The Ironies of Citizenship

Explanations of naturalization and *jus soli* citizenship have relied on cultural, convergence, racialization, or capture theories, and they tend to be strongly affected by literature on immigration. This study of naturalization breaks with usual immigration theories and proposes an approach spanning centuries and decades to explain naturalization rates. First, it provides consistent evidence to support the long-term existence of colonizer, settler, noncolonizer, and Nordic nationality regime types that have framed naturalization for centuries. Second, it shows how left and green parties, along with an index of nationality laws, explain the lion’s share of variation in naturalization rates over a span of three and a half decades. The text makes these theoretical claims believable by using the most extensive data set to date on naturalization rates that include *jus soli* births. It analyzes these data with a combination of carefully designed case studies comparing two to four countries within and between regime types and tests them (spanning thirty-seven years) with cross-sectional, pooled regression techniques especially suitable to slow-moving but dynamic institutions.

**Thomas Janoski** is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Kentucky. He is the author of *Citizenship and Civil Society* (1998) and *The Political Economy of Unemployment*. He is coeditor of *The Handbook of Political Sociology* (with Alexander Hicks, Mildred Schwartz, and the late Robert Alford) and coeditor of *The Comparative Political Economy of the Welfare State* (with Alexander Hicks).
The Ironies of Citizenship

Naturalization and Integration in Industrialized Countries

THOMAS JANOSKI
University of Kentucky
To

Alice and Henry Klink,
who have enthusiastically supported
me, their daughter, and our son Drew
in our travels, travails, and triumphs.
Contents

List of Figures  ix
List of Tables xi
Acknowledgments xiii

1  Introduction: The Politics of Granting Citizenship  1
2  Wide Measures with Dynamic and Synthetic Methods 25

PART I: THE COLONIZERS AND SETTLERS
3  Colonization in Reverse: Degrees of Empire in the United Kingdom and France 55
4  From Manifest Destiny to Multicultural Diversity in the Settler Countries 89

PART II: MATCHED CASE STUDIES AND EXCEPTIONS
5  European Colonizer versus Short-Term Occupier: Austria and Germany 127
6  World Colonizer versus Late Occupier: The Netherlands and Belgium 158
7  Left and Green Politics Trump Regime Types in the Nordic Countries 187

PART III: THE COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF NATURALIZATION RATES
8  Explaining Naturalization Rates in Eighteen Countries: Regimes over Centuries and Politics and Institutions over Decades 221
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conclusion: Explanations and the Future of Citizenship</th>
<th>243</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 2.1: Three-Step Fixed Effect Vector Decomposition Statistical Methods</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name Index</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Index</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figures

1.1 Theoretical Model Explaining Naturalization Rates over Centuries.  


5.1 1,000 Kronor Note in Nine Languages from the Austrian Empire (Circa 1902).  

9.1 Explaining Nationality and Immigration Policies in Sending and Receiving Countries over Centuries and Decades.
Tables

1.1 Naturalization Rates from 1970 to 2005 by Explanatory Factors  page 17
2.1 Summary of Jus Soli Adjustments to Naturalization Rates 31
2.2 Naturalization Rates per 100,000 Aliens from 1970 to 2005 34
2.3 Group-Specific Naturalization Rates from 1985 to 1989 35
2.4 The Barrier to Naturalization Index in 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2002 40
2.5 Colonized Nations, Colonization Scores, and Occupation Scores 41
2.6 The Indigenous Populations of Advanced Industrialized Countries 46
3.1 Naturalization Rates per 100,000 Foreigners in the United Kingdom and France 57
3.2 Emigration in France, the United Kingdom, and Germany from 1846 to 1924 61
3.3 Declining Birth Rates in France, the United Kingdom, and Germany 74
4.1 Intercontinental Immigration in the Settler Countries 92
4.2 Naturalization, Immigration, and Asylum Rates in the Settler Countries 94
4.3 Barriers to Naturalization in the Settler Countries 96
4.4 Indigenous, Asian, and African Participation in World Wars in the Settler Countries 118
5.1 A Comparison of Naturalization Rates in Austria and Germany 128
6.1 A Comparison of Naturalization Rates in the Netherlands and Belgium 160
7.1 Naturalization Rates per 100,000 Foreigners in the Nordic Countries 190
7.2 Empire and Indigenous Decline in the Nordic Countries 192
7.3 A Comparison of Political and Economic Features of Nordic Countries 213
xii

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Explaining Naturalization Rates by Regime Types</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>Explaining Naturalization Rates with Political Power and Institutions</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>Correlation Coefficients with the Naturalization Rates in Two Different Data Sets</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>Pooled Regression Results Explaining Naturalization Rates, 1970–2006</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>Pooled Regression Results Explaining Naturalization Rates, 1980–2006</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>Country Effects in Pooled Regression Results Explaining Naturalization Rates</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgments

I gained insight for this project while in India, on a backpacking trip around the world in the 1970s. After commiserating with a fellow world traveler from Britain about our mutual lack of funds, he suggested that I sell my passport. He said that I could get $500 for an American passport and, if I had a British passport, I could get more than $1,000. Incredulous that a British passport might be worth twice as much as an American passport on the black market, I asked him why. He replied: “You can get into half the countries in the world with a British passport, but you can only get into one with an American passport.” What he meant was that an American could not claim a right to enter the many Commonwealth countries at that time or, for that matter, any other country than the United States. Since then, I have been curious about this disparity. I also saw the implications of this when my Yorkie mechanic friends started work immediately and legally in Australia, and I worked as an illegal immigrant. Although many of these policies have changed since the early 1970s, I thank my fellow travelers for these and other previews of comparative differences in citizenship.

In the academic realm, I would like to thank Tomas Hammar and Charles Westin of the Center for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO) in Stockholm, Sweden, and Atsushi Kondo, Toyota Scholar at CEIFO, for invitations to their conference. For other comments, I would like to thank Andrea Rea and Dirk Jacobs of the Free University of Brussels; Frank Caestecker of the University of Ghent; and Rainier Bauböck of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Vienna, Austria.

A number of others read drafts or made constructive comments on this work at conferences. They include Professors Carl Dählstrom of the University of Goteberg; Gary Freeman of the University of Texas; Steve Gold of Michigan State University; Christian Joppke of the American University of Paris; Atsushi Kondo, Toyota Scholar at the CEIFO; Marco Martiniello of the University of Liege; Ulf Mörkenstam of Stockholm University; Alejandro Portes of Princeton University; and the late Charles Tilly of Columbia University. I thank Nigel
Boland of Colgate University for the reference to the Louise Bennett poem in Jamaican patois at the beginning of Chapter 3.

I also would like to thank Gundrun Biffl of the Austrian Institute of Economic Research; Mary Coussey, Vice Chair of the U.K. Advisory Board on Naturalization and Integration; Dina Kiwan of the British Home Office; Director General Risto Veijalainen and Senior Advisor Pirjo Hirvovenen of the Ministry of the Interior in Helsinki, Finland; Michal Meduna of the European Union Ministry of Freedom, Immigration, and Security; Frans van der Velden and Feld Groenveld of the Ministry of Justice in the Hague; and Dora Fløstad and Julian Rabacks of the Danish Ministry of Immigration. Bo Lundberg and Anders Dunvorheidman of the Swedish Migration Board were particularly helpful in sorting out the intricacies of Swedish nationality policies and politics. Countless officials at ministries and departments of the eighteen countries involved in this study provided immigration and naturalization statistics with sufficient breakdowns for ethnic groups.

For quantitative analysis at the University of Kentucky I thank Matthew DeMichele, who worked with me on the intricacies of regression techniques for a related paper; Richard Fording of the Political Science Department for his advice on pooled methods; Helena Truszczskya of the Social Sciences Teaching and Research Center (STARS) for her help with STATA programming; Arne Stromberg, Chair of the Statistics Department, for her help with interpreting fixed effect equations; Adam Lindstrom of the STARS center for FEVD advice; and Charles Hoyakem of the Economics Department for graphing and residual STATA issues. Theodore Plümper of the University of Essex and the Max Planck Institute also provided his ADO file to compute “fixed effect vector decomposition regressions.”

Earlier versions of chapters in this book were presented at the Citizenship and Civil Society Faculty Seminar sponsored by the Center for International Studies at Duke University, an American Sociological Association session organized by Wolf Heydebrand in August 1995 in New York, an International Sociological Association session organized by Marco Martiniello in Bielefeld in 1994, and a conference on rights of aliens organized by Atsushi Kondo at the University of Stockholm. An earlier version of Chapter 3 coauthored with Elizabeth Glennie appeared in Marco Martiniello’s Migration, Citizenship and National Identities in the European Union, and a discussion of the methods used in this book appeared in Atsushi Kondo’s New Concepts in Citizenship, coauthored with Karen Diggs and Darina Lepadatu. More recent versions of various chapters were presented at the American Sociological Association Conventions in San Francisco in 2004, Montreal in 2006, and New York in 2007. At these conferences and other settings, the following people made helpful comments: Ranier Bauböck, Frank Bean, Irene Bloemraad, Frank Caestecker, Gerard-René de Groot, Elena Dingu-Kyrkland, Thomas Hammar, Marc Morjé Howard, John Myles, Deanna Pikkov, Rubin Rumbaut, and Max Steinhardt. The first draft of the manuscript was also presented at a Social Theory Seminar.
Acknowledgments

on Migration and Displacements and at other presentations with the participation of Theodore Fielder, Ellen Furlough, Doug Slaymaker, Michael Samers, and Francie Chassen-Lopez. I also thank Patricia White of the National Science Foundation (NSF), as well as many anonymous prospectus, grant, journal, and manuscript reviewers for their constructive comments over the past eight years.

This project originally started with the help of Elizabeth Glennie. She worked on the collection of the colonization variables, naturalization statistics on many of the Anglo-Saxon countries, and numerous other parts of the project. Unfortunately, family and career goals led in other directions and she decided not to pursue the project. Nonetheless, her imprint can be seen in many parts of Chapters 2 and 3 and, although they may differ from our original paper, she had a vital role in developing them. Karen Diggs helped with initial analysis for Chapter 3 and maintained data and computer files for the project. Her constant attention to data quality was a major asset to this book. Johannes Angemüller of the University of Erlangen also contributed to an earlier paper by providing a number of legislative documents from Austria and Germany. He made numerous contributions to the editing and discussions presented in the chapter. Chapter 5 includes considerable updates on both countries, especially Germany. Chrystal Grey helped with updates on the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Darina Lepadatu and Cynthia Leedham provided valuable research assistance and translations concerning France and Belgium.

Funding was provided by the NSF (Grant SES 01–11450). I especially would like to thank Patricia Little of the sociology section of the NSF for her advice and guidance. Travel monies for this project were graciously provided by Edward Tiryakian of the Center for International Studies at Duke University; Fitzgerald Bramwell, Vice President of the Office for Research and Graduate Studies, University of Kentucky; Deans Howard Groch, Mark Kornbluh, and Leonidas Bachas of the College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Kentucky; the Summer Research Grant of the Office of Research and Development of the University of Kentucky; and the efforts of our department chairs: James Hougland, William Skinner, and Patrick Mooney. I also would like to thank Vice President of Research James Boling of the University of Kentucky for three years of support of the Quantitative Methods Committee in the Social and Behavioral Sciences seminar series.