Making British citizens: the role of citizenship ceremonies and tests in integration and belonging

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Abstract

Political concerns over the effects of increased ethnic and religious diversity have sparked a growing interest in citizenship as a cohesive social force in society. A new civic integration agenda has emerged, with many countries legislating additional requirements for immigrant settlement. In the UK, the New Labour government introduced citizenship ceremonies and tests, which aimed to integrate migrants and encourage active participation in society. However, since their conception in 2002, there has been little research on new citizens' experiences of these measures and the social impact of this policy. This thesis examines the geographies of citizenship ceremonies and tests, exploring the implications for aiding integration and developing a sense of national and local belonging. It draws on results from empirical research in Yorkshire and the Humber with a diverse range of new citizens, supplemented by interviews with state agents and observations of the naturalisation process. I argue that the securitisation of migration has increasingly been applied to the citizenship process, leading to remarkable similarities between the experiences of migrants from a variety of backgrounds. This is analysed through the lens of countertopography, which aims to connect places and social locations through common processes, critiquing the categorisation of migrant groups in migration studies. The ritualisation of citizenship in the ceremonies certainly appeared to create positive enduring feelings of belonging. However, I contend that the formulaic Life in the UK test is unlikely to foster integration. Whilst naturalisation measures are increasingly used as a tool to identify migrants who will assimilate, these disregard everyday acculturation. The contrast of top-down, ritualised prescriptions of citizenship, identity and belonging with lived, everyday interpretations of these concepts, improve our understanding. We can thus see more clearly how transnational citizenship regimes both condition the experiences of, and are actively constructed by, citizens.

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Chapter 1   Introduction

1.1   Citizenship for modern times

"He who has the power to take part in the deliberative or judicial administration of any state is said by us to be a citizen of that state; and, speaking generally, a state is a body of citizens sufficing for the purposes of life." (Aristotle/Jowett, 1977, 1275b19-21)

Citizenship has been a salient concept since it was first defined by Ancient Greek philosophers almost two and a half thousand years ago. Whilst its application has changed over time and space, many of the central tenets remain. According to Aristotle, citizenship is primarily concerned with the relationship between a state and its citizens. It is based on a set of rights and responsibilities which bind state and citizen together, creating the foundations of society. Aristotle's model was based on a city-state, and excluded many groups including women and slaves. Citizenship has more recently been associated with the nation-state, gradually expanding to formally include a wider range of individuals. However, in the last century processes of globalisation have led to the formation of transnational identities and supranational political organisations, contesting the idea of the nation-state as the sole locus of citizenship and belonging. Although some theorists have advocated the idea of a global citizenship superseding national borders, there are currently limited structures to support this. My thesis therefore examines the relationships between what continue to be the principle agents of citizenship – states, citizens and society. It demonstrates the relevance of this ancient concept in influencing individual opportunity and defining the nature of the nation-state. It builds on the body of existing literature, contributing theoretical and empirical insights by examining the creation of new citizens.

The citizen is defined by its opposite, the 'non-citizen', who is traditionally located outside the boundaries of the state. In an age of international migration, many people have moved to countries where they are not a citizen, challenging the conventional link between citizenship, territory and identity (Ernste et al., 2009). This has led to increasing pressure on both academics and politicians to define the meaning of citizenship for current times. Attention has frequently turned to the non-citizen, in this case the migrant, who resides within state territory but lacks full recognition as a citizen. Whilst for most, citizenship is a birthright passed down automatically by right of ancestry or residency; migrants may only gain citizenship of their host country by becoming naturalised. Naturalisation, literally meaning 'to make natural', creates a paradox; if a person moves in as an outsider, how can they ever be considered 'native'? Nonetheless, it has become an important way of reconstructing ideas of national citizenship and identity (Honig, 1998, Suvarierol, 2012). Naturalisation procedures vary by country, but in line with anti-immigrant rhetoric and the tightening of border controls have become increasingly onerous. Many Western states now require immigrants to fulfil a minimum residency requirement, pass a language and knowledge test and attend a ceremony to become a citizen. While research has looked at individual components of naturalisation it has rarely considered the whole process. My study addresses this by exploring the journeys of migrants from point of arrival to acquisition of citizenship, documenting similarities and divergences between their experiences.

