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## Jatinder Mann, Redefining Citizenship in Australia, Canada, and Aotearoa New Zealand

## Yasmeen Abu-Laban

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Jatinder Mann, *Redefining Citizenship in Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand* (New York: Peter Lang, 2019), 187pp. Hardback. \$89.95. ISBN 978-1-4331-5108-8.

In this comprehensively researched comparative analysis, Jatinder Mann analyzes the evolution of citizenship in Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand in the three decades following World War Two. As settler colonies, all three countries were forged by repeated waves of immigration, modelled after Britain, and had preexisting Indigenous communities. In contrast to the classic account of citizenship in Britain given by sociologist T. H. Marshall which viewed citizenship as an equalizing force, in the case of the settler colonies the status and rights associated with citizenship differed, being less fulsome for Indigenous peoples and other non-British groups in the 1950s. Indeed, in all three locales distinctions between natural born British subjects and other aliens governed citizenship legislation until the 1970s. Mann's main goal is to trace and explain how in each country a citizenship that was largely defined by Britishness and an ethnic form of belonging gave way by the 1960s and 1970s to one that was more civic and pluralistic.

In investigating what he calls the 'demise of Britishness' (p. 2) from a transnational perspective, Mann draws not only on secondary literature, but an impressive array of archival and primary materials including personal papers of leaders, policy documents, parliamentary debates, and newspaper editorials. Following an introductory overview, stand-alone chapters on each country cover the evolution of citizenship from the 1950s to the 1970s, followed by a chapter highlighting similarities and differences, and a concluding chapter. As Mann skillfully illustrates, the specific explanation for the demise is not exactly the same for Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand as a result of internal (domestic) factors and responses to external (international) factors.

Internally, each country's history as a settler colony was not identical. In Canada there was a large and vocal non-British population of French-Canadians who, as the first European settlers, pushed for more bicultural forms of recognition and autonomy. In the case of Aotearoa New Zealand, the Indigenous Māori were able to gain special representation in the national parliament in the late nineteenth century, unlike Indigenous peoples who were denied the franchise in Canada and Australia until reforms of the 1960s. Aotearoa New Zealand's unitary nature and a more centralized form of federalism in Australia also made changes somewhat easier to orchestrate than in Canada with its decentralized federal system.

Responses to external factors also differed. Canadian leaders in the governing Liberal party were critical of Britain's aggression in the 1956 Suez Crisis, staking out a position that allowed Canada to center United Nations peacekeeping in its foreign policy, and 'marking the beginning of the unravelling of Britishness in Canada' (p. 141). For Australia, and particularly Aotearoa New Zealand, unravelling began with Britain's failed attempt to join the then European Economic Community (EEC) in 1961 because this was a major signal that their trade relations and economic ties were about to weaken with Britain. For Canada, this attempt carried different implications since the country's trade had decidedly shifted to the United States after 1945.

Mann does a fine job of illuminating and explaining the various legislative changes that have affected citizenship as a status and as a set of rights in Australia, Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand. However, another understanding of citizenship underscores issues of belonging, and here it is arguably less clear that we can talk

about the 'demise of Britishness' in light of the tenacity of English as the dominant language, whiteness as a form of racialized privilege, and still lingering forms of cultural capital associated with Britain in all three countries. Such themes can be tapped into by politicians and policy, as seen for example in Canada's current citizenship guide of 2012 given to newcomers in advance of the citizenship test. Introduced by the government of former Prime Minister Stephen Harper, this guide, *Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Canadian Citizenship*, emphasizes Canadian history in relation to the military, the British empire, and the monarchy (as opposed to treaties with Indigenous peoples, social history, or cultural pluralism).

Notwithstanding this observation relating to citizenship and belonging, the richly detailed discussion provided in Mann's compelling comparative account of citizenship as a status and set of rights will be of wide interest to scholars of history, political science, and sociology. It will also be of interest to those doing work in the multidisciplinary areas of citizenship studies, migration studies, Indigeneity, and settler colonial studies.

Yasmeen Abu-Laban, University of Alberta