead of treating ethnicity as what migrants are, I analyze how migrants cultivate specific ethnic markers for migration purposes. I flesh out these arguments through the analysis of the stepwise migration of ethnic Korean migrants from China to the US. I show how migrants, state authorities, and migration entrepreneurs partook in the struggles over the capitalization of ethnicity, which took various forms: coethnic networks, Korean language proficiency, perceived phenotypical characteristics, official documentation of kinship relations, and South Korean citizenship/passports (obtained legally or illegally).

- Illegibility as State Strategy: Legal Exclusion via the (Re-)Production of Undocumented Status. Evidence from Myanmar
  
  Amanda Cheong

To account for the existence of undocumented peoples in the contemporary nation-state system, this paper develops the theory of illegibility as a deliberate strategy pursued by states. In spaces with permeable borders and volatile migration flows, states may choose to contract their reach, keeping undesirable populations—such as refugees, migrants, or minorities—in a state of legal invisibility in an effort to undermine their claims to rights and belonging. This can be achieved through the systematic deprivation of identity documentation and other forms of evidence, or the maintenance of conditions under which it becomes difficult for these groups to access registering bodies. The underlying logic is that in order to prevent unwanted peoples from interfacing with and gaining rights and recognition from mainstream institutions, states must deprive them of a much more fundamental capacity: their ability to
establish their very personhood before the state. Evidence from Myanmar collected through secondary data analysis and fieldwork is provided.

– **The Mestizo Nation Unbound: Dual citizenship of Euro-Mexicans and US-Mexicans**  
  *Pablo Mateos*

Mexico recognized dual citizenship for its nationals in 1997, signalling a dramatic shift in nationality policy in the 1990s aimed at engaging with their diaspora in the U.S. Twenty years on, the total population entitled to dual Mexican-U.S. citizenship -whether they actually exercise that right or not- is actually the world's largest true binational collective, comprised of at least 15 million people, with the right to live and work on both countries. Most of these US-Mexicans are associated with a low socioeconomic and more mixed (mestizo) or indigenous background of rural origins, although there are substantial exceptions along the 3000km border region. In contrast, several hundred thousands well-educated, mostly white, Mexicans with recent European ancestors have seized the opportunity given by Spain, Italy, Greece and Germany to recover the nationality of their grandparents, more precisely European Union (EU) citizenship. Furthermore, other affluent Mexicans have used their migratory experience in Europe to secure EU citizenship through naturalization in any of the 32 countries that form the European Economic Area (EEA) space. EU passports give these Euro-Mexicans enhanced mobility, travel education and business opportunities in the U.S., Canada, Australia and the western world. This paper gathers empirical evidence from individuals and families engaging in these multizen practices collected through 300 in-depth interviews in Mexico, the U.S., the UK and the Netherlands. The paper proposes a typology of Mexican dual citizens, across various geographic regions, socioeconomic groups and social practices. This typology reveals the cracks in the Mexican Nation building project after the 1910 revolution around a homogenous “mestizo” Nation concept. The expansion of dual citizenship is revealing the stark socio-racial inequalities established during the colonial period and exacerbated by pro-European immigration policies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and the later “age of rural Mexican migration to the US” in the last 30 years. Through complex transnational and multiple citizenship practices this vast collective of Mexican dual citizens poses a number of contradictions for the future of the Mexican Nation State, with important implications for citizenship policy worldwide.
Plural citizenship has become a stealth incident of globalization. Historically deplored as immoral, it is now a commonplace. Its rise poses profound questions relating to membership and the future of the state. In some states (the United States, for example), the rise of plural citizenship has gone largely unnoticed and unopposed. In others, it has been vigorously contested. Much of this opposition comes from conservative nationalistic elements and has been framed in old world terms, in which dual citizens are attacked for harboring dual loyalties. But plural citizenship also makes many liberal theorists uncomfortable. On the one hand, accepting plural citizenship vindicates autonomy values. On the other hand, it challenges equality norms. This paper would explore these equality concerns. As a sociological matter, plural citizenship is unlikely to create substantial inequalities in states whose passports enjoy premium status. Additional citizenships for citizens of the global North may result in marginal advantage but will not result in discontinuous life chances. But in the South, the rise of plural citizenship may create a new axis of haves and have-nots. Those who can avail themselves fully of developed economies as citizens while remaining connected to their countries of origin (in Baubock’s “constellations of citizenship”) will enjoy major advantages over their mono-national homeland counterparts. This objection needs to be taken seriously. ut it’s not clear that anything can be one to compensate for plural citizenship as a source of inequality. Efforts to police the status will result in other inequalities, either by deterring naturalization by emigrants in their new states of residence or depriving diaspora members of rights in their homeland polities. A better strategy to address the inequalities of dual citizenship would be to further interrogate and dilute the advantages of citizenship itself.
The conference frame suggests an opposition between bottom-up empirical approaches and top-down state focused approaches that is a false dichotomy: governments have always designed and adapted their citizenship policies in response to real or perceived strategies of individuals, families, and groups. Of course there are disciplinary differences in citizenship studies, and approaches in political science or law tend to focus more on the state and its laws while approaches in sociology tend to focus more on people, but viewing citizenship as public policy allows us to explain both strategies on the part of people (instrumental or otherwise) and state/government responses. This paper uses such an approach to explain the growing resistance to open citizenship in two of the previously most welcoming societies in the world, the Netherlands and Canada. Both countries were at the vanguard of multiculturalism, openness to immigration, and support for dual nationality; but both are experiencing resistance towards all three. The Netherlands has led in introducing ever-more-stringent integration requirements for naturalization and in increasing the requirements for those who naturalize to relinquish their former nationality. In Canada, the legal opportunity for dual nationality remains sacrosanct (and Canada remains an international outlier in terms of high support for immigration), but the Conservative government in power over the past decade has fostered distrust of “Canadians of convenience” to enact a broad range of restrictions, such as changing the immigrant mix from the fabled points system and family reunification to focus instead on temporary employment-related circular migrants (who are not eligible for permanent residence and hence nationality), lengthy processing times, new hurdles to acquiring residence and citizenship, and new provisions for loss of Canadian citizenship for those born outside Canada. In both cases, the conference theme of multiple and non-resident citizenship is under threat, and both are also at the forefront of moves to allow citizenship revocation for terror-related activities. Both have thus witnessed a politicization of citizenship – also present in other contexts in western countries – that has implications for comparative theorization and complicates the nationality-related strategies that individuals, families, and groups may pursue.

In June 2014, a new Canadian Citizenship Act deliberately made Canadian citizenship harder to get and easier to lose. In part, this law was driven by the allegation that increasingly immigrants are entering Canada with the intent to secure citizenship and to use the Canadian passport for travel related to terrorism and/or as a “security policy” for the purpose of health care or escaping a war zone. These “citizens of convenience” are said to abuse the “Canadian generosity” and to lack meaningful ties with the country. In this paper we probe the notion of “citizenship of convenience” from below. Drawing on interviews with new Canadian citizens, we want to know 1) to what extent utilitarian considerations prevail in immigrants’
decision to (also) become Canadian, and b) who these citizens are (in terms of national background, ethnicity, and class). We employ a Weberian-style typological analysis concerned with identifying the motives underlying social action, namely, here, naturalization. We identify four ideal types of new Canadian citizens: self-realization-oriented, (career) opportunity-oriented, security-oriented, and family-driven. Naturalization for exclusively instrumental reasons is rare; it is usually accompanied by a sense of belonging, loyalty, and duty. To the extent that we did trace some form of convenience-oriented understanding of citizenship, it is characteristic for people who, in public discourse, are the least associated with this kind of behavior: immigrants from Western Europe and the United States.

The Tripartite Structure of European Investor Citizenship Programs: Interests and Strategies of States, Companies and Individuals

Jelena Dzankic

Investment-based naturalisation programs have been mushrooming around the world in recent years and have quickly come to the focus of academic and policy debates. States formally adopt and implement such programs; they are developed and managed by private companies as intermediaries; and wealthy individuals are their primary target and beneficiaries. Hence, the objective of this paper is to discern and study the interests and strategies of states, companies and individuals in the acquisition of citizenship through a pecuniary contribution in the European Union (EU). Starting from the interrelatedness of European citizenship regimes through EU citizenship, the paper explores how the attachment of national to supranational citizenship created a tripartite opportunity structure. First, it examines how states use this opportunity structure to develop policies regulating facilitated naturalisation on grounds of ‘special contribution’, thus materialising their economic interest. Second, it analyses the strategies that private companies involved in developing such programs use to establish networks of subsidiaries and manage these programs on behalf of states. By doing so, these companies do not only act as intermediaries between the investors and the states, but also see investment-based naturalisation as an opportunity structure for enhancing their market value. Third, the paper looks at the profile of beneficiaries of such projects and identifies patterns of interests that such individuals might have in obtaining citizenship on grounds of investment in the EU.

14:45-15:15 FINAL REMARKS AND END OF CONFERENCE

15:15- 16:00 COFFEE & DRINKS
LIST OF SPEAKERS AND DISCUSSANTS

Speakers

- Amanda Cheong, Princeton University, US, archeong@princeton.edu
- Bastian Sendhardt, Bundeswehr University Munich, Germany bastian.sendhardt@gmx.de
- Ben Herzog, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel, herzogb@bgu.ac.il
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Discussants

- Diego Acosta, University of Bristol, UK
- Dimitry Kochenov, University of Groningen, Netherlands
- Kim Scheppele, Princeton University, US
- Kristin Surak, University of London, UK
- Miguel Centeno, Princeton University, US
- Peter J. Spiro, Temple University, US
- Sherally Munshi, Princeton University, US
CONFERENCE LOGISTICS

Map of key locations; Hotel, Conference (Whig Hall) and Restaurant

For online references, please see

- For directions between the Nassau Inn Hotel and the Whig Hall [http://bit.ly/FromNItoPV](http://bit.ly/FromNItoPV)
**Meals**
Light breakfast and lunch will be served at Whig Hall during the duration of the conference (March 7-8) at times provided in the program above.

The conference dinner will take place on Monday 7th at 7:30 pm at:

Witherspoon Grill  
57 Witherspoon St,  
Princeton, NJ 08542, United States  
Phone: +1 609-924-6011

**Hotel**
All room reservations for your agreed stay have been paid, including tax and excluding breakfast.

Nassau Inn Hotel  
10 Palmer Square,  
Princeton, NJ 08542, United States  
Phone: +1 609-921-7500

**Airport Shuttle Taxi**
All agreed shuttle transportation from and to Newark Airport have been communicated directly to participants. The shuttle company is Pamtours Global. In case of emergency you can call:

- Pamtours Global  
  Emergency # 1: (646) 502-9434  
  Emergency # 2: (917) 915-0964  
  Direct: (646) 583-0995 Monday-Friday; 9:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m  
  Contact person: Patricia Peña