This thesis focuses on citizenship in the UK, which was the first European country to introduce citizenship ceremonies, and one of the first to bring in a formal civic knowledge test. The radical overhaul of the naturalisation process followed on from the events of 2001, including 9/11 and in particular the 'race riots' in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham. Investigations into the causes of the riots, most notably the Cantle Report (2001), blamed them on segregated communities leading 'parallel lives'. Subsequent speeches by then Home Secretary David Blunkett (2001, 2002, 2004) talked of a lack of 'shared values' which was undermining 'social cohesion' in communities. This has been described as a 'crisis of multiculturalism', with previous multiculturalist policies seen as failing to respond to the challenges

of increased diversity (Back et al., 2002, Rex and Singh, 2003, Joppke, 2004). The remedy was to create a stronger sense of citizenship grounded in a collective political community, where individuals were engaged as active citizens. Although the disturbances originated in British-born Asian and white working class communities, and some commentators questioned whether race was the underlying cause (Farrar, 2002, Amin, 2003), successive policies were predominantly targeted at new migrants. The Labour government's community cohesion agenda was influenced further by unfolding events such as the 7/7 London bombings, 'A8' migration and the Iraq war. This research adds to current academic and policy debates by exploring the role of citizenship ceremonies and tests, a relatively recent initiative that seeks to address political concerns.

Citizenship ceremonies and tests were first proposed in the 2002 White Paper, *'Secure borders, safe haven'* (Home Office, 2002). This was inspired by 'traditional' countries of immigration such as the US, Canada and Australia, who have long histories of ceremonies and language/knowledge tests. Alongside pledges to strengthen border controls, the paper outlined measures to instil the "value and significance" (p.29) of British citizenship, implying that new citizens would otherwise lack this. The introduction of language and civic knowledge tests would "strengthen the ability of new citizens to participate in society and engage actively in our democracy" (p.29). Meanwhile citizenship ceremonies were designed to celebrate the acquisition of citizenship whilst enhancing its meanings. Many academics have been heavily critical of this document, claiming that it is assimilationist and harmful for migrants (Back et al., 2002, Squire, 2005, Worley, 2005). However, migrants themselves have rarely been consulted on citizenship debates. My research engages new citizens to examine whether naturalisation measures can fulfil their original stated objectives: developing "a sense of belonging, an identity and shared mutual understanding" (Home Office, p.28) and "achieving integration into our society" (p.32).

Using the same concepts articulated by the government – integration and belonging – to critically interrogate naturalisation policy creates a number of

issues. Integration in particular is a contested term that has become increasingly politicised. It has been challenged by a number of academics, with Worley describing the New Labour government's approach as "a discourse of assimilation, within a framework of integration" (2005, p.489). Belonging meanwhile may create a notion of positive identifications and inclusion, masking exclusion and discrimination. Critiquing the rhetoric used by the government while employing similar language myself is potentially challenging. Nonetheless, integration and belonging have been debated in academia long before they became politically heated terms. Throughout the thesis I will draw on the contested nature of these concepts, presenting alternatives to the top-down models prescribed by politicians. In order to fully understand the mechanics of the citizenship process, I believe that it is important to engage with the language used by policy makers and new citizens alike, reclaiming the meanings of terms which have often been narrowly defined and targeted towards particular groups and purposes.

To understand the nature of the debate, it is important to examine changing immigration legislation. The new citizenship agenda was introduced by a Labour government intent on strengthening border controls, passing six immigration bills during their thirteen years in power. These initially focused on asylum, but broadened to include economic migrants; the introduction of the Points Based System in 2008 effectively eliminated authorised immigration of unskilled migrants from outside the EU. Introducing new naturalisation measures could therefore be considered another part of the strategy to separate 'deserving' migrants from 'undeserving' migrants (cf. Sales, 2002, Anderson, 2012). This was evident in the 2008 Green Paper, *'The path to citizenship'*, which coined 'probationary citizenship', based on "earning the right to stay" (Home Office, 2008, p.12) by demonstrating active citizenship and economic contribution over a period of time. Although the incoming Coalition government abolished these plans, their introduction of legislation severely restricting economic and family migration, combined with tougher requirements for naturalisation, suggests a continuation of this approach. With political, populist and public discourse stacked against immigrants, it is questionable whether the naturalisation process is really designed

to benefit prospective citizens, or is simply intended as another hurdle to overcome and as an exclusionary device.

