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Why migrants claim host citizenship: A new framework for analysis – Sri Lankan migrants in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand[1]

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Introduction

The study of migrants is an important undertaking, but it does come with its challenges. So far, in the landscape of migration research, migrants are studied through two binary perspectives: looking at migrants either from a host country perspective or from a country of origin perspective. Host countries are interested to know more about migrants as they are incoming new populations. It is important for host countries to understand the behaviour, attitudes, and characters of the immigrants in order to make effective policies to integrate them into the host society. Meanwhile, home countries are also increasingly interested in learning about their emigrant groups. This is important to make effective diaspora outreach policies, to ensure their emigrants are still connected and engaged with the home society. However, if we really want to understand migrants, they should be looked at as transnational subjects whose lives are operating in between both host and home, combining both emphases together, instead of understanding them as either immigrants in a host society or emigrants of a home society.

Another limitation to understanding migrants is the scarcity of knowledge produced about them. A large amount of scholarship about migrants does not view

[1] This article draws on material from my monograph, *Immigrants' Citizenship Perceptions: Sri Lankan Migrants in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2023). I am grateful to Peter Lang Publishing for allowing me to use this material here.

[2] I am very thankful to the Editor-in-chief of the journal, Dr. Jatinder Mann for his helpful comments and suggestions on my article.

them as absolute subjects but as relative to the non-migrant subjects. In other words, it seems that policymakers and researchers tend to utilize the knowledge that is produced based on the studies on in-house non-migrant populations to understand the dynamics of migrant lives. Migration researchers have highlighted the fact that migrants cannot be fully understood through this existing scholarship. Migrants' lives, experiences and decision-making processes are more complicated and different from non-migrants, due to their multiple economic, political, social, and legal relations with their home and host countries.

Responding to these gaps in the literature, this article attempts to understand migrants from a transnational lens. The article pays exclusive attention to understanding migrants' views and decision-making processes towards citizenship acquisition in the host country. It examines the patterns of migrants' decision-making when it comes to becoming a citizen in the host society, taking into consideration their views about continuing (or not) as a country of origin citizen. Both home and host country factors have been taken into consideration to comparatively examine migrants' citizenship decisions. The study is based on a case study of Sri Lankan migrants in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. The empirical data comes from 51 interviews with them in four cities – Melbourne and Sydney in Australia and Auckland and Wellington in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Theoretically, I employ the utilitarian and patriotic dimensions borrowed from the liberal and communitarian traditions on citizenship to unpack the citizenship thoughts of my participants. The findings show that migrants' citizenship attachment to the host country starts as a utilitarian attachment based on their level of satisfaction with the

utilities that they receive from that country. At this stage, utilitarian views towards the host country are also influenced by country of origin related factors. Over time, under right conditions, this utilitarian interest upgrades into a patriotic interest where migrants improve their gratitude, loyalty, and belonging as host citizens. Patriotic interest develops in two stages: a thin patriotism stage and a thick patriotism stage. Against the dominant anti-migrant narratives that view utilitarian and patriotic interests as mutually exclusive interests, this article shows that in the case of immigrants' host citizenship views, both utilitarian and patriotic dimensions work in combination. It is suggested that there is a causal relationship between these two dimensions.

On top of descriptively explaining the findings, this article introduces a framework to clearly present the relationship between utilitarian and patriotic dimensions and the factors that affect migrants' citizenship journeys in the host country. The presentation of the framework is intended to be useful for migration researchers and policy makers especially who are working on intersections of migration and citizenship. It intends to contribute to the existing gaps in migration studies and policy where we still lack approaches and methodologies that combine both host and country of origin elements to understand migrants. Instead of understanding the processes of migrants' citizenship acquisition objectively, my framework suggests a subjective and comparative lens. My framework is also based on the empirical findings on migrants themselves. It attempts to counter the prejudice of understanding migrants through scholarship based on non-migrant experiences that is often used to look at migrants.

The article first provides a brief overview of Sri Lankan migrants in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand to provide context. It then reviews the existing literature that

intersects on migrants and citizenship. I then highlight the liberal and communitarian debate on citizenship from which I borrow the two dimensions – utilitarian and patriotic – to unpack migrants' citizenship perceptions. After a brief discussion on methods, I then present my key findings on Sri Lankan immigrants' citizenship views. Finally, I outline the framework that I propose to examine immigrants' reasons, trends, and views towards their citizenship journey in their host country.

The case of Sri Lankan migrants

The Office for Overseas Sri Lankan Affairs notes that Sri Lanka has produced nearly three million emigrants who are residing and working outside Sri Lanka.[3] Since independence in 1948, Pavithra Jayawardena[4] notes that five waves of out-migration can be observed: in 1948, 1956, 1970, 1983, and 2000. The first wave in 1948 relates to independence from the United Kingdom (UK). Burgher Ceylonese who are a community of Sri Lankans of European descent started departing the country fearing about security under a nativist regime. The second wave in 1956 is connected with the government's controversial language policy called the *Sinhala Only Act*. Those who were not able to conduct their professional and daily activities in Sinhala, which is the majority language in Sri Lanka, began being concerned about staying in the country and started leaving. The third wave in the early 1970s is a result of the government's nationalization reforms that brought in economic hardships. Various professionals such as doctors and engineers emigrated to Western countries seeking better prospects.

[3] The new office established in 2023 under the Presidential Secretariat of Sri Lanka called as Office for Overseas Sri Lankan Affairs (OOSLA) aims at working as a hub that connects overseas permanently settled Sri Lankan migrants with Sri Lankan matters.
[4] Pavithra Jayawardena, "Sri Lankan out-migration: Five key waves since independence," University of Colombo Review 1, no.1 (2020): 101-118.

They included professionals from all ethnicities. The fourth wave in the 1980s is directly influenced by the ethnic tensions on the island. During this period, Sri Lankans started leaving as refugees and asylum seekers. In the fifth wave, starting in the early 2000s, young Sri Lankans started emigrating due to their frustration about the economic, social, and political instability of the country. These waves show us that the domestic push factors that led Sri Lankans to leave the island are multifaceted ranging from the decolonial experience, to worsening economic conditions, and ethnic tensions.

In terms of the Sri Lankan immigrants in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, historical evidence shows that Sri Lankans first arrived in Australia in 1882 to work in the sugar plantations in Queensland and pearl fisheries in the Torres Strait.[5] For Aotearoa New Zealand, it started much later. According to Peter Reeves, around 150 Sri Lankans have arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1970s.[6] Sri Lankans in these two countries are diverse. They are different ethnically, professionally, as well as in their visa categories, and are influenced by different push factors in their country of origin.

Migrants' citizenship processes

Citizens who are not migrants receive citizenship from their country of origin fairly easily. They receive it usually either by descent: *jus sanguinis* or by virtue of being born in a particular place: *jus soli*.[7] *Jus sanguinis* means the right of a child to their parents' citizenship (some countries however discriminate against the citizenship of the mother).

[5] W.S. Weerasooria, *Links between Sri Lanka and Australia: A Book about Sri Lankans (Ceylonese) in Australia* (Colombo: Government Printer, 1988).
[6] P. Reeves, *The Encyclopedia of the Sri Lankan Diaspora* (Singapore: Editions Didier Millet, 2013).
[7] Irene Bloemraad, Anna Korteweg, and Gökçe Yurdakul, "Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State," *Annual Review of Sociology* 34, no. 1 (2008): 153.

This means, if a child's parents are already a citizen of a particular state, the child is automatically eligible to become a citizen of that state. The assumption underlying this mode of granting citizenship is ethnic descent and belonging. It is assumed that a child born to citizens will continue to carry their parents' sense of loyalty and belonging to the same society and state. *Jus soli* refers to the mechanism through which citizenship is conferred through one's place of birth. That is, if a child is born in a particular state, regardless of the fact of whether their parents are its citizens, the child holds the right to obtain citizenship in that state. In the modern world, countries have different reservations regarding this right.

Needless to say, obtaining citizenship in a host country is not that straightforward for immigrants. Especially, for first-generation migrants from the Global South to the Global North (it is this group that is the focus of this article), it is often a difficult and haunting process. They instead usually become citizens through naturalisation *(Jus nexi).* Naturalisation is a way of offering citizenship to those not entitled to become citizens via *jus sanguinis* or *jus soli*. People who enter a society (i.e., immigrants) often need to go through a naturalisation process if they wish to become citizens of that state. The criteria for naturalisation vary from state to state. For example, to naturalise in several European states, one needs to have proof of continuous residence in that country for a certain period of time and proof of integration with the society.[8] These include the ability to speak the language of that state, secure a job, or the ability to demonstrate knowledge about the history and culture of that society. Depending on the requirement of the host country, in certain cases, citizenship candidates have to

[8] Will Kymlicka, "Immigration, Citizenship, Multiculturalism: Exploring the Links," *The Political Quarterly* 74 (2003): 200.

renounce their previous citizenship/s in order to become a citizen of the respective state.

Becoming a host citizen

The requirements for naturalisation processes are getting stricter in most host countries. Especially in the context of Global South migration to the Global North (which is the focus of this article). The Western host countries show a tendency to make their citizenship laws stricter for migrants. It is influenced by popular anti-migrant assumptions by many native citizens that economic opportunities of native citizens are disproportionately grabbed by immigrants, a group with selfish and solely materialistic motives who are also neither loyal or belong to the Western host societies.[9] This suspicion against and dislike of immigrants has led many Western countries to control the number of immigrants arriving in their countries and revalue their own citizenship stances: some states are of the opinion that immigrants should not be given the opportunity to easily become citizens in their countries.[10] There is a perception that if the naturalisation process through which an immigrant can acquire host country citizenship is too short, fast, and easy, immigrants will take citizenship for granted. Consequently, many Western host countries are in a process called revaluing citizenship making the naturalisation process a restrictive and hard one.[11] They believe by making the journey tougher, they will be able to identify immigrants who genuinely

[9] N. Foner. "Immigrant Commitment to America, Then and Now: Myths and Realities," Citizenship Studies 4, no. 1 (2001): 27.
[10] Kymlicka, *Immigration, Citizenship, Multiculturalism*, 195.
[11] *Ibid.*

wish to become citizens in the host country and that immigrants also regard obtaining host country citizenship as something of extreme value and importance.

To make the naturalisation process more restrictive and cumbersome, these states have introduced a series of new requirements, including citizenship tests, for any candidate wishing to become a citizen. Passing this test was made mandatory to be eligible for citizenship acquisition. In many Western countries, the citizenship test is aimed at examining candidates' knowledge about the country's culture and history and evaluating their level of integration with the host society. This is done through examining their language ability, and opportunities they have received as a result of their integration, such as employment or housing, and evaluating the voluntary services engaged in by the candidate. The tests represent the high communitarian expectations of the host country for the profile of a potential citizen in their respective society. For example, examining candidates' knowledge about the culture and history and their level of integration means measuring their ethno-nationalistic or communitarian qualifications to become a fellow member of society. This is meant to encourage potential citizens to have a collective life where integration in society becomes essential.

Factors that affect migrants' citizenship perceptions

Scholarship reveals a range of different socio, economic, and political factors as well as other cultural, personal, and emotive factors that affect migrants' views on host citizenship.[12] According to Phillip Yang, these factors fall into two broad categories

[12] Phillip Q. Yang, "Explaining Immigrant Naturalization," *International Migration Review* 28, no. 3 (1994): 450.

called socio – economic determinants and non-socio-economic determinants.[13] Socio-economic determinants are derived from the pioneering work in the field by William S. Bernard.[14] His study on the factors that affect migrants' acquisition of citizenship identified that there is a close relationship between the socio-economic and political status immigrants possess in the host country with the probability of them acquiring citizenship in the host country.[15] Socio-economic factors here include income, welfare assistance, employment, travel benefits, social security, housing, retirement packages, tax concessions etc. In many countries, citizenship is a requirement to have access to some rights and benefits such as social security, scholarships, and jobs in the government sector.

Yang notes that once an immigrant develops a strong economic relationship with the host country, their cost of leaving that host country increases.[16] Due to this economic dependency, immigrants will consider obtaining citizenship as an investment, increasing their probability of obtaining host citizenship. Also, if a host country can grant better economic benefits for a migrant in comparison to their country of origin, they tend to acquire host country citizenship. According to Yang, 'poor economic conditions and low standards of living in the country of origin may deter immigrants' desires to return to their homelands and therefore inspire them to stay in the host country.'[17]

Not only socio-economic factors, but political factors also play an important role in shaping migrants' thoughts about citizenship. The level of political freedom, stability,

[13] Yang, "Explaining Immigrant Naturalization," 450.
[14] William S. Bernard, "Cultural Determinants of Naturalization," *American Sociological Review* 1, no. 6 (1936): 943-953.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] Yang, "Explaining Immigrant Naturalization," 457.
[17] *Ibid.*

political participation, equality, and democracy are some of the key factors that are influential and determinant factors that affect the citizenship decision-making related to both home and host countries. If immigrants have experienced less political stability and freedom in their country of origin while improving conditions in their host country, Yang noted that it increases their interest in obtaining citizenship in their host country.[18] If their country of origin experiences wars, revolutions, religious persecutions, ethnic discrimination, or any other political chaos, due to their fear of return, immigrants may prefer to naturalise in their host country.

However, there are counter arguments for the above-discussed socio-economic and political factors as the only variables affecting immigrants' citizenship perceptions.[19] Factors such as cultural and structural assimilation into the host country are also identified as important in shaping immigrants' views. For example, if the host country has the same cultural orientation or practices as the country of origin, immigrants' interest to naturalise in the former increases.[20] Structural factors such as host countries' laws and facilitations that support immigrants' integration with the host society also affect citizenship perceptions.[21] The type of foreign relations between host and home countries also affect migrants' citizenship views towards the two countries.[22]

Apart from state-level factors such as settlement policies, facilities and laws, there are societal-level factors that are very influential in migrants' decisions. Irene Bloemraad highlights the important role diaspora organisations and fellow immigrant

[18] Yang, "Explaining Immigrant Naturalization," 457.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] Alastair Ager and Alison Strang, "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework," *Journal of Refugees Studies* 21, no. 2 (2008): 171.
[22] Ayca Arkilic, *Between the Homeland and Host States: Turkey's Diaspora Policies and Immigrant Political Participation in France and Germany* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016).

communities play in encouraging immigrants' naturalisation in the host country.[23] According to her, immigrants' citizenship decisions are central to the social processes of mobilization by friends, family, diaspora organisations, and local leaders, since those processes affect their trust and confidence in the host country. They ultimately also shape immigrants' feelings of belonging as well as the ability to be identified as a national member of the host country.

As explained above, decisions related to the acquisition of citizenship are an outcome of migrants' complex thinking processes, affected by various socio-economic and political factors (known as socio-economic determinants), as well as cultural, structural, and emotional factors (known as non-socio-economic determinants). In this article, I categorise these two types of factors into two broad categories as utilitarian and patriotic factors, as described further below in the conceptual framework. Utilitarian and patriotic categorization is informed by the liberal and communitarian traditions.

Utilitarian and patriotic characters of citizenship perceptions

The liberal approach has given greater emphasis on the utilitarian value as it emerges with the belief in a contractual vision of citizenship.[24] Consequently, it promotes an individualistic relationship between a citizen and the state. It suggests that citizenship should be looked at as a mere legal tool which allows citizens to access the rights and privileges to which they are entitled. According to this view, the state should provide legal protection and equal political rights to their citizens. In return, citizens are obliged

[23] Irene Bloomraad, "Becoming a Citizen in the United States and Canada: Structures Mobilization and Immigrant Political Incorporation," *Social Forces* 85, no. 2 (2006): 667-695.
[24] Pamela Johnston Conover, Ivor M. Crewe, and Donald D. Searing, "The Nature of Citizenship in the United States and Great Britain: Empirical Comments on Theoretical Themes," *The Journal of Politics* 53, no. 3 (1991): 800-832.

to fulfil certain responsibilities, such as obeying the laws of the state and paying taxes. According to some scholars, however, thinking of citizenship as only a legal tool to access rights creates a group of passive citizens. This is because, implicitly, individual citizens are encouraged to think of themselves alone: in an election, citizens with a liberalist view of citizenship would vote to represent their own needs over the collective need. In this article, the social, economic, and political rights and benefits as described above under the socio-economic model are considered to have utilitarian characters, given the individualistic relationship it creates between the recipient and the state.

Meanwhile, the communitarian tradition in citizenship literature which is also referred to as the ethno-nationalist view of citizenship believes that becoming a citizen of a society is not an individualistic relationship between the citizen and a state, but a collective relationship of a citizen with a particular society or community.[25] To become a member of a society requires a sense of belonging and loyalty towards it. Ideally, such citizens would share many similarities, including cultural and historical features. Therefore, if a person acquires citizenship as a birthright *(jus soli)* or through descent *(jus sanguinis),* as discussed above, their ethno-nationalism or communitarian attachment to society is considered to be true by default. However, proving one's ethno-nationalism and communitarianism becomes very challenging when acquiring citizenship through naturalisation *(jus nexi).* In a naturalisation process an individual needs to prove that they are well integrated in society, know the history and cultural practices of the community, and are empathetic towards the collective (for example, by showing concern about the wellbeing of fellow members). In this sense, when a citizen

[25] Keith Faulks, *Citizenship* (London: Routledge, 2000).

makes decisions about society (such as by voting), it is expected that they will not think of their betterment alone but that of the collective community. In this article, the factors reviewed as non-socio-economic determinants are considered to have patriotic characters, given how they contribute to establishing a collective relationship between an immigrant and the host society, its members, and the culture.

To explore the patriotic views in more depth I employ Jussi Kasperi Ronkainen's typology on thin and thick citizenship attachments which provides a useful explanation of the nature of migrant citizenship ties with home and host countries.[26] It is based on Charles Tilly's distinction between thin and thick citizenship where he identifies thin citizenship as a few transactions, rights, and obligations while thick as all transactions, rights, and obligations by state representatives as well as people.[27] Ronkainen combined Tilly's distinction with Hirschman's 'voice, exist and loyalty theory' in introducing his four factors to consider in examining immigrants' citizenship attachments. The new factor Ronkainen added to Hirschman's theory was 'roots'. According to Ronkainen, voice means the level of political participation; roots represents the level of belonging to the state as a national collective of a society; loyalty stands for the level of gratitude and solidarity towards a state; and exit refers to detachment from the state. [28]

Figure 1 below shows the key findings I use from the literature to build the framework I propose in this article. As described above, I have categorized the socio-

[26] Jussi Kasperi Ronkainen, "Mononationals, Hyphenationals, and Shadow-Nationals: Multiple Citizenship as Practice," *Citizenship Studies* 15, no. 2 (2011): 247 – 263.
[27] Charles Tilly, "Citizenship, Identity and Social History," *International Review of Social History* (1995).
[28] Ronkainen, "Mononationals, Hyphenationals, and Shadow-Nationals," 258.

economic determinants and the non-socio-economic determinants into utilitarian patriotic camps, depending on the type of relationship it creates between an immigrant and the host state.

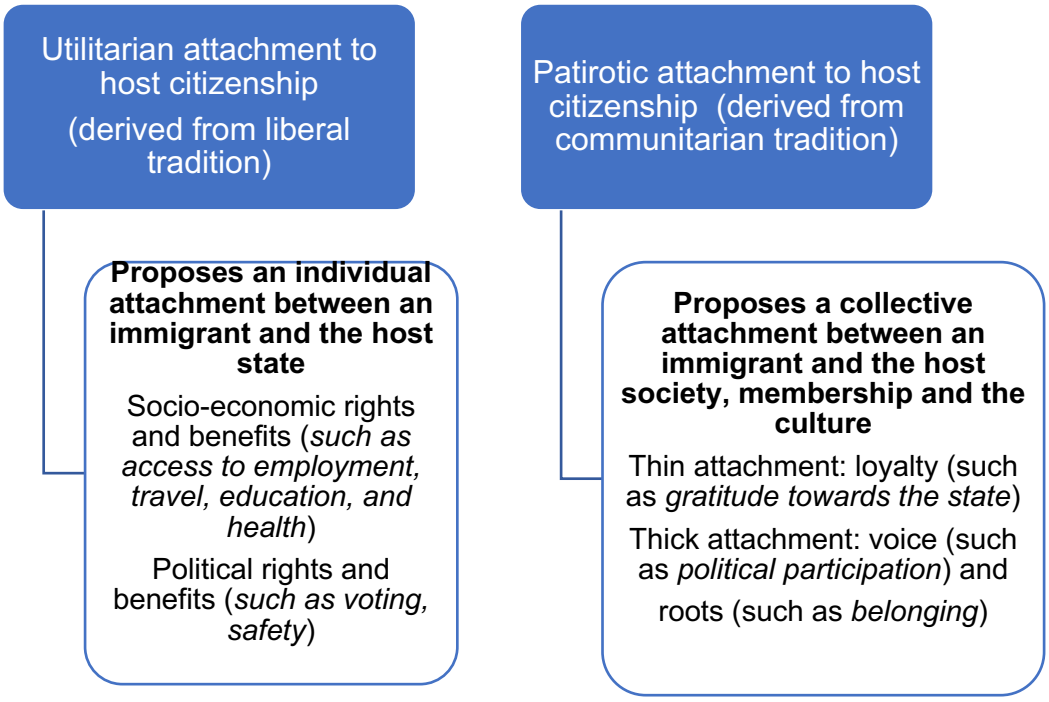

Figure 1: Immigrants' utilitarian and patriotic attachment to citizenship

As shown above, I use the socio-economic and political rights as a main categorization to unpack immigrants' utilitarian attachment. The main themes in socio-economic factors include employment, travel, education, and health. The key themes of the political factors include voting and safety. To explore the dynamics of emotional attachment deeply, I borrow the thin and thick categorization from Ronkainen's typology. This classification helps us identify the different levels of emotive attachment of the immigrants towards citizenship. Given the subjective, relative, and contextual

nature of immigrants' patriotic views, I do not group patriotic perceptions as *either* negative *or* positive, instead as thin or thick. I also place emphasis on comprehending how the transition from thin to thick takes place, as such knowledge will help policy makers make effective policies to help migrants to improve their thin attachments to thick attachments. From the four aspects of Ronkainen's typology: voice, roots, loyalty, and exit, if a participant demonstrates only one aspect from either voice, roots, or loyalty, I will call it thin sense. If it is a combination of two or all three, I will call it thick. While acknowledging the overlapping nature of these aspects, I still employ them to make the categorization of feelings and emotions somewhat possible and sensible.

The utilitarian and patriotic dimensions of citizenship have evolved throughout history as dichotomic and rival ends, with much debate over which is better. However, Farida Fozdar and Brian Spittles oppose the polarisation of the liberal and communitarian views arguing that, despite being mutually exclusive in theory, they are actually entangled in real life.[29] Therefore, although I use these two dimensions that might be seen as two mutually exclusive ends, I also look at the inter-relations between them in the case of immigrants' citizenship views. The use of utilitarian and patriotic categories is influenced by its explanatory strength to separate complex thoughts of immigrants that are affected by various country of origin, host country, and individual factors.

[29] Farida Fozdar and Brian Spittles, "Patriotic vs. Proceduralist Citizenship: Australian Representations," *Nations and Nationalism* 16, no. 1 (2010): 127-147.

Methodology

This study is based on empirical data collected through 51 interviews with Sri Lankan migrants living in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand from 2018 to 2020. The interviews were held in Melbourne and Sydney in Australia and Auckland and Wellington in Aotearoa New Zealand. The sample included Sinhalese and Tamil Sri Lankan immigrants from different backgrounds: from skilled workers, to students, and refugees. Participants were either host citizens at the time of the interview or aspired to become host citizens. They all were first-generation migrants who had spent more than 25 years in Sri Lanka, their country of origin, before arriving in their host country.

All the interview data was transcribed and analysed through thematic analysis. For the convenience of usage, data was stored securely in NVivo and was analysed manually. As mentioned earlier, the analysis is based on the experiences of a subset of migrants from the Global South towards the Global North. While it would be difficult to generalise the analysis to understand the citizenship views of all migrants, the findings have the potential to illuminate some generalised views about Global South migrants' decision-making on citizenship acquisition in the host and/or home countries. While it is obvious that migrants' citizenship journeys and their views are subjective, the proposed framework intends to paint a generalized picture to understand the factors that affect the citizenship journeys of migrants from South Asia. However, more quantitative testing is required by future researchers to further validate the proposed framework.

Findings: Journey towards host citizenship

The empirical data shows that participants' views towards host citizenship were not static, they evolved with their experiences in the host country over time. Generally,

participants' citizenship views started with utilitarian features, transforming into more patriotic characters, conditional upon many other factors. The article suggests two key stages of participants' citizenship views towards the host country: the utilitarian stage and the patriotic stage, affected by various factors, as further explained below.

Stage I: Utilitarian stage

In this initial stage, participants' thoughts about host citizenship were central to their experiences of rights, facilities, and privileges that they were receiving from the host as immigrants. They tended to compare both the quantity and quality of what they received from the host country with their experiences in their country of origin. If they are less happy about the quality of their home countries' rights and benefits – economic, social or political – while they are happier about the same conditions in their host country, they tend to hold positive utilitarian views about the host country's citizenship. In comparison, the findings show that, in terms of utilities, Sinhalese participants were more influenced by the socio-economic facilities while Sri Lankan Tamil participants were more convinced by the political rights and benefits. It also found that these utilitarian views are very much relational to their negative thoughts about the socio-economic and political benefits they received in their country of origin as home citizens. While Sinhalese participants commented more on the socio-economic conditions of their country of origin in a frustrating tone, Sri Lankan Tamil participants commented more on the poor political conditions in their country of origin. It became obvious that these negative thoughts about utilitarian elements of home citizenship (such as the economic,

social, political rights, and benefits) became the threshold for my participants to evaluate the similar conditions in the host country.

Sinhalese participants from both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand shared fairly similar positive thoughts about the travel and career benefits they receive in their host country, while participants from Australia identified educational benefits as a driving factor that affected their utilitarian attachment to host country citizenship. In terms of travel benefits, several scholars have previously found that immigrants from less developed countries possess a deeper interest in receiving a passport from their Western-developed host country.[30] It is also viewed as an economic asset as it expands immigrants' chances for economic, educational, and other opportunities.[31] It is also perceived as a social status that enables immigrants' mobility in worldwide travel which is something that they did not experience with their home passport.[32] In this article, it was determined that for Sinhalese participants, travel benefits that they receive through their host country citizenship plays a main role in advancing their utilitarian value towards being a host country citizen. While some participants acquired host citizenship so that they could increase their ability of worldwide travelling without any visa problems (which is something they often had to face with their country of origin passport), some others obtained it as a career requirement. It means that the travel benefit has also advanced their economic chances. For some participants, travel benefits also assure their children's future. All these expectations were related to their migratory motives. Many participants conveyed that the poor recognition of the Sri Lankan passport, and

[30] Szabolcs Pogonyi, "The Passport as Means of Identity Management: Making and Unmaking Ethnic Boundaries through Citizenship," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45, no. 6 (2019): 975–993.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Ibid.*

visa hassles they have faced due to holding a Sri Lankan passport were among the main reasons for their departure from their country of origin. Thus, comparatively, they were satisfied with what they received from their host country and it has positively affected in improving their utilitarian attachment with the host country citizenship.

Another main utilitarian need that improved participants' views about their host citizenship was career-related benefits. Sinhalese participants in both Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand shared positive thoughts about the possible career benefits attached to their host citizenship. In both countries, citizenship was mandatory to obtain certain government-level jobs.[33] There were also ideas that if one has obtained host citizenship, even if the citizenship is not a requirement of a particular job, one is in a better position to be considered for the job. These ideas have improved participants' thoughts about the utilitarian value of their host citizenship.

The other crucial determinant that affected participants' utilitarian ideas is the educational benefits participants get from their host citizenship. More than in Aotearoa New Zealand, participants in Australia felt that they are in a better position to obtain student loans such as HECS-HELP through the acquisition of host citizenship. [34] Being able to obtain the best educational benefits offered by the host state was an important expectation for participants as it was an expectation that was linked to their migratory objectives. Several participants stated that one of the main reasons for them to leave Sri Lanka and migrate to Australia was to give the best educational opportunities to their children. Acquisition of the host citizenship enabled them to ensure that expectation and

[33] Australian Government, *Public Service Act*, 1999; New Zealand Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Work with Us*, 2019.
[34] Australian Government, Australian Government Publishing, *Commonwealth and HECS-HELP*, 2018.

also improved their utilitarian attachment to their host country. While travel, career, and educational benefits were important for Sinhalese participants, Sri Lankan Tamil participants considered political benefits as central to the improvement of their instrumental views about their host country. Unlike the Sinhala participants, Tamil participants' migratory reasons were more political. Ethnic discrimination they experienced in their country of origin has been the main reason for them to migrate either as refugees, asylum seekers, or even as economic migrants. Therefore, they were more sensitive towards safety-related factors and on receiving equal rights in their host country. Sri Lankan Tamil participants see the inability of the host country to deport anyone who has obtained citizenship from the host country as a benefit that encouraged them to acquire the host citizenship. They also viewed that they are in a better position to receive consular services from the host country whenever they are travelling in other countries. They were also convinced by the fact that host country citizenship would allow them to freely enter the host country whenever they wanted. All these reasons were compared to their fears, uncertainties, and the communal trauma that they have gone through in their country of origin as a minority community there. Apart from those reasons, they were convinced by the equal rights they could enjoy as host country citizens than in their own country of origin with other home citizens. Participants from Australia had a particular observation that they can use their voting rights equally as others if they have their host country citizenship.

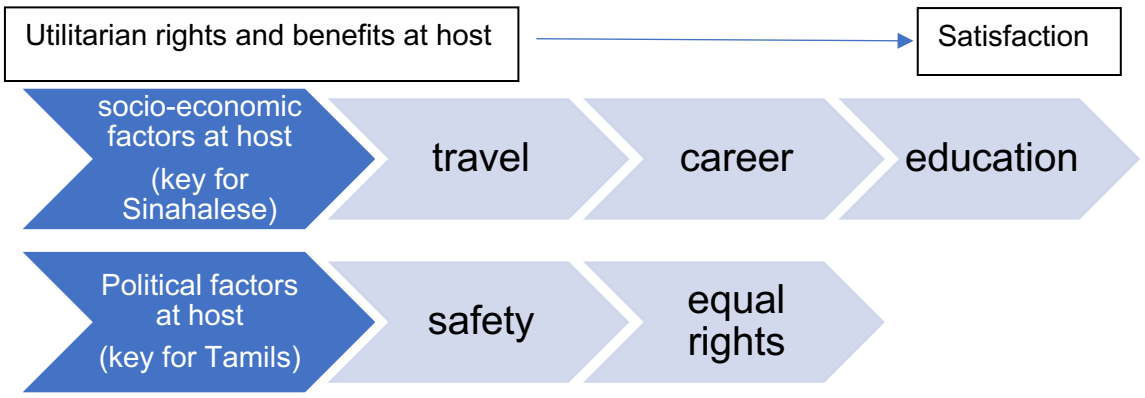

Figure 2: Utilitarian stage

In summary, as *Figure 2* shows, rights and benefits related to travel, career, education, safety and equal political rights have been instrumental in improving participants' utilitarian interest and attachment towards their host country. However, in the case of Sri Lankan immigrants, those interests were clearly different across ethnic orientation, such as Sinhalese or Sri Lankan Tamil and relative to their country of origin experiences. Having access to these rights and benefits had improved immigrants' sense of satisfaction towards their host country. Contrary to the popular anti-immigrant discourses that denote utilitarian interests as merely selfish interests, in fact, those utilitarian interests were instrumental for immigrants to grow a sense of satisfaction which had the potential to be later translated into a sense of gratitude (as discussed below in Stage II) towards the host country. Thus, this article argues that instead of understanding immigrants' instrumental interests and patriotic sense as two mutually exclusive elements, instrumental factors must be perceived as causes for generating patriotic senses in immigrants towards the host country, as further explained below.

Stage II: Patriotic stage

Depending on how satisfied migrants are about the preliminary utilitarian conditions in their host country at the instrumental stage – as described in the previous section - they then tend to develop patriotic attachment to their host citizenship. I call this the patriotic stage and it is again divided into two sub-stages: the thin patriotic stage and the thick patriotic stage, as explained further in this section. Data shows that the sense of satisfaction that immigrants developed in the instrumental stage is upgraded into a sense of gratitude in the thin patriotic stage. It, under the right conditions, later improved as a sense of belonging in the thick patriotic stage. *Figure 3* visually showcases this journey of immigrants' citizenship views towards the host, as further described in the next two sections.

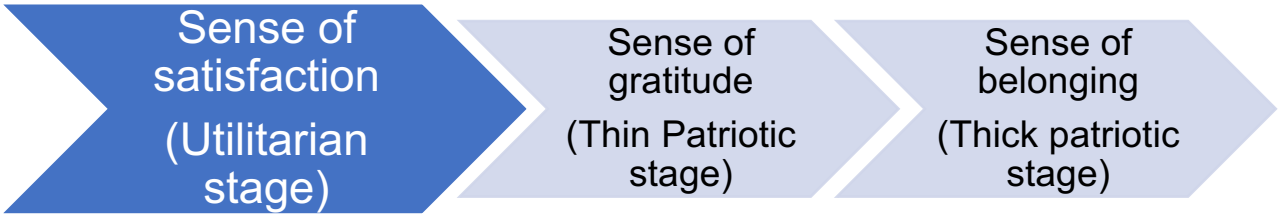

Figure 3: Stages of immigrants' host citizenship views

Thin patriotic stage

Based on immigrants' initial utilitarian attachment and the sense of satisfaction, they first develop a thin version of patriotism towards their host citizenship which is manifested as a sense of gratitude. As findings show, this sense of gratitude is caused by the level of satisfaction they developed based on the socio-economic and political utility-based rights, privileges, and facilities offered to them by their host country. In other words, if an

immigrant is happy about the socio-economic and/or political rights and benefits they receive in their host country in comparison to their country of origin, they feel satisfied and thankful for the host country. Hence, the study proposes a clear causal relationship between immigrants' utilitarian views and patriotic views on host citizenship.

The findings also show that in the case of Sri Lankan immigrants, the causal factors that affect their thin patriotism were different across ethnic lines as Sinhalese or Sri Lankan Tamil. For Sinhalese participants, it was mainly the socio-economic rights and benefits that made them satisfied and thankful towards their host country. Especially, the utilitarian factors discussed in the previous section – travel, career, and education – were influential for Sinhalese participants. Meanwhile, for Sri Lankan Tamil participants, the safety-related political factors and the ability to enjoy equal rights were instrumental in developing a greater sense of gratitude which I call a thin version of patriotism. Once they started feeling grateful to their host country, they also improved their sense of loyalty to the host state. Applying Ronkainen's typology, out of its four factors – voice, roots, loyalty, and exit - it was clear that in this thin patriotic stage, immigrants improve one factor called loyalty. Loyalty here means the feelings of solidarity towards a society or a community. It also means the level of allegiance to the state and the willingness to perform their duties as a citizen.

Thick patriotic stage

The thin patriotism discussed above has the tendency to turn into a thick patriotism over time. While thin patriotism represented the loyalty aspect of Ronkainen's typology, thick patriotism represented a combination of loyalty with voice and roots. The findings show

that two key factors have helped immigrants to transition from their thin patriotism to thick patriotism: the length of their stay and the reception of the host country society.

Length of their stay

It is found that the longer the stay of an immigrant in a host country society is the probability for that person to belong to that society is higher. When an immigrant lives in a host country for a long period, they get various opportunities to be increasingly exposed to that society. Through those opportunities, they learn the culture, the rituals, and the values of the host society which also enables themselves to adapt to those values. With time, they also make friendships with host country citizens with whom they will make fresh and fond memories that connect them to society in a different capacity. As many participants mentioned, their employment provided them the social space to mingle with the host country society, to make friends, and to make memories. These experiences let them feel closer to the host society than in their earlier stages. It also facilitates them to deepen their sense of gratitude as discussed in the previous section into a sense of belonging and to become a co-member of the host society.

Reception of the host society

The second factor is the reception of the host society. Here the reception means the welcoming and embracing gestures immigrants see from both the governmental level and the societal level of the host. The government-level gestures mean the institutional and policy factors that assist immigrants' integration and settlement that eventually

affect their belonging.[35] The societal level reception means how the fellow host country citizens respond to migrants on a day-to-day basis. This is a key factor that affects immigrants' integration and belonging. [36] The more positive gestures immigrants encounter from hosts, they tend to find it easier to integrate and feel a sense of belonging. However, if the response from the host country society is negative, it brings adverse effects on the development of a sense of belonging to the host country.

According to the findings, those who have had longer stays in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand have improved a thick patriotism towards host citizenship. They have improved a greater sense of belonging – a sign of roots in Ronkainen's typology. On top of that, they have also developed an interest in participating in host country matters – a sign of voice in Ronkainen's typology. However, the speed of the conversion from thin to thick patriotism is different across Sri Lankan immigrants in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand, as the two countries have different discourses on migrants in receiving or welcoming them. While participants from Aotearoa New Zealand showed a relatively quick conversion from thin to thick, participants from Australia showed a slow trend. In comparison to participants from Aotearoa New Zealand, the data showed that the participants from Australia perceived Australia as a society with racist characteristics that exist both at the state and societal levels. Thus, they viewed perceived racism in Australian society as a disturbing factor that slowed down the conversion from thin to thick patriotism. Consequently, participants from

[35] S Karthick Ramakrishnan and Thomas J Espenshade, "Immigrant Incorporation and Political Participation in the United States," *International Migration Review* 35, no. 3 (2001): 870–909.
[36] *Ibid.*

Aotearoa New Zealand improved their sense of belonging to their host country quicker than participants from Australia.

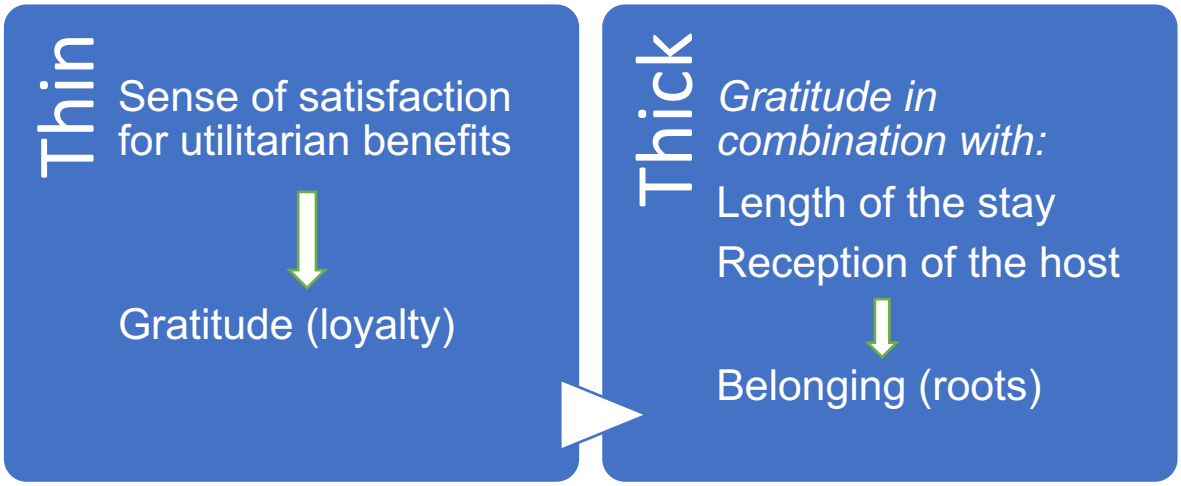

Figure 4: Patriotic stage (thin and thick)

As shown in *Figure 4*, both the length of the stay and the reception of the host state are conditional for immigrants to upgrade their thin patriotic attachment into a thick patriotic attachment. It is based on their sense of satisfaction, they then improve it into a sense of gratitude leading to loyalty, and finally into a sense of belonging. In the final stage, participants' sense of belonging (roots) displays a strong emotional affiliation to the host country society, membership, and culture. They identified themselves as a part of the collective in the host society and honoured the host culture. Some other participants also revealed their interest to actively participating in the affairs of the host country, such as voting (voice), as a result of their sense of belonging towards the host country society.

Proposed framework to understand immigrants' citizenship views on host citizenship

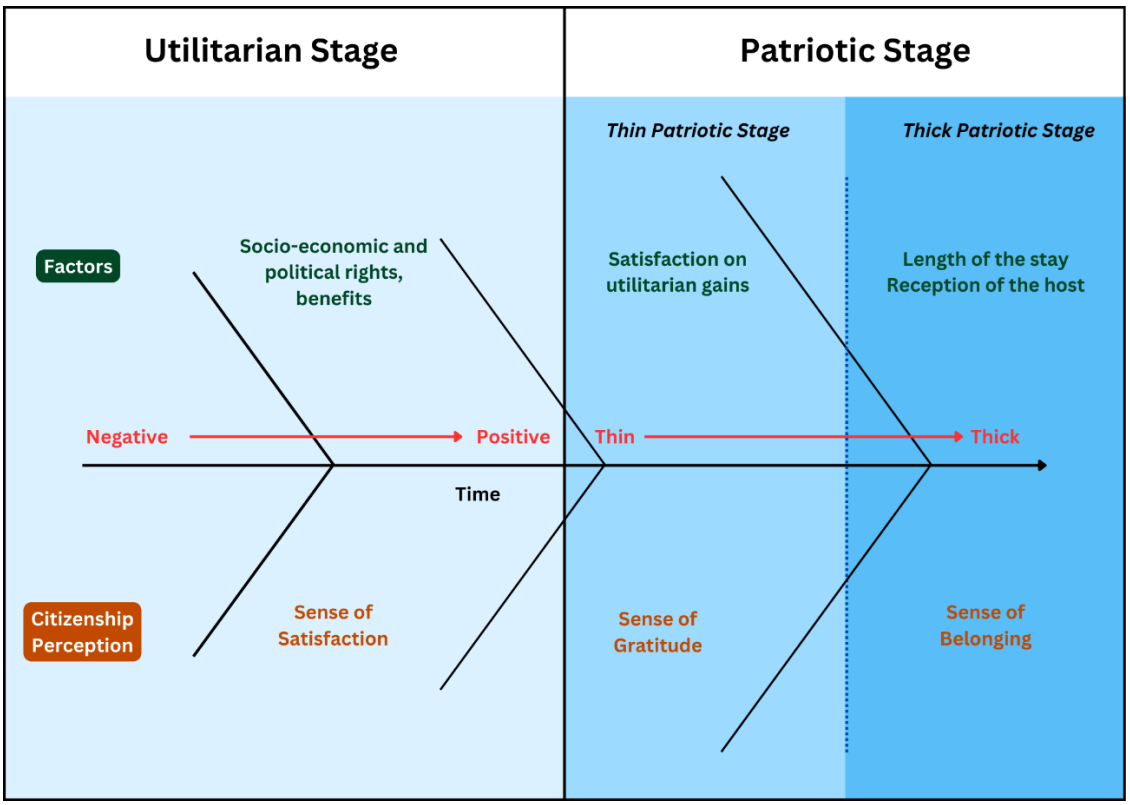

Figure 5: Immigrants' views towards host citizenship

Based on the findings and as *Figure 5* displays, the article proposes that immigrants' citizenship views about their host country citizenship evolve in two stages, as I call: the instrumental stage and the patriotic stage. The instrumental stage is the first stage where immigrants evaluate their relationship with their host country citizenship through the utilitarian treatments they receive. As per this article, across ethnic lines, Sinhalese immigrants were more attuned to the socio-economic utilities such as travel, career, and educational rights and facilities while Sri Lankan Tamil immigrants were more interested in political utilities such as safety and equal political rights. If immigrants receive a

satisfactory level of utilitarian treatment in comparison to their country of origin experiences, then tend to improve a sense of satisfaction for their host country life and also a sense of gratitude towards their host country.

This sense of gratitude upgrades them from the utilitarian stage into a patriotic stage. With a sense of gratitude, immigrants start improving feelings of solidarity towards that society and a sense of allegiance to the state. They genuinely become interested in being an obedient and dutiful citizen. With the right conditions (length of the stay and the reception from their host country), this thin patriotic attachment later converts into a thick patriotic attachment. In this last stage, immigrants show a greater sense of belonging to their host country in the form of a strong emotive affiliation and become actively engaged in the societal and political affairs of their host country, such as political participation.

The framework also has taken into consideration the difference in how immigrants' country of origin factors affects their host country citizenship perceptions across the utilitarian and patriotic stages. It was found that immigrants' utilitarian views towards their host country citizenship are reversibly affected by their views towards their country of origin citizenship. In other words, host utilitarian views were developed in relation to the negative views towards home. However, in the establishment of immigrants' patriotic views towards their host citizenship, a noticeable effect could not be found in their views about their country of origin. Instead, at the patriotic stage, immigrants' views were solely dependent on their host country society factors.

The other most important finding is the inter-relationship the framework suggests between the instrumental and patriotic views. According to the findings, immigrants'

instrumental views and patriotic views contain a causal relationship and therefore must not be considered as mutually exclusive from each other. Although the popular rhetoric of the anti-immigrant discourses indicates that immigrants have selfish motives and they attach only a utilitarian value to their host country citizenship, considering it as a service provider, the article found that the utilitarian relationship to citizenship is the starting point of a longer citizenship journey for immigrants. However, it should be reminded that a limitation of this framework is that it is constructed based on one case – Sri Lankan immigrants in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore, while it can be used to understand various immigrant communities in various host societies, it needs further verification to prove its strengths and weaknesses in the light of other immigrant communities.

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