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Pavithra Jayawardena, *Immigrants' Citizenship Perceptions: Sri Lankans in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand*

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Pavithra Jayawardena, *Immigrants' Citizenship Perceptions: Sri Lankans in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2023), 192pp. Hardback. US\$94.95. ISBN 978-1-4331-8948-7.

This volume offers fresh insights into citizenship through an investigation of the migratory and settlement experiences of Sri Lankans in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. Making use of 49 semi-structured interviews conducted in 2018 and 2019, Jayawardena compares the experiences of both Tamil and Sinhalese Sri Lankans, of the first generation, residing in Melbourne and Sydney as well as Auckland and Wellington.

The strategy of comparing the same groups in different cities and countries is familiar in the migration field. For example, it is deployed in Irene Bloemraad's comparison of Vietnamese refugees and Portuguese immigrants in Boston and Toronto in her now classic 2006 study *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada* (University of California Press) to illuminate similarities and differences in two major North American countries. However, Jayawardena adds a new dimension to this comparative strategy by expressly capturing the instrumental and emotive feelings diverse Sri Lankans hold not only in relation to so-called 'host' country citizenship (in this case Australia or Aotearoa New Zealand) but also in relation to the 'home' country citizenship of Sri Lanka.

The results are contributory at an empirical level. Jayawardena's findings and analysis suggest that overall, for newcomers in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand feelings of patriotic (affective) citizenship are heightened when there are robust instrumental dimensions (rights) associated with citizenship. But notably, what is valued instrumentally can differ. For example, many Tamils who entered as refugees may value the political stability and safety that comes with Australian or Aotearoa New Zealand citizenship, whereas many Sinhalese may value the socioeconomic opportunities and visa free travel that come from these same citizenships. Heightened experiences of overt racism in Australia, as compared to Aotearoa New Zealand, seems to have the consequence of weakening affective elements of citizenship.

Equally striking, Jayawardena finds that while there appears to be a direct relationship between patriotic and instrumental elements of citizenship in the host country, the same is not true for the home country. For example, Tamil minorities from Sri Lanka may not experience robust instrumental rights associated with Sri Lankan citizenship but may still have an affective patriotic attachment to the country of their birth.

This book volume is also rich theoretically. By revealing the complex transnational terrain underpinning both the emotive and instrumental elements of citizenship in 'home' and 'host' countries for diverse Sri Lankans, Jayawardena also offers new insights with broader applicability to the field of migration studies. First, it is problematic that the citizenship literature, including in migration studies, rarely considers the perceptions of newcomers themselves about citizenship, and hence misses theoretical insight. Second, and contra methodological nationalism, confining the study of citizenship to a single state can miss social complexity precisely because it misses transnational social space. Third, and not least, in both politics and scholarship, there might be too much focus on the negative perceptions of the majority towards immigrants and their citizenship attachment, and this obsession may come at the expense of theory building.

Immigrants' Citizenship Perceptions forms one of the latest titles in the Studies in Transnationalism series published by Peter Lang Publishing. Given the series and book's focus on transnationalism, the discursive emphasis by Jayawardena on 'home' and 'host' country/citizenship may be seen as problematic. It is awkward in relation to the idea of transnational social space. Also the home/host distinction is not only jarring to potentially investigating the second and subsequent generations, it also diminishes how perceptions of 'home' may morph even for the first generation. As well, little is said in the volume about how the settler colonial foundations of both Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia, attendant national narratives, and the ongoing relationship of the state with Indigenous peoples in both places, may also implicate citizenship in its affective and instrumental dimensions for newcomers. Notwithstanding these points, this volume is a fine contribution to the literature and deserves a wide audience.

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