The first citizenship ceremony took place in February 2004 in the London Borough of Brent. It was chaired by Mark Rimmer, the local government spokesperson for citizenship ceremonies, with high profile guests including Prince Charles and David Blunkett. Since then, over a million new citizens across the UK have attended this compulsory event (Home Office, 2014a). Yet there has been little research to date on new citizens' experiences of these ceremonies and the social impact of this policy. Reviews of the UK ceremonies commissioned by the previous government concluded that they are "very successful" (Goldsmith, 2008, p.98), with one survey finding that four out of five people felt the ceremonies made them "feel more British" (LACORS, 2008, online). However, the few academic studies investigating migrants' reactions to the ceremonies reach different conclusions. MacGregor and Bailey (2012) for example discovered that they have limited impact on deepening feelings of citizenship and belonging, whilst Byrne (2014) found that the official welcome is at odds with migrants' everyday experiences of hostility. My research adds to the sparse empirical work on this topic, further interrogating whether citizenship ceremonies can deliver the celebratory welcome and recognition that they claim.

The Life in the UK test was introduced in November 2005, alongside ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) with citizenship classes for those who did not meet the required language level. Although the Life in the UK test was heavily criticised by academics, many of whom branded it a form of immigration control (cf. Löwenheim and Gazit, 2009, Osler, 2009, Turner, 2014), few sought the opinions of the putative citizens. It has been suggested that the ESOL route is more likely to foster integration than the Life in the UK test, with the classes providing a forum for interaction and participation (Kiwan, 2008). Despite this, the Coalition government abolished the ESOL route to citizenship in 2013 and published a new, more difficult version of the Life in the UK, suggesting a more restrictive approach. They also switched the focus of the test from practical information on living in

Britain to British history and culture. The media has ridiculed the new test and its insinuation that 'Britishness' is founded on knowledge of ancient history, artists, inventions and comedians (Booth, 2013, Masters, 2013). Meanwhile Brooks has described it as a "bad pub quiz" which is "unfit for purpose" (Parkinson, 2013, online), also criticising the fact that new citizens have not been consulted on the design of the handbook or test (Brooks, 2013). My study looks at citizenship education from the perspective of those who have experienced it, comparing both of the tests and the ESOL classes to discover whether they can indeed aid the integration of prospective citizens.

The polarised opinions of academics and politicians on the new naturalisation process reflects wider tensions between academic and policy-oriented aims. While academia bases research on normative models of citizenship, often searching for equitable and emancipatory answers for marginalised groups, policy makers are charged with applying solutions to pressing issues in practice. Unlike academics, who have intellectual freedom to produce critical theoretical and empirical insights, politicians have to consider the current political climate and inclinations of the electorate. The introduction of more stringent citizenship requirements coincided with urban ethnic tensions, high profile terrorist attacks and increasing anti-immigrant sentiment, suggesting that they in part aimed to appease concerned voters. This thesis will make contributions to both academic debates and more practicable policy recommendations, while recognising the challenges of reconciling the two.

There has been no research to date on the geographies of citizenship ceremonies and tests. Yet the geographical relations between space, place and scale could have significant implications. There are efforts to include both national and local elements in naturalisation measures, reflecting the fact that integration occurs at a variety of levels (Kearnes and Forrest, 2000). However, in attempting to create national citizens, cross-border connections to places are potentially denied. It has been suggested that place-based attachments foster social cohesion, through creating common norms and values (Massey, 1991). Yet formalities such as

citizenship ceremonies, tests and classes perhaps overlook the importance of everyday spaces as sites of identity formation and inclusion (Amin, 2002). By utilising geographical understandings my research will address current empirical and thematic gaps, providing new insights into the ways in which experiences of citizenship ceremonies and tests enhance or hinder people's feelings of national and local belonging.

1.2   Thesis structure

This thesis provides an in-depth study of the role of citizenship ceremonies and tests in integration and belonging. Chapter two is a literature review of key concepts used, focussing particularly on citizenship and countertopography. It considers the development of British citizenship, linking it to both historical events and theoretical paradigms. This includes a discussion of a wider European policy convergence, with an increasing number of countries legislating for naturalisation in the form of citizenship tests and ceremonies. I also elucidate various global citizenship models, explaining how a translocal perspective fits best with my research, acknowledging multi-scalar processes grounded in particular places.

The second section explains the use of Cindi Katz's (2001, 2004) theory of countertopography as an analytical framework to highlight linkages between my data. Whilst my research aimed to examine the naturalisation process through the experiences of a diverse group of migrants, I found remarkable similarities in participants' narratives. Migration research is prone to categorising migrant types and analysing their experiences accordingly. However, I felt that this approach was inadequate for my study as it was unable to account for overlaps between different migrant groups. Countertopography provides a grounded perspective on the connections between places, scales and social relations, linking different parts of the world to the operations of global capitalism while recognising its situatedness. This helped to examine the local, national and global forces that interconnect to condition the lives of migrants as they move through the journey to citizenship. Following on from Conlon (2013), who uses countertopography to explain

similarities across migrant groups in Ireland, I employ it as a tool to bring together the divergent subject positions of participants. By applying this seldom used approach to my findings, I hope to demonstrate the importance of going beyond migrant categories to consider their shared experiences in the face of renationalisation and globalised processes.

This chapter also introduces other key concepts that are utilised throughout the thesis. Integration and belonging are both terms that are central to my aim of exploring the impact of citizenship ceremonies and tests, and I provide theoretical definitions of both before highlighting how they will be used in my study. Ritual theory is also salient to the topic of the naturalisation process, particularly the citizenship ceremonies which can be considered as nationalising rites. I present a summary of a selection of the anthropological literature on rituals that informed my analysis. These concepts are explored in more depth in the analysis chapters of my thesis.

Chapter three reviews my mixed methods approach to conducting research on citizenship ceremonies and tests. This thesis presents the first study of the naturalisation process in Yorkshire and the Humber. I provide a rationale for choosing my four study sites within this region, which included areas of high and low inward migration. I deliberately chose to recruit migrants with a range of backgrounds, in order to explore the diverse meanings of citizenship. Although recruiting this disparate group was particularly challenging, I eventually acquired 25 participants. I also spoke to 11 state agents, including citizenship registrars and policy makers, to further contextualise the study. Research involved repeat interviews with new citizens, to examine changes over time, in addition to participant sensing at citizenship ceremonies and ESOL classes.

Chapters four, five and six present findings from my interviews with new citizens and state agents, alongside observations of the naturalisation process. They are structured using Osler and Starkey's (2005) definition of three types of citizenship:

citizenship as status, citizenship as practice and citizenship as feeling. This reflects increasing recognition of the multiple dimensions of citizenship, including active participation and emotional identifications in addition to official membership. However, these categories are not mutually exclusive, with many overlaps between citizenship as status, practice and feeling. As will become apparent in my analysis chapters, they are often contingent on one another. For example, gaining official status can enhance feelings of belonging, while citizenly practices may be enacted by non-citizens. I found that this framework was able to incorporate the multitude of meanings of citizenship that emerged from my research, acknowledging the interconnections between them.

Chapter four considers how the securitisation of migration has led to the status of the 'good citizen' increasingly being pitted against that of the 'bad migrant'. This led participants to strive for citizenship to gain equal status, although in practice many remained united in their 'foreignness'. I show how the naturalisation process operates through the 'politics of desire' (Fortier, 2013), reaffirming the state as a desirable entity through new citizens' yearning to be part of it. I use countertopography to draw connections between subjects who are most affected by state renationalisation – migrants – demonstrating the impact it has on their everyday lives.

Citizenship as status was also conceived as a contract of rights and responsibilities. Naturalisation measures focus strongly on the latter, disciplining new citizens to conform. However, the rights and freedoms offered by the UK are appreciated by many who come from less democratic countries, and I will argue that these could be used to create a more inclusive vision of national identity. Finally, this chapter considers pragmatic motivations for gaining citizenship, including travel and employment. Whilst frequently derided by state agents as devaluing deeper meanings of citizenship, this fails to recognise the benefits for settlement and associated increase in citizenship practices and feelings of belonging. A countertopographical analysis can highlight how new citizens are products of global

capitalism but also subject to the workings of the state, which attempts to change their status from mobile agent to national subject.

Chapter five examines how naturalisation measures promote citizenship as an active practice of participation. Following on from New Labour's community cohesion agenda, this is largely centred on the local community as a site of inclusion and involvement. However, as the experiences of my participants show, this romanticised vision of community fails to account for discrimination and indifference. I demonstrate that, whilst new citizens imbibed the idea that 'good citizenship' involves community participation, concepts of the 'bad citizen' were also informed by views from their origin countries. Countertopography is here used to elucidate the interconnectedness of places which creates transnational values systems.

Integration is considered an essential aim of naturalisation measures. I use this chapter to explore its different meanings, both politically and in the eyes of my participants. Whilst mixing with others was commonly cited, I suggest that this is compromised in naturalisation measures by the lack of involvement of host communities. Although the New Labour government claimed to welcome 'integration with diversity', political rhetoric has consistently demonised particular types of difference. Nonetheless, citizenship ceremonies celebrated and encouraged diversity in the local area, demonstrating the importance of examining different scales of governance. However, there is little focus on economic integration in naturalisation measures, which I argue may harm other aspects of settlement. By analysing shifting political approaches towards citizenship, I conclude that it is increasingly being used as a tool to distinguish migrants who will assimilate from those who will not, rather than as an aid to integration.

The final section of chapter five focusses on citizenship education, comparing the Life in the UK test and ESOL with citizenship classes. The test received mixed reviews from participants, with some questioning its ability help them become active citizens, whilst others viewed it as purely instrumental. ESOL classes were

received much more positively as an important site of learning and meeting new people. Including my own observations of the classes, I describe them as potential sites for debating values and practices, encouraging transnational, national and local citizenship. I conclude by advocating countertopographical analysis as a way of understanding grounded experiences of everyday acculturation alongside politically prescribed integration.

Chapter six looks at citizenship as a feeling of belonging. I firstly explore individualised belonging, where it will become evident that the official recognition gained from citizenship can help migrants to feel at home. Although place attachment is promoted in the citizenship ceremonies, this tends to be within the framework of national space. I use a countertopographical analysis to demonstrate the mutual constitution of scales which produces multiple affiliations. Nonetheless, for most participants it was familial ties that conditioned their sense of belonging. I therefore further Skrbiš' (2008) argument that the family should receive greater attention in transnational citizenship studies.

The chapter moves on to consider 'Britishness' as a collective national identity. I highlight how for some participants gaining British citizenship marked an identity transition, symbolising being 'in place' both spatially and temporally. Migrants from former British colonies meanwhile often used their status as Commonwealth citizens to assert their right to belong in Britain, a fact that was not acknowledged in naturalisation measures. Historical relations between places thus form a modern, postcolonial countertopography, although this is systematically denied by a state attempting to break links with its past and future global ties. Despite recent political attempts to reformulate British identity, participants often associated it with ethnicity, resulting in excluding themselves from ever truly belonging.

The final section of this chapter analyses citizenship ceremonies as national rituals. I demonstrate how the actors, staging and design of the ceremonies are used to generate a sense of occasion. This often elicited emotional responses, with even some of the most sceptical participants finding themselves affected by symbolic

gestures such as the portrait of the Queen and the playing of the national anthem. Such moments appeared to have a powerful impact, prompting reflections on the meanings of citizenship as status, practice and feeling. However, I argue that for the temporary communities formed during these ceremonies to have effect, they must provide lasting memories. I conclude by demonstrating the importance of time in citizenship, identity and belonging, contending that greater focus on temporality would be a useful future direction for countertopographical theory.

My research uses countertopography to contrast top-down, ritualised prescriptions of citizenship, identity and belonging with the fragmented, everyday understandings of diverse new citizens. This aims to refine over-simplified normative visions of these terms, utilising geographical insights to provide a more nuanced, grounded perspective. In the final chapter, I call for further examination of 'topographies of citizenship' (Nelson, 2004). I contend that by connecting mundane citizenship practices across places and subjects, we can better understand the global and national citizenship regimes which both condition the experiences of citizens and are also actively constituted by them.

1.3 Aims and objectives

The aims and objectives of my research are formulated as such:

Aim:

- To explore the role of citizenship ceremonies and tests in promoting integration and feelings of belonging at national and local scales.

Objectives:

- To explore a diverse range of new citizens' experiences and understandings of citizenship ceremonies and tests within the context of different geographical places.
- To investigate the effects of citizenship ceremonies and tests on feelings of belonging to local and national communities.

- To examine other factors potentially influencing integration and belonging through developing an understanding of the everyday lives of new citizens with a multiplicity of identities.

Chapter 2   Citizenship in theory

2.1   Introduction

This chapter presents an in-depth literature review of the themes that were most salient to my research on citizenship ceremonies and tests. The first section explores the history of British citizenship, highlighting the significance of imperialism and decolonisation in contemporary immigration politics. Despite this, I argue that over the last few decades citizenship has become imbued with deeper connotations of active participation in Britain, paving the way for New Labour's reform of citizenship policies. I subsequently demonstrate how this is linked to a wider European 'civic integration' agenda, increasing the requirements of full membership for immigrants. Section 2.2.3 considers how theories of citizenship have been deployed to serve particular political agendas. I will also examine the rise of post-national and transnational theories, which emphasise the global nature of citizenship. However, I will argue that simply focusing on the global has limited application in my grounded study of citizenship, opting instead for a translocal model acknowledging multi-scalar and temporal connections.

Section 2.3 introduces my analytical framework of countertopography. Cindi Katz's (2001, 2004) definition of the term is provided, and I explain how it foregrounds geography with its focus on relations across place, space and scale. I then highlight its applications in practice, with critical topographies employed to draw connections between disparate places and groups who are subjected to similar global processes. Academics often use these analyses to contest capitalist globalisation and its local manifestations. Finally, I demonstrate the value of countertopography to my study of citizenship, highlighting how it enables me to explain similarities in the experiences of a diverse group of new citizens, caused by common processes of migration and naturalisation. I also hint at some of the contributions that I will be making to the literature on countertopography,

including a greater focus on temporality and a more critical analysis of the function of the state in globalisation.

The final section summarises other key concepts that I will be referring to in my thesis, including integration, belonging and ritual. I highlight the interconnections between these terms and the notion of citizenship, explaining why they were important to my study of the naturalisation process. I also point readers to where these theories are expanded on in later chapters. The conclusion highlights key themes and gaps in the literature which will be drawn on in the analysis section.

2.2 Citizenship

2.2.1 History of British citizenship

Citizenship is a multifarious, loose concept which has been ascribed different meanings by both academics and politicians. A basic definition is provided by Isin and Wood, who describe it as "a set of practices (cultural, symbolic and economic) and a bundle of rights and duties (civil, political and social) that define an individual's membership in a polity" (1999, p.4). This highlights the broad nature of the term, which encompasses both legal status and social practices, and is enacted through relationships between individuals, groups and the polity. Citizenship is politically constructed and inherently exclusionary, with the citizen defined in opposition to the non-citizen. Over time exclusions have taken on gendered, racialised and sexualised dimensions, with women, non-heterosexuals and ethnic minorities historically denied citizenship rights. Whilst many countries now officially grant equal citizenship to these groups, informal barriers remain, and citizenship governance continually morphs to create new exclusions.

While the idea of citizenship dates back several thousand years, it is only since the late 18th century that it has predominantly been associated with the nation-state (Heater, 2004). Connecting citizenship to communities of birth and fraternity has been dated to Ancient Greek and Roman times (Isin, 2012). Although practised

across Western states, different models emerged based on national histories. Citizenship acquisition is traditionally founded on jus sanguinis (right of blood) or jus soli (right of the soil). Premising citizenship on jus sanguinis, whereby one or more parents must be a citizen, is generally considered more exclusionary than predicating it on birthplace. However in a modern era of global migration, national citizenship is more complex than this, with many states basing citizenship laws on a combination of jus sanguinis and jus soli (Joppke, 1999).

British citizenship has been characterised by a long-standing tradition of jus soli and subjecthood to the monarch. According to Turner (1990), this created a passive, public citizenship based on the imposition of rights and obligations from above, differing from the traditions of other countries including American liberalism, German fascism and French revolution. Since its formation in 1707, the UK has never had a constitution, meaning that the precise nature of citizenship and nationality is ill-defined. Furthermore, the political attitude towards citizenship has been characterised by an ad hoc, pragmatic approach of responding to crises, rather than considering the concept as a whole (Dummett and Nicol, 1990, Favell, 1998). The introduction of new naturalisation measures partly in reaction to the 2001 race riots suggests that this approach continues to typify British citizenship policy.

British imperialism is frequently cited as providing the preconditions for citizenship and national identity in Britain today (cf. Asari et al., 2008, Mycock, 2009). Colonialism fostered a common imperial nationality, promoting transnational Britishness with differentiated citizenship rights and responsibilities, which were largely only applicable to residents of the UK. Colonial and British subjects were considered 'citizens of the Empire' (Heater, 2006), able to retain ethnic and national identities within an overarching political framework. This contrasted with many other European countries, where citizenship had increasingly become tied to the nation-state. However, this was changed upon decolonisation, with uncertainty over post-empire national identity leading to increasingly ethno-national overtones (Asari et al., 2008). These attitudes can also be considered a reaction to the

fragmentation of globalisation, whose association with ethnic diversity has arguably led to reinventing Britishness in a more exclusionary light (Sales, 2009). The struggle to define a coherent British national identity continues to this day.

After the demise of the British Empire, citizenship became a tool for immigration control. Concern over immigration from the Commonwealth led to the introduction of legislation ending the automatic right of abode of Commonwealth citizens (Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962), followed by a 'patrial clause' ensuring that only those with at least one British grandparent had the automatic right to residency (Immigration Act 1971). This compromised Britain's tradition of jus soli citizenship, instead combining it with jus sanguinis, arguably leading to further confusion about Britishness (Dummett and Nicol, 1990). The British Nationality Act 1981 created a three-tiered citizenship, consisting of British citizenship, Citizenship of British Dependent Territories and British Overseas Citizenship, with the latter two possessing limited rights. However, these changes reduced the rights of Commonwealth citizens, rather than elucidating British citizenship. Yet despite its poor definition, citizenship has been used as a mechanism of 'border securitisation' (Sparke, 2006) ever since.

Parallel to the strengthening of immigration controls, from the late 1970s British politicians moved away from an assimilationist vision of immigrant integration to a multicultural perspective. This was a reaction to the difficulties in assimilating certain groups. In the late 1960s, Labour MP Home Secretary Roy Jenkins defined integration "as equal opportunity, coupled with cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance" (1967, in Grillo, 2000, p.7). This encompassed socio-economic aspects of integration, as well as freedom to engage in cultural practices without discrimination. British multiculturalism recognised the right to cultural, religious and ethnic diversity, enshrined in Race Relations Acts (1965, 1968, 1976). In the light of the 2001 race riots, and subsequent investigations into the causes (cf. Cantle, 2001, Clarke, 2001, Ouseley, 2001, Ritchie, 2001), multiculturalism was denounced by politicians for producing segregation and divided communities.

Nevertheless, whilst it may no longer feature in mainstream political language, many policies supporting multiculturalism remain.

One way of judging a citizenship regime is by considering its naturalisation policies (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003). While naturalisation dates back to the middle ages, for centuries this bore little relevance to its modern purpose, "to include outsiders in a national political community" (Goodman, 2010b, p.1). In the early nineteenth century, limitations to naturalisation based on political views and good character began to emerge. Nonetheless, attitudes towards immigrants remained open and tolerant, with unrestricted entry and active encouragement of naturalisation (Dummett and Nicol, 1990). The British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914 introduced new requirements for naturalisation, including possessing a 'sound mind', 'good character' and an 'adequate' level of English, as well as a minimum residency period. Whilst immigration policy became increasingly restrictive in the latter half of the twentieth century, few changes were made to naturalisation policy, other than introducing an oath to be sworn to the monarch (British Nationality Bill 1948) and increasing the minimum residency period. New Labour's citizenship reforms marked the first attempt to standardise naturalisation requirements by prescribing a language level, citizenship test and citizenship ceremony.

Although citizenship policy has been considered rather thin in twentieth century Britain (cf. Dummett and Nicol, 1990, MacGregor and Bailey, 2012), it has not just been centred on immigration control. Modern British political concerns over citizenship emerged in the Thatcher era, with Conservative politicians promoting a neo-liberal vision of consumer citizens actively engaged in tackling social problems, not dissimilar from current Conservative ideas. The publishing of a report by the Commission on Citizenship (1990) entitled '*Encouraging citizenship'* indicated concern about the issue. Its recommendations, including developing citizenship education in schools, clearly influenced New Labour's agenda, emphasising citizenship as a competency to be learnt. Following a report from the Advisory Group on Citizenship, headed by Bernard Crick and published in 1998, citizenship

education became a compulsory subject in secondary schools. Whilst citizenship policies have been criticised for focusing on migrants (cf. Osler, 2009, Turner, 2014), they also encompass teaching citizenship in schools, suggesting a wider target audience. The next section examