Seeking Shangri-La in Sri Lanka: Return as Retirement Migration and the Negotiation of Transnational Citizenship.

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1. Introduction

> "You know my dream was to have a house by the lake in Kandy with my old faithful servant Carolis and his wife Soma looking after me and occupying part of the house. [He would ask me] 'Sir, what would you like for breakfast? Would you like string hoppers [a time-consuming breakfast to prepare]? That would be lovely! Then Carolis would say 'Are you going to Colombo? Shall I get the car? You sit there like a lord. Ah now that would have been a perfect life! A really perfect life, my Shangri-La!
>
> - Sarath (male/70/British citizen/RI)

The elite and idyllic picture of retirement imagined by Sarath is similar to the ideal retirement that many returning retirement migrants (RRMs henceforth) chose to create for themselves in Sri Lanka. In the paper I interrogate the notion of ideal retirement and to what extent retired migrants negotiate permanent or circular migration to their natal country and their transnational citizenship to achieve these retirement aspirations.

Thus, I draw attention to a less examined category of migrants within both the return and retirement migration scholarship, viz. skilled immigrants from the global South to the global North who return to their natal country for retirement. These retired migrants are relatively wealthy transnational migrants who have worked and raised families in the settled country but decide to return for retirement to their natal country, which offers a lower cost of living and represents emotional attachments. Notably, since these migrants lay claim to two countries through either dual citizenship or citizenship in one country and permanent residency in the other, these retired migrants do have the option of retiring in the immigrant country. The predominant focus of transnational retirement migration literature is on retirement migrants who leave their natal country to settle in new destinations or former holiday locations (King et al, 2000; Casado-Díaz, 2006; Thang et al, 2012). In comparison, this group of migrants offer a more complex scenario of retirement migration since their attachments to the natal and settled countries have been nurtured over long periods of time due to their overlapping membership, the presence of family, and social networks in both countries. These migrants' transnational citizenship also contributes to the key debate within the scholarship on citizenship and migration which interrogates the manner that states ought to incorporate its citizens that maintain linkages

with another nation-state (Bauböck, 1994; 2009; Blatter, 2011). The study on retirement migration as return enables an understanding on how retired migrants negotiate their notions of identity, their right to claim rights and their sense of duty in relation to their natal and settled countries.

Thus the paper will explicate on how 60 retired migrants manipulate their access to welfare benefits and care in both Sri Lanka and United Kingdom, and how these negotiations change as their level of frailty and care needs increase. Thus, by extending the concept of transnational citizenship (Bauböck, 1994) to the study of retirement migrants and governments of ageing societies I interrogate how notions of rights, duties and identity are manipulated by the former to create an ideal retirement and the latter to reduce the burden of an increasing ageing population. The paper draws from dual-sited qualitative interviews that were conducted in Sri Lanka and the UK in 2014 as part of a PhD research project. While the research broadly focuses on return as retirement migrants, to understand the multiple trajectories of retirement the study incorporates migrants who are RRMs (14), circular migrants (CMs henceforth) who maintain households and reside for long periods in both Sri Lanka and the UK (24) and retired immigrants (RIs) who have decided to retire in UK and make short visits to Sri Lanka (22). As a prelude to my argument, the following section will review the overlapping scholarship on return and retirement migration while emphasising on its links to transnational citizenship.

2. Contextualizing Return as Retirement Migration

The 'transnationalisation' of migration studies, which recognizes that migrants lead transnational lives that stretch across two or more nations, has led to a resurgence of interest in return migration (Cassarino, 2004). The existing literature on elderly return migrants represents a stereotypical view of labour migrants who entered Europe under the colonial regime and the subsequent guest worker programmes whose working capacity has ceased and are compelled to return to their natal countries for retirement and while some studies highlight the potential care burden they pose to receiving states (Hunter, 2011; Sinatti, 2011). This view tends to overlook the presence of elderly skilled migrants who gained citizenship in the country of immigration and chose to retire to their natal country on their own volition as a lifestyle choice.

Elderly return migrants are a diverse group that also includes highly-skilled migrants who generally return from the global South to their home country in the global North for more comfortable lifestyles and better healthcare (Warnes and Williams, 2006; Warnes, 2009). Nevertheless, the literature tends to overlook the case of highly-skilled immigrants from the global South due to two biases, first the assumption that highly-skilled migrants are from the global South do not "return" home and second that returning migrants to the global South are largely male, low-income, labour migrants with family living in the natal country (De Bree et al,

2010). Unlike the labour migrants' whose presence of immediate family in the natal country is a key motive for retirement migration as return (Coulon and Wolff, 2006; Warnes and Williams, 2006), this group of retirees' adult children are settled in the host country and tend to be professionals maintaining comfortable lifestyles (Ramji, 2006). However, this is not to indicate that labour migrants do not have family settled in the host country, but there is little consensus on how this impacts their mobility (Bolzman et al, 2006).

While retirement migration is largely conceived as a lifestyle choice and as "inherently a product of Western individualism" (Benson, 2011:224), recent retirement migration trends have rebutted this position through research on retirees who move due to difficult circumstances such as inadequate pensions, expensive later-life care and unsustainable family care (Toyota, 2006; Thang et al, 2012). Further, recent work emphasise the retirees' pendulum lives and how they manipulate their resources in two countries to create an ideal retirement (Toyota, 2006; Gustafson, 2008; Toyota and Xiang, 2012). The transnational migration scholarship has also observed the contradictions of 'lived' and 'desired' home (Clifford, 1994; Tsuda, 2009), and how positive portrayals of migrant destinations influence these movements. As noted by Tsuda (2009) in the context of the ancestral return of Brazilians to Japan, these migrations are motivated by the vision of a better life, which are not fulfilled due to their restricted immigrant status and difficult living conditions. Similarly, retirement migration is prompted by an imagination that is fed by favourable depictions of idyllic lifestyles (Benson, 2011; 2012). Indeed, studies have noted incidents where expectations of ideal retirement have failed due to issues of integration, language barriers and inadequate eldercare services (Toyota, 2006; Howard, 2008). Presently the key concerns within both the elderly return migration and retirement migration scholarship are the deciding factors for the migrants' back and forth movements and their issues of integration (Warnes, 2009; Hunter, 2011). In comparison, lesser attention is given to how these migrants consciously utilize their citizenship benefits to create an ideal retirement.

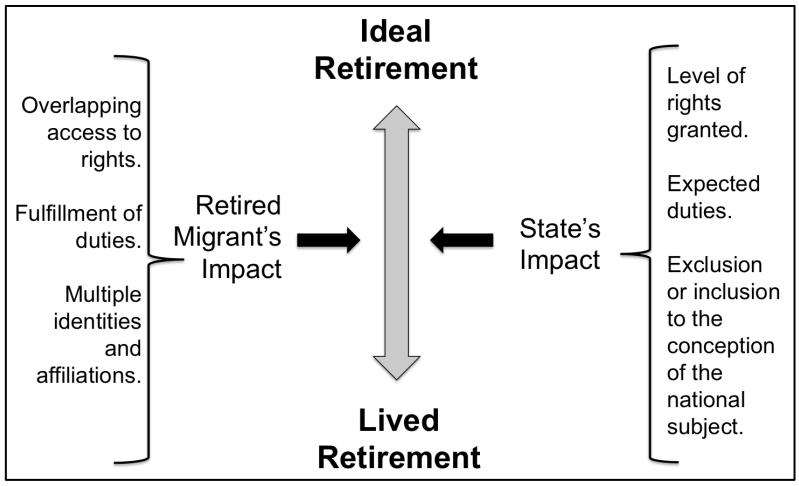
Citizenship is typically considered a set of rights and duties, which recognizes a person's membership in a political community (Kofman, 1995; Bauböck, 2009, Ho, 2008). However, considering migrants with affiliations to two nations problematizes the three fundamental axes of citizenship; the boundaries of their membership to each state, the allocation of benefits and responsibilities linked to the citizenship status, and how migrants' identities should be positioned within the notion of the national subject (Isin and Turner, 2002; Bloemraad, 2004). In comparison to the vast scholarship on citizenship issues of immigrants, citizenship in relation to return migration is less examined. Notably, the existing literature emphasises the manner in which state discourses shape return migrants' citizenship status and entitlements (Ho, 2011; Tsuda, 2009). A few studies highlight the construction of elderly return migrants as a welfare

burden on the state (Böcker and Balkir, 2012; Sun, 2014), while greater emphasis is on how these migrants' movements are shaped by host country regulations regarding period of residence, access to welfare and pensions, most which are restrictive and aim at discouraging labour migrants from retiring in the host country (Bolzman et al, 2006; Ganga, 2006).

In comparison, work on retirement migrants has a narrower scope with its focus on transnational retirees within the European Union and how their residence and citizenship status limits access to social protection (Ackers and Dwyer 2004; Böcker and Balkir, 2012). Through the concept of 'senior citizenship' Ackers' (2004:374) highlights that the EU citizenship entitlement policies which are based on a "'male breadwinner' model of family relations and migration behaviour" places elderly citizens in a vulnerable position by forcing them to negotiate between restricting their access to benefits or living in isolation without familial caregivers. Sun's (2014) work is among the few studies that examine the manner elderly return migrants have to contend with moral discourses and negative perceptions perpetuated by the natal society regarding their claims to state welfare despite being dual citizens. While these studies illuminate the citizenship issues of retirement and return migrants, there is scope for further research particularly in the context of transnational retirement migration from the global North to the global South.

3. Theoretical Framework

Considering the objectives of the study I construct a framework (see Figure 1), which is aimed at interrogating how the retired migrant's and the retiring state's notions of transnational citizenship coalesce to shape retirement circumstances.



[Figure 1: Theoretical Framework]

I employ the notion of ideal retirement as the broad framing of the paper and apply it to illuminate on the manner that the gap between ideal retirement and lived retirement is widened or reduced through a negotiation of the retired migrant's aspirations and the retiring state's policies, which are shaped by the migrants' transnational citizenship.

Transnational citizenship comprises of the migrants' rights, duties and identity in relation to their overlapping membership in two nation-states (Bauböck, 2006). Thus, I posit that the retirement migrants' aspirations are conditioned by their ability to manipulate the merits and demerits of their membership in two countries. Through the theoretical framework, I consider how the state rationalizes the retired migrants' entitlements, the expected duties and the extent to which the retired migrants are included in the notion of the national subject. I then extend these arguments to examine the manner in which the retired migrants articulate their right to claim rights, their fulfillment of obligations towards their natal and settled countries and their sense of belonging to these two countries during the retirement decision-making process and along the course of their retirement. The framework also considers how these negotiations changes over time, particularly as the retired migrants reach frailty and their notions of ideal retirement change. I contend that the changing state policies, societal perceptions, the retired migrants' level of adaption, and their changing families circumstances in the natal and settled countries also create an in flux situation of transnational retirement.

4. Study Context

The opportunity for large proportions of Sri Lankans to emigrate occurred due to favourable UK immigration policies implemented in the 1950s-60s and was catalysed by difficult circumstances in Sri Lanka such as unemployment and economic recession (Korale, 2004). While better economic opportunities in the UK have attracted Sri Lankans, the civil war that began in 1983 and ended in May 2009 also influenced out-migration. Thus, the earlier immigrants of the 1950s to the 1970s were mainly highly skilled professionals such as doctors, dentists and lawyers, since the mid-1980s the flow of Sri Lankan migrants have diversified to include a broader range of skill levels (Degalle, 2013).

Although these migrants have achieved upward economic mobility and lead more luxurious lives than they would in Sri Lanka, from the perspective of the Sri Lankan state, the continued skilled migration results in a loss of investments made by the state in terms of education (Wickramasekara, 2013). Since independence in 1948 the state has provided free education from primary to tertiary level in order remove the inequality in access that existed along class and gender. Thus, the brain drain created through continued skilled migration has led to prevalent discourses regarding the migrants' lack of patriotism and their failure to repay their debt to their motherland for the free education they received (Wijewardana, 2013). Despite the

state's perspective that its immigrants have made minimal contribution to Sri Lanka, these transmigrants do engage in the development of their natal country. However, these transnational flows of support are in the form of charity activities largely through non-state actors such as school or villages associations and have been particularly for post-tsunami and post-war reconstruction (Deegalle, 2013; Gunaratne, 2014). The notable lack of collaboration with the state has been attributed to limitations posed by excessive bureaucracy and distrust due to experiences of mismanaged funds, the intended recipients not receiving the benefits on time or the lack of follow up after contributions were made (Deshingkar and Aheeyar, 2006; Wijeratne, 2013).

Within this context, these skilled migrants decision to return to their natal country has raised concerns regarding their motives for return and the care burden they may pose, since in 2013 Sri Lanka's ageing population stood at 12.5% (United Nations, 2013). A return to Sri Lanka for retirement is both an attractive option since Sri Lanka as a welfare state offers public health care free of charge. While research on Sri Lankan retirement migrants is rare, the media has noted their presence. Asserting the case of these retirement migrants, the media highlight that "many such pensioners' nostalgic dream would be to return to their own roots and live in tranquillity" and emphasizes that their foreign pensions would be channelled to Sri Lanka (Fernando, 2013). Emphasising that the retirement migrants would not be a burden touches at the underlying tensions regarding their possible reliance on Sri Lanka's free healthcare system, particularly since they are already viewed as individuals who benefitted from the free education system but went abroad during their prime working years to a foreign country (Gunaratne, 2014).

Indeed, access to dual citizenship is crucial to creating this ideal retirement, since it affects their access to property, welfare benefits and ease of travel. However, the temporary suspension of dual citizenship due to national security concerns and fraudulent claims from 2011 to January, 2015, raised debates about the state's expectations' of its dual nationals. Dual citizenship was introduced to Sri Lankans in 1987 for a token amount of Rs. 5000 (approx. US$40) and are eligible for all the benefits and social welfare offered in Sri Lanka (Kodagoda, 2012). In 1993, the first amendment to dual citizenship fees was triggered due to information provided by the Sri Lanka High Commissioner in the UK that the affluent expatriates made no contribution to their natal country, which resulted in an overnight increase of the dual nationality fee by 2,000 per cent to Rs. 100,000 [approx. US$750] (Fernando, 2013). Subsequent governments have steadily increased the fees where in January 2015 the amount stood at Rs.250,000 [approx. US$1870]. Recently, retired immigrants have expressed their displeasure regarding the increasing fees and explained that those who are approaching retirement have only Sri Lankan qualifications and thus modest earnings in comparison to the foreign-educated later generations of the Sri Lankan diaspora and that even their foreign pension

may not suffice, which gives credence to the perception that these retirement migrants are a potential burden on the state (Silva, 2012). However, the state officials are aware that retired migrants who tend to lead elite lifestyle in Sri Lanka would prefer private health care and have access to free health care in their settled countries (DCG, personal communication, June 12, 2015).

In the next section I focus on two key elements of transnational retirement, first the retirement lifestyle, which includes the migrants' notions of ideal retirement homes and recreation. The second section examines how retired migrants' construct ideal care and how care issues complicate the imagined retirement.

5. Creating the Ideal Retirement Lifestyle

The return for retirement and circular migration of the elderly in my study mirrored much of trends observed within the broader retirement migration scholarship; key motivations for transnational retirement were such as the climate, recreational opportunities, cost of living and the housing market (Truly, 2002; Croucher, 2012). Although presence of extended family members has motivated a return to the natal country (Ramji, 2006), for the majority of respondents it was not considered a deciding factor for relocation. In contrast, the care obligations to their adult-children and grand children in the UK did determine the whether the respondents opted for a relocation to Sri Lanka or to engage in circular migration by maintaining two households in both countries. Similar to Sarath (male/70/British citizen/RI) (mentioned in the introduction), the majority of respondents conceived their ideal retirement lifestyle as being luxurious. For instance, Sobini (female/67/dual citizen/CM) explained "I like travelling, I enjoy comforts, luxury holidays, staying in nice hotels." Further the respondents emphasised that their UK-pensions and savings provide them with comforts and services that are less accessible in the UK, as elaborated by Savani (female/58/dual citizen/CM),

> Whenever we have a party or something, we can get extra help. Unlike in England, there is the cleaning, washing and the cooking and all that is a huge load of work. So this is a huge difference for us. That is quite nice, I know its very superficial but the quality of life is nicer for us.

Moreover, the migrants' ability to own and maintain a house in Sri Lanka, was key factor in determining the nature of their retirement and the manner the respondents negotiated their transnational citizenship. The housing choices reflected the respondents' elite lifestyle and the social mobility that they achieved through the wealth they acquired in the UK. The majority of respondents (63%) built their houses in gated communities located in the suburbs of the country's capital or in other suburbs of Colombo. 16% of them resided in expensive condominiums in the centre of Colombo. Relatively, few migrants (21%) chose modest

neighbourhoods or renovated their ancestral homes. Indeed, several respondents sought to build their houses in Sri Lanka according to the architecture and décor of their UK homes, as explained by Sobini (female/67/dual citizen/CM):

> If you look at the houses around, none of them are like ours. We replicated the designed as much as possible. One of the things is our large back porch, for entertaining.

A few recreated certain aspects of the their UK life that they missed while living in Sri Lanka, for instance, Nilika (female/60/dual citizen/RRM) showed me a room that they had fashioned as an English Pub, which she explained as "our piece of UK in Sri Lanka."

The majority of respondents started planning their retirement during their working years, particularly about five years before retirement, and building a house or buying an apartment in Sri Lanka was considered a key step in realising the desired retirement. Although several of the respondents (21%) had received dual citizenship at the early stages of their migrant lives, this juncture influenced most respondents to regain their Sri Lankan citizenship, which they had forfeited when obtaining British citizenship. As voiced by Channa (male/61/dual citizen/CM), holding dual citizenship is advantageous because it exempts them from paying 100 per cent taxation for the properties they own, "Oh yes!. We couldn't build here if we were not dual nationals." In comparison, Sri Lankan citizens are only expected to pay a 4% stamp duty during the purchase of any property (Lanka Real Estate, n.d.). Thus, while many respondents did construct their desire to return to Sri Lanka along the lines of nostalgia, the decision to gain dual citizenship closer to their retirement age was due to its practical benefits. Indeed, state is aware of this trend, which has been recognized as a "hidden benefit" for the senior citizen category of the dual citizenship scheme (DCG, personal communication, June 12, 2015). Further as elaborated by Sarath (male/70/dual citizen/RI), the temporary suspension of dual citizenship resulted in many retired immigrants abandoning their dream of retiring in Sri Lanka, and opting to reside with extended family,

> "I think if I had to relive my life again, I probably would have applied for it [dual citizenship] and I probably would have gotten an apartment in Colombo where I can stay. But now it's too late. I have to stay with friends or siblings. They always welcome me, but it would be nice to have an apartment and then invite my friends to go to Sri Lanka and say that you can stay in my apartment.

In addition, several respondents were able to circumvent the issue of not being a Sri Lankan citizen by gaining land as inheritance, and relying on extended family members to oversee the construction of their houses.

Apart from the manipulation of dual citizenship rights, the multiple identities these elderly migrants straddle shape their retirement experiences in Sri Lanka. Due to these RRMs and CMs

affiliations to two countries, they face exclusion in terms of how their identities should be positioned within the notion of the national subject (Isin and Turner, 2002; Bloemraad, 2004). Similar to international retirement migrants, since these respondents represent privilege they have less incentive to integrate into the broader society of the country they reside in (King et al, 2000; Howard, 2008). This is not to indicate that the respondents do not incorporate, but to highlight the nuances within their conscious decisions to (not) integrate and how they perceive it to reflect through their identities, such as the "colonial set" (King et al, 2000:144-45). For instance, a few such as David (male/60/dual citizen/RRM) conveyed great pride in their links to the UK and chose to magnify it while in Sri Lanka, "When I'm in UK I am British, when I am in Sri Lanka I am very British." Indeed, when discussing their identity in relation to Sri Lankan society the majority acknowledged that due to living in the UK for nearly 30 years their perceptions and everyday lives are foreign to the wider Sri Lankan society, e.g. playing golf. However, similar to Enoka (female/76/RRM) a large proportion of respondents expressed their disappointment at not been accepted as a Sri Lankan,

> I still haven't been accepted; I have been here for 7 years. The few shops that I go to, they know that I have been leaving abroad. Others they look at me like I am an alien. I never look up, because I don't like that look they give me. I never had that problem when I went to England.

While the pressures to conform to the dominant notion of the Sri Lankan identity is exerted by society, it is a reflection of the state's ideals of the national subject (Ahmed, 2004). These notions of national subject are created through discourses such as loyalty to the country or gratitude for the benefits Sri Lanka has offered its citizens. Thus, these migrants have had to contend with the societal expectations of their automatic integration (see Ramji, 2006; De Bree et al, 2010).

Thus, I posit that the perceived failure of the respondents to fulfil their duties as Sri Lankan citizens also underlie their sense of exclusion. As explained by Blatter (2011:782) some migrant-sending countries such as Sri Lanka adopt "protective communitarian" arguments of natural and cultural bonds, which initially lead to the construction of immigrants as traitors based on ideals of "exclusive-loyalty". While due to a policy change to engage with immigrants to attract remittances and investments, these countries offer dual citizenship based on a "developmental communitarianism" approach, which holds that "partial loyalty and solidarity is preferable to no loyalty and solidarity". Both these approaches emphasize the citizens' duty to contribute to the country's development and this expectation is reiterated by the Sri Lankan state rhetoric.

As such, many respondents engage in charity work and development activities in Sri Lanka before and during retirement. Although engagement in these activities in Sri Lanka is not a

prerequisite to obtain dual citizenship, their contributions are noted during the approval process (DCG, personal communication, June 12, 2015). The obligation to engage in charity work is heightened by the fact that these respondents benefitted from the free education in Sri Lanka. As expressed by Sarath (male/70/RI) it created a sense of guilt among most respondents,

> I get a sense they [the Sri Lankan state and society] are reticent about people who have come from abroad. I think they look at us like deserters. I get this feeling of guilt every time I go home. How many countries in the world can you become a doctor without paying a red cent?

Thus, many migrants also constructed ideal retirement as an opportunity to give back to Sri Lanka by offering their professional expertise or by engaging in charity work. While the above factors have been crucial in fulfilling elderly migrants' retirement aspirations, their care needs determine how long ideal retirement can be maintained. In the following section I interrogate how the respondents' evolving health care needs impact their retirement plans and how their transnational citizenship is manipulated to address these issues.

6. Compromising Comfort for Care

The level that the retired migrants considered their future care needs when planning for retirement depended on their age at the decision-making stage. As voiced by Malitha (female/74/dual citizen/RRM), most respondents had focused on the achieving their retirement aspirations and overlooked how future care issues would alter them,

> You don't think 16 years hence, you know. When I came here, I was 16 years younger and now I'm thinking my children are there, so I want to go back. It's because of the property only I came…I always had a dream of building a house, this is the dream.

A few respondents who decided to relocate to Sri Lanka in their 70s reside near their extended family, with the intention of seeking their care when they require it. Similar to most retired immigrants in developed countries, the nearly all of the RIs I spoke with contemplated return but were deterred by the relative lack of eldercare services in the natal country when compared with the settled country (Ganga, 2006; Klinthäll, 2006). However, many respondents romanticized the informal care systems in Sri Lanka where relatives supported the immediate family of the ailing person, neighbors are quick to provide assistance during an emergency and private nursing care is cheap and easy to find.

As the migrants gradually reach frailty many tend to rethink their retirement plans and care options. Similar to their negotiations related to lifestyle choices, the respondents' access to care benefits in both Sri Lanka and UK through their dual citizenship impacts these decisions. Despite the state rhetoric of retirement migrants being a burden on the state, none of the respondents considered the free health care system offered in Sri Lanka an asset. As voiced by

Malitha (female/74/dual citizen/RRM), many respondents explained that when they are relatively healthy despite the high costs they would consult private physicians in Sri Lanka,

> I prefer to live there (in England) for the simple reason that the state gives free medical facilities. I went to the doctor this morning because of a nasal illness. I paid Rs.300 (approx. US$2.50) to the doctor, Rs.600 (approx. US$5) for the drugs, and Rs.1000 (approx. US$8) gone. That is without any serious illness. If I was living in England all those are free. So if I have to go for a big operation I'd be paying lakhs [ten thousands] and lakhs whereas everything is free there.

Indeed, most migrants rationalize that in a case of serious ailments they would return to the UK to rely on its free health care service, known as the National Health Service (NHS), which they are entitled to as British citizens. However, similar to most retirement destinations in the global South, Sri Lanka's private healthcare system is relatively cheap for retirees who receive pensions from the global North (Howard, 2008; Thang et al, 2012). Thus, I argue that the migrants' notion of private health care being expensive in Sri Lanka is constructed in relation to their access to free health care in both countries.

These RRMs and CMs are also aware that the Sri Lankan government constructs them as a possible care burden on the state, which a large proportion contradict on the grounds that they have no desire to utilize the free health care service due to its inferior quality. As voiced by Victoria (female/69/dual citizen/CM),

> I think the government needs to do something about the medical setup. The poor people and the elderly are left behind here. Big time! I wouldn't go to a government hospital. Thank God! I worked all those many years and I am able to do what I may have to do.

Others argue that despite not requiring the free health care, they have done their duty to the Sri Lankan state by either serving their work bond prior to leaving Sri Lanka, working intermittently in Sri Lanka during their working years or by contributing heavily to charities and development projects in Sri Lanka over the years. Indeed, these rationalizations fall in line with the 'logics of social rights' that Sun (2014) has identified as justification given by Taiwanese elderly return migrants to defend their right to state-benefits. For some dual citizens health crises served as a juncture to weight the care benefits and quality of care offered in both countries. Prasad's (male/67/dual citizen/RRM) experience of undergoing a heart surgery illustrates this point. After being diagnosed of a heart condition, his first choice was to fly to UK to do the operation. However, he also consulted with friends in the UK and two persons with a similar heart condition, who gave him negative feedback about the NHS and informed him of an incident of misdiagnosis. Thus, Prasad opted to do his surgery in Sri Lanka, which was a success and without complications. While I recognize that Prasad's case is not representative of

the respondents' care experiences, it reveals the fluid nature of the care decisions and how these migrants consistently deliberate on the most advantageous care situation between Sri Lanka and the UK.

Thus, increasing frailty and health problems signals a change in the elderly migrants' retirement lifestyle. For most circular migrants such as Ganga (female/72/dual citizen/CM) it reduced the time they were able to spent in Sri Lanka and created a sense of uncertainly to their mobility patterns,

> For years I spent 6 months in Sri Lanka, but with this osteoarthritis kicking up again, I have to see the doctor every month. So this time the holiday is very short. But he (the doctor) said that with a small surgery it can be fixed, so maybe next year our stay (in Sri Lanka) will be longer.

However, most RRMs with greater frailty planned for a relocation to seek ideal care. Some elderly returnees explained that living in Sri Lanka has made it apparent that the idealized presence of caring relatives has changed due to the modern and busy life styles. Thus, a few respondents with adult children in the UK such as Malitha (female/74/dual citizen/RRM) intend to move to the UK. In her words,

> My children are there (in England), so I want to go back. In fact I bought a bungalow there, near my daughter. So when I get to my 80s I can be near them. They can pop around and see if I am still breathing (laughs).

A few such as Nilmini (female/70/dual citizen/RRM) rationalized that when they face greater frailty they would shift to a nursing home in Sri Lanka. Based on her experiences of working in nursing homes in the UK, she explained that residing in a nursing home in Sri Lanka is better than living in one in the UK since they would not face racism and the nursing home charges are cheaper in Sri Lanka.

7. Conclusion

Despite the vast scholarship on ageing and transnational migration, the scholarship on retirement migrants and their transnational citizenship remains less explored. In the paper I explicated on a less examined form of first-generation 'return to the homeland' and broadened the meaning of 'retirement migration' in terms of intentions and temporalities. Given these retired migrants membership in two nations states, I interrogated the manner they negotiate their citizenship entitlements, duties and sense of belonging to two countries to fulfill their retirement aspirations. By juxtaposing these negotiations with the retiring state's expectations of their transnational citizens, I revealed how these disjunctions impact upon the lived experience of retirement.

Through the experiences of the retired migrants I assert that a return to the natal country is prompted mainly because it offers many avenues to realize the aspired retirement lifestyle. Indeed, the tendency for a large proportion of respondents to gain dual citizenship towards the latter stage of their working years indicates their intention to capitalize on citizenship entitlements such as access to cheaper properties and services than those offered in the UK. However, state interventions such as the temporary closure of dual citizenship disrupted many migrants' expectations of retiring in Sri Lanka. Since the receipt of rights is dependent on the citizens' fulfillment of their duties, the Sri Lankan government through state rhetoric and high dual citizenship fees has conveyed its expectation of the retirement migrant's prior or present involvement in the country's development. Alternatively, since the retired migrants seek to integrate into the natal country, albeit in varying degree, many convey their intention to fulfill their duty by engaging in charity work which is also constructed a part of their ideal retirement. Further, I assert that achieving ideal retirement is a fluid process since with the retired migrants' evolving health needs, the citizenship benefits Sri Lanka and the UK can offer would vary. Thus I assert that the ideal retirement of elite, comfortable lifestyle and good quality health care in Sri Lanka is rarely achieved and one aspect tends to be compromised in these respondents' lived experiences of retirement.

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