This article was downloaded by: [Australian National University Library]

On: 28 April 2010

Access details: Access Details: [subscription number 907447645]

Publisher Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK

Citizenship Studies

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713411985>

Review Essay: The Centrality of Migration to Citizenship

Kim Rubenstein

To cite this Article Rubenstein, Kim(2003) 'Review Essay: The Centrality of Migration to Citizenship', Citizenship Studies, 7: 2, 255 — 265

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/1362102032000066008

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1362102032000066008>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf>

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Review Essay: The Centrality of Migration to Citizenship

KIM RUBENSTEIN

From Migrants to Citizens: Membership in a Changing World

T. ALEXANDER ALEINIKOFF AND DOUGLAS KLUSEMEYER (Eds)

Washington, DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000, pbk, pp. 514

Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices

T. ALEXANDER ALEINIKOFF AND DOUGLAS KLUSEMEYER (Eds)

Washington, DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001, pbk, pp. 410

Citizenship Policies for an Age of Migration

T. ALEXANDER ALEINIKOFF AND DOUGLAS KLUSEMEYER

Washington, DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002, pbk, pp. 120

Introduction

From the outset, these books are distinguished by topicality and contemporary relevance. With the centrifugal forces of internationalism and globalization and the centripetal counterparts of nationalism, ethnicity and regionalism, citizenship is shaping as one of the defining issues of our time. This set of three volumes, orchestrated and devised as a broad comparative study of citizenship policy in liberal-democratic states by the Carnegie Endowment's International Migration Policy Program (and then later as part of the re-launched independent Migration Policy Institute), was under the direction of recognized experts in the field, Alex Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusemeyer. They make a substantial and important contribution to migration studies and citizenship literature. As a trilogy there is a clear conceptual and thematic linkage assisting the completeness of the set—although it is unlikely to be made into a film and gain box-office hits of the like of other trilogies of a more popular nature!

What is fundamental to this citizenship collection, and perhaps distinguishes (and some may argue lessens) its value from broader interdisciplinary approaches to citizenship, is the centrality of migration to its outlook. This is because it starts from a legal base—looking at the legal status of citizenship in

Kim Rubenstein, Senior Lecturer, Law School, The University of Melbourne, Victoria 3010, Australia.

liberal-democratic systems and the policies underpinning the formal pigeonholing law demands in its characterization of subjects.

While there has been considerable interest in sociological, political and cultural aspects of citizenship, its legal foundations cannot be forgotten and this trilogy is a reminder of that fact.

The centrality of migration to this collection's *raison d'être* is not unusual. The laws of citizenship have been influenced by migration policies and practices of the State. Indeed many argue migration law is more important than citizenship law in determining who can become a citizen since the detailed criteria of migration laws which regulate permanent residency are the most significant barrier to full membership in the polity.¹

A very clear example of migration policy dictating citizenship policy outcomes emerges in the Australian context where the laws of citizenship by birth were changed in 1986, explained in the first part of the first book in the collection.² The immediate catalyst was the case of *Kioa v West* (1985) 159 CLR 550, where it was argued that the child of the parents who were subject to a deportation order was an Australian citizen and was therefore entitled to natural justice. While not adopted by the court, the possibility that such an argument might one day be successful was enough to encourage precautionary legislative change so that in order to become an Australian citizen by birth in Australia, one of the parents must be an Australian citizen or permanent resident.

This example, like many others in the country specific chapters, speaks to Douglas Klusemeyer's comment in the introduction to the first volume that 'choices among citizenship rules are usually shaped more by historical experience, existing cultural norms and expedient political calculations than by deduction from abstract principle or compelling reasons of logical consistency'.³

But citizenship discussions do not have to center on or revolve around immigration. Citizenship is not only of concern to immigrants—citizenship can be about all members of a community—citizens by birth and citizens by descent, citizens by adoption and citizenship by statelessness⁴—and citizenship discussion is often about non-citizens. As the aims of this journal proclaim, broader understandings of citizenship link citizenship to human rights and democratic processes, seeing it as part of a 'progressive project'.⁵ To that extent, the legal notion or status is not central or even important—all of humanity is part of the citizenship enterprise. The policy volume of the book also notes:

citizenship is not simply a form of belonging but also an important agency through which fundamental principles of fairness and justice in a polity are institutionalized and guaranteed. How a polity administers citizenship then is a powerful measure of its core commitments.⁶

And this collection does extend beyond discussions about citizenship by naturalization and citizenship as a legal notion. Crudely categorized, Volume One is a largely descriptive, although inherently analytical collection explaining citizenship practices in Australia, Canada, the US, Russia, South Africa, the Baltic states, Mexico, the European Union, Israel, and Japan. Volume Two is more theoretical and thematic—including a comparative section, a section on

locations of citizenship, and an analysis of definitions of citizenship. For those valuing the multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary approach this volume is the most satisfying of the three. The final collection, the slimmest of the set, concerns itself with policy predictions and suggestions within clear policy frameworks. For the sake of clarity and coherence, I will review the three books by looking at the collection through the lens of the four policy areas covered in the final book: access to citizenship, managing dual nationality, citizenship policies and political integration and social rights and citizenship. Each of these policy issues is touched upon in different ways in the three volumes.

Access to Citizenship

The primary focus of migration to this study raises its head immediately in the first part of the third (policy) volume where it is stated: 'the key questions about the acquisition of citizenship status arise with respect to newly admitted residents, their immediate family members, and their descendants'.⁷ This is because the authors identify *jus soli* (birth on territory) and *jus sanguinis* (citizenship by descent) as less significant in practical terms as 'the vast majority of persons attain citizenship based on birth in the territory of a state of which their parents are citizens'. While this may be so (although with globalization and the resulting emphasis on access to citizenship elsewhere by virtue of migration, the right to citizenship by descent is also practically relevant) there is a more profound question that is not addressed directly in this chapter. What does membership of the community mean? How does the legal status of full member fit with broader notions of membership and participation? What of the lottery of citizenship by birth? Do people necessarily have an attachment to a country by virtue of birth, or is it residence that makes it more profound? Who decides upon access to citizenship? These are fundamental starting points for the policy development of access to citizenship when thinking more broadly than access as a naturalization question.⁸

Volume One of the collection deals with access to citizenship issues through the examination of country specific analysis. Donald Galloway's contribution examining Canada ('amidst the other classic lands of immigration of Australia, Canada and the US')⁹ reviews the broader, more profound questions when he states:

... no matter how a legal system attempts to ground its claim to legitimacy, it must first identify the set of individuals who are its subjects and distinguish them from strangers. 'Who belongs?' is the most basic question for a government that asserts legitimacy.¹⁰

Galloway immediately acknowledges governments are obliged to be concerned about *all* people within their territories, not just the citizens. His quoted point is significant though in linking citizenship to democracy and sovereignty, each fundamental to the quality and strength of citizenship as a normative project which is broader than the legal project.

A more exclusive approach to access to citizenship is highlighted in the

contrast of the Baltic practice to the traditional immigration receiving countries of Australia, Canada and the USA. This is seen in Lowell Barrington's contribution which appears in Part Two of the first volume, devoted to 'Citizenship in the aftermath of major political transformations'.¹¹ His chapter compares the citizenship choices made by Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. In the Baltic States Barrington highlights four different variables used to understand the more or less inclusive policy of each of the states. One is 'whether the nation is ethnically or politically defined and whether the new state is seen as a nation-state or a multinational state'.¹² The role of ethnicity is also highlighted in Part Four, 'Ethnic republics? Citizenship in Israel and Japan'.¹³ This latter section highlights the complexities of multiple and varied layers of membership which Shachar refers to as 'degrees of citizenship'. Israel fits within a characterization of immigration receiving countries and also has the unique religious element of the Law of Return entitling all Jews around the world to Israeli citizenship. Whereas Japan 'is not a country of immigrants in the classic sense'¹⁴ and 'administration of naturalization in Japan has been characterized by a complicated set of documentation with an emphasis on precise records, family-based naturalization, and criteria for assimilation and good conduct'. Kashiwazaki argues, 'what is needed is the perspective of conceptualizing resident aliens as future citizens of Japan'¹⁵ emphasizing once again a view of citizenship revolving around immigration. Ethnicity and its impact on access to citizenship is examined also in the second volume with Francis Deng's article 'Ethnic marginalization as statelessness: lessons from the Great Lakes region of Africa'.¹⁶ Interestingly, the themes of open access to citizenship resonate in a non-immigrant focused context, as the argument Deng contributes is of the need to make requirements of residency and citizenship liberal.

And a liberal approach is what the policy recommendations support in the third volume of the collection on access to citizenship. The authors use a device drawing upon what is described as a 'trend towards convergence—an approach that adopts *generations* as the category of analysis'. This trend can be easily understood after looking at Patrick Weil's contribution in the second volume in his chapter 'Access to citizenship: a comparison of twenty-five nationality laws'.

The policy volume's approach of delineating different claims upon citizenship according to generation of membership is said to respond to 'the deepest meanings of citizenship, assumptions about socialization and identity, the claims of individual rights and political justice, the interests of family unity, and the collective claims of cultural groups'.¹⁷ This revolves around the place of migration and the commitment that it is 'desirable that immigrants and their descendants become citizens and have the right to become citizens'.¹⁸

This view links with another significant point appearing in Lowell Barrington's piece regarding the factors influencing more inclusive citizenship policies in the Baltic States, and is emphasized by another academic elsewhere.¹⁹ This is the impact of international organizations in reviewing the citizenship policies of the Baltic States. This perspective of the role of international organizations and international law comes up in the context of access to citizenship, but more strongly in the context of dual or multiple nationality, to which this review now turns.

Managing Dual Nationality

The characterization of ‘managing dual nationality’ rather than ‘encouraging’ or ‘supporting’ it intimates a slightly conservative approach to the second policy issue. While concluding ‘the old stance against dual nationality is no longer appropriate’²⁰ the policy is developed according to ‘the current realities’ while also mindful of the ‘historic concerns about dual nationality’.²¹ International law has discouraged dual nationality and many treaties and rules have developed to prevent its occurrence. Yet, in the final recommendations the authors do conclude that dual nationality should be ‘explicitly accepted’—a more progressive outcome than the title of the chapter suggests.

Issues to do with multiple nationality arise throughout the first two volumes. In each of the country descriptions there is an account of the approach of the particular country to dual citizenship.²² Moreover, Part Three of the first volume is titled ‘Dual and supranational citizenship: limits to transnationalism’²³ and involves Mexico, a ‘sending country’, allowing its emigrants to have dual nationality, and the European Union reflecting an evolving supranational form of citizenship. The centrality of migration to this set of three volumes is highlighted again in the context of dual nationality—for if not for migration at some point in a family history, the questions of dual nationality would not arise. However, beyond this practical fact most discussions concentrating on multiple citizenship are not as concerned with immigration policies, but on the more international themes of globalization and the demise of the nation-state.

Multiple identities and citizenship receives most thematic attention in the second volume. First, the editors contribute the chapter ‘Plural nationality: facing the future in a migratory world’ in the first part of Volume Two devoted to ‘National policies in comparative perspective’²⁴. Many of the points developed in that chapter are also reflected in Volume Three’s recommendations. Karen Knop’s piece, ‘Relational nationality: on gender and nationality in international law’, draws upon the International Law Association’s Committee on Feminism and International Law report on Women’s Equality and Nationality in International Law. This piece highlights issues of dual nationality from the perspective of women’s experience, which has involved discriminatory treatment regarding nationality. More creatively, Knop uses the history of the European Convention on Nationality to show a link between gender equality and multiple nationality and, even more, a new perspective called ‘relational nationality’. This draws upon the ‘moral significance of relationships that exist in the domain between the self and others in general’.²⁵ It is an approach that appears to have influenced the overall Carnegie project in the policy recommendations regarding access to citizenship discussed above, where it adopts a version of the relational approach through its use of generational categories in discussing access to citizenship.²⁶

One of the themes of Knop’s chapter, relevant to the theme of ‘managing dual nationality’, is that individual loyalties are potentially multiple, variable and interactive. It is a theme also developed in Linda Bosniak’s ‘Denationalizing citizenship’ which appears in Part Three of the second volume²⁷ ‘Redefining citizenship: concepts and practices’. Thematically, Bosniak’s chapter could have also fallen within Part Two, ‘Locations of citizenship’²⁸ as the piece is essen-

tially asking 'where citizenship takes place and where is *should* take place'. In fact, both parts two and three in the second volume speak to differing aspects of multiple citizenship.

Bosniak's chapter is, as she notes, an abbreviated version of her article 'Citizenship denationalized' in Volume 7(2) of the *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* (2000). Those interested in the particular issues raised by Bosniak should look at the full issue of the *Indiana Journal* as there are another seven articles in that issue under the Symposium title 'The State of Citizenship'. The strength of Bosniak's piece, and the obvious desire by the editors to include it in this collection, comes from its drawing together of the various theories of citizenship that flood the immense literature²⁹. Bosniak's overall argument is that 'the various practices and experiences that we conventionally associate with citizenship, do, in some respects, exceed the boundaries and jurisdiction of the territorial nation-state'.³⁰ However, from the perspective of dual nationality as a legal phenomena 'the denationalization claim is probably least plausible when we speak of citizenship as a legal status'.³¹ In a later article she argues multiple citizenships do not add much strength to the claim that citizenship is becoming post-national.³²

Vicki Jackson's contribution on 'Citizenship and federalism' is also centrally relevant to the multiple citizenship theme as it explores the 'possible bearing of federal forms of citizenship on contemporary debates over 'dual' or multiple nationalities'.³³ But she too is not convinced of complete legal support for the 'fluid complexity of citizenship affiliations in this new century'.³⁴ In her view, the 'federal form provides a useful set of models for a gradual process of developing new legal regimes in which multiple citizenship are accommodated but not necessarily encouraged'.³⁵ Richard Ford also assesses the value of federalism and regionalism in the 'restructuring of citizenship' in Volume Two. Like Bosniak, he assesses the significance of globalization and its impact on our understanding of citizenship but focuses on the 'global city-state' which he argues is a site of local citizenship that is both 'national and global'.³⁶ Multiple identities is also a theme highlighted by Deng in his chapter 'Ethnic marginalization in Africa's Great Lakes region' as the reality of Africa is the 'multiplicity of identities within pluralistic states and even more complex regional configurations'.³⁷

The policy recommendations from the second chapter of the final volume encourage States to accept the legitimacy of dual or multiple nationality as a consequence of an interconnected globe. While there is a wealth of information from the first two volumes relating to the reality of multiple nationality, the collection would have been further enhanced by another section in the second volume looking at issues of globalization and citizenship in a comprehensive theoretical manner and some further focused attention to the place of international law³⁸.

Citizenship Policies and Political Integration and Social Rights and Citizenship

I am coupling the last two chapters of the third volume in this final aspect of the

trilogy review as they each deal with a broader theme—how to implement membership in the community. Both aspects speak to a matter raised by Miriam Feldblum in her conclusion chapter in the first volume.³⁹ She argues, ‘substantive social-political membership is integral to our explanations (of citizenship) as well’.⁴⁰ For ‘to fully understand the consequences of formal citizenship of foreigners and immigrants, we need to take into account their membership status and access in other policy domains’.⁴¹

As the authors recognize, political integration is not only relevant to citizenship policies—it ‘begins prior to naturalization and continues after citizenship has been attained’.⁴² In fact, political integration is not only of concern to migrants—it is central to any democratic constituency, including its natural born citizens. Promoting political participation should be central to an inclusive citizenship policy that not only focuses on migrants, but on all groups within society. Migrants are just one constituency—others include itinerants, women, indigenous groups, those on the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder and the natural born citizens of ethnic origin. This collection of books, as explained throughout this review, focuses on migration and so naturally concentrates on the settled foreign nationals in its recommendations. As the third volume explains, ‘nationality remains an important dividing line when it comes to political participation’. One of the strong motivators for immigrants to naturalize is the desire to become full political participants in a formal sense. There is, of course, a difference between formal political membership where one is entitled to vote, and substantive political membership which is concerned about the effect of that vote and broader democratic substance. Again, the third volume recognizes that ‘[f]ormal membership is not a sufficient condition for political integration, nor need it be a necessary condition for enjoying certain political rights’.

The third volume raises some important suggestions regarding political participation and social rights, showing the inherent tension of citizenship as a legal status. If the rights of citizenship are provided to immigrants, what is the added value of citizenship? Does citizenship need to be exclusive in order for it to have any meaning? Does inclusive citizenship practice mean the end of the legal status of citizenship?

These last two chapters are particularly useful in the way they set out the policy issues surrounding the questions. In its discussion of the franchise for non-citizens it clearly articulates the arguments ‘For and against a national franchise for noncitizens’,⁴³ ‘Restricted and partial franchise for noncitizens’ and ‘Local franchise for noncitizens’. It presents a lot of country information, including a table⁴⁴ setting out an overview of different country approaches. Some of this material is also covered in the first volume’s country specific analysis where the question about political and social integration of migrants was asked of the contributors. Moreover, Miriam Feldblum’s final chapter in the first volume, ‘Managing membership: new trends in citizenship and nationality policy’,⁴⁵ has a subsection, ‘Qualifying rights’, reviewing the ‘changing rights and benefits accorded to foreign residents’. Each of the chapters already mentioned, such as Australia, Canada and Israel in the first volume, discusses the extension of rights to non-citizens, as the material in the trilogy dealing with Europe also covers. But ultimately it is a question for the state to determine, and

in this final volume the authors make a strong case for encouraging policy makers to continue with an inclusive approach to membership rights.

Ruth Rubio-Marin's work⁴⁶ *Immigration as a Democratic Challenge: Citizenship and Inclusion in Germany and the United States*,⁴⁷ referred to in the bibliography of Christian Joppke's chapter in Volume Two on 'The evolution of alien rights in the United States, Germany and the European Union', involves many issues central to the questions raised throughout the set of three books. Her arguments are more radical than anything proposed in the final policy volume. She contends liberal norms of justice and democracy should require a time threshold after which immigrants (legal and illegal) should either be granted the full rights of citizenship, or should be awarded nationality automatically, without any conditions or tests. The final two chapters of the policy volume in this set go some of the way to Rubio-Marin's endpoint, in arguing that political and social rights of citizenship should be granted to legal migrants. In the political integration chapter, the authors remind us of the 'core idea' informing their analysis: 'democratic countries must reform citizenship policies so that those migrants who settle in their territories do not remain shut out from its public political life'.⁴⁸ We see even more of Rubio-Marin's principles in the final chapter of the policy volume. Here it is proposed that citizenship should not be used to ration access to welfare and other social benefits, although the authors justify this proposal more on the basis of a 'trend toward convergence among liberal democracies' than on fundamental principles. However, they do emphasize the policies 'improve the chances of the kind of successful social and economic integration that ought to accompany full membership in a state'.⁴⁹

Conclusion

These last two chapters' policy questions regarding political integration and social integration remind us of the double-edged sword involving citizenship policies touching on all aspects of this important study. For the legal status highlights citizenship as exclusion—as those who don't fall within the definition of citizen are arguably excluded from what citizenship has to offer. As Linda Bosniak argues in another article outside this trilogy, '[t]he challenge to universal citizenship becomes especially clear if we focus on the condition of *non-citizens*, or aliens, who reside within the liberal democratic community',⁵⁰ for the reality is non-citizens, whether they are permanent residents or temporary residents, are participants in the community:

As workers, taxpayers, consumers, neighbors, they are persons who constitute part of the life of the (nationally bounded) political community—the very community that citizenship in its internal mode considers its proper domain of concern.⁵¹

Should states emphasize exclusive policies to encourage and 'value' citizenship, or should more inclusive policies be promoted, emphasizing a more normative understanding of citizenship, not necessarily linked to the formal legal status?

This tension between citizenship as exclusion and inclusion is common to liberal democracies. Peter Spiro, whose work is often cited in this collection, describes the tensions as giving rise to the 'citizenship dilemma': 'On the one hand, exclusionary approaches have been morally and legally discredited. On the other hand, inclusion waters down the strength of national identity.'⁵²

In all, this collection and in particular the final policy volume fulfills the important need of dealing directly with these questions. It has a breadth and richness deserving of attention of academics interested in citizenship studies. It will greatly satisfy those scholars with an interest in the way law relates to other disciplines. All people interested in citizenship should find the final volume's clear analysis of the issues fundamental to policy as a most important and valuable resource. It will be particularly useful for policy makers around the globe seeking to thrash out the issues in their own domestic contexts. For globalization, immigration, and citizenship will always raise significant policy conundrums that will continue to be fundamentally crafted by domestic political and social realities. This collection is testimony to the fact that international factors will increase in significance. What other countries do and what specialists think all over the world will make a difference to the future story told.

Notes

1. See Dauvergne, C. (1999) 'Confronting chaos: migration law responds to images of disorder', *Res Publica*, 5, pp. 23–45, at p. 40.
2. See Zappala, G. and Castles, S. (2000) 'Citizenship and immigration in Australia', in: T. Alexander Aleinikoff and D. Klusemeyer (Eds), *From Migrants to Citizens: Membership in a Changing World* (Washington, DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace).
3. Aleinikoff and Klusemeyer, *From Migrants to Citizens: Membership in a Changing World*, p. 2.
4. Special provisions have been in place in Australia, for instance, since 1974 to ensure that people are prevented from statelessness.
5. I use this term 'progressive project' in Rubenstein, K. (2002) *Australian Citizenship Law in Context* (LawBook Company) and throughout my work discussing the differences between citizenship as a legal concept and citizenship as a normative project.
6. Aleinikoff, T. Alexander and Klusemeyer, D. (2002) *Citizenship Policies for an Age of Migration* (Washington, DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), p. 1.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
8. Aleinikoff comments in his chapter on US citizenship law that the near universality of the fact that all human beings acquire citizenship at birth 'seems so natural that we rarely think about them'; see 'Between principles and politics: US citizenship policy', in: Aleinikoff and Klusemeyer, *From Migrants to Citizens*, p. 123.
9. Part One of Volume One focuses on Australia, Canada and the US.
10. Galloway, D. (2000) 'The dilemmas of Canadian citizenship law', in: Aleinikoff and Klusemeyer, *From Migrants to Citizens*, p. 88.
11. This section of Volume One includes an introduction by Kathleen Newland, 'Migration and admittance to citizenship in Russia' by George Ginsburgs, 'Post-apartheid citizenship in South Africa' by Jonathon Klaaren, and 'Understanding citizenship policy in the Baltic States' by Barrington.
12. Barrington, L.W. (2000) 'Understanding citizenship policy in the Baltic States', in: Aleinikoff and Klusemeyer, *From Migrants to Citizens*, p. 278.
13. This section of Volume One includes an introduction by Aristide Zolberg, 'Citizenship and membership in the Israeli polity' by Ayelet Shachar, and 'Citizenship in Japan: legal practice and contemporary development' by Chikako Kashiwazaki.
14. Kashiwazaki, C. (2000) 'Citizenship in Japan: legal practice and contemporary development', in: Aleinikoff and Klusemeyer, *From Migrants to Citizens*, p. 439.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 467.
16. Deng, F. (2001) 'Ethnic marginalization as statelessness: lessons from the Great Lakes region of Africa', in: T. Alexander Aleinikoff and D. Klusemeyer (Eds), *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices* (Washington, DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), p. 183.
17. Chapter One, 'Access to citizenship', in: Aleinikoff and Klusemeyer, *Citizenship Policies for an Age of Migration*, p. 8.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
19. See Orlenticher, D. (1998) 'Citizenship and national identity', in: D. Wippman (Ed.), *International Law and Ethnic Conflict* (Cornell University Press), where Orlenticher argues that a move to territorial/civic nationality occurred in the Baltic states as a result of international influence.
20. Chapter Two, 'Managing dual nationality', in: Aleinikoff and Klusemeyer, *Citizenship Policies for an Age of Migration*, p. 22.
21. *Ibid.*
22. The Australian description in Chapter Two of the first volume is now outdated as the Australian Citizenship Act 1948 (Cth) was amended on the 4 April 2002 to allow Australian citizens to take up new citizenships without losing their Australian citizenship.
23. This section includes an introduction by Rainer Baubock, 'Nationality in Mexico' by Manuel Becerra Ramirez and 'Citizenship of the European Union' by Marco Martiniello.
24. There are four chapters in this section including the one just mentioned, and Patrick Weil's 'Access to citizenship: a comparison of twenty-five nationality laws', Christian Joppke's 'The evolution of alien rights in the US, Germany and the European Union' and Karen Knop's 'Relational nationality: on gender and nationality in international law'.
25. Knop, K. (2001) 'Relational nationality: on gender and nationality in international law', in: Aleinikoff and Klusemeyer, *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*, p. 92.
26. See the discussion of the generational approach to issues by Knop, p. 101, for instance.
27. Part Three includes 'Denationalizing citizenship' by Linda Bosniak, 'The emergence of transnational citizenship among Mexican immigrants in California' by Paul Johnston, and 'Immigrant and minority representation of citizenship in Quebec' by Micheline Labelle and Daniel Salee.
28. Part Two includes 'Citizenship and federalism' by Vicki Jackson, 'Ethnic marginalization as statelessness: lessons from the Great Lakes region of Africa' by Francis M. Deng, and 'City-states and citizenship' by Richard T. Ford.
29. This strength is better developed in the fuller piece in the *Indiana Journal* version.
30. Bosniak, L. (2001) 'Denationalizing citizenship', in: Aleinikoff and Klusemeyer, *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*, p. 241.
31. *Ibid.*
32. See Bosniak, L. (2002) 'Multiple nationality and the postnational transformation of citizenship', *Virginia Journal of International Law*, 979, which also appears in a substantially similar version in Martin, D.A. and Hailbronner, K. (Eds) (2003) *Rights and Duties of Dual Nationals: Evolution and Prospects* (Kluwer Law).
33. Jackson, V. (2001) 'Citizenship and federalism', in: Aleinikoff and Klusemeyer, *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*, p. 127.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 129
35. *Ibid.*
36. Ford, R.T. (2001) 'City-states and citizenship', in: Aleinikoff and Klusemeyer, *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*, p. 232.
37. Deng, F.M. (2001) 'Ethnic marginalization in Africa's Great Lakes region', in: Aleinikoff and Klusemeyer, *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*, p. 206.
38. This is not to understate the references to international law in many of the chapters, but none independently focused on the developments of international law itself.
39. *From Migrants to Citizens: Membership in a Changing World*, p. 475.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 476.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Executive Summary of *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*, p. 8.
43. *Citizenship Policies for an Age of Migration*, p. 46
44. *Ibid.*, Table 4, pp. 48–9.
45. *From Migrants to Citizens: Membership in a Changing World*, p. 475.

Review Essay

46. Rubio-Marín is listed as a member of the 'Dual Nationality' committee that advised on the policies that are proposed in the final volume.
47. Cambridge University Press, 2000.
48. *Citizenship Policies for an Age of Migration*, p. 60.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
50. Bosniak, L. (2000) 'Universal citizenship and the problem of alienage', *Northwestern University Law Review*, 94, p. 966.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 973–74.
52. Spiro, P. (1999) 'The citizenship dilemma', *Stanford Law Review*, 51, p. 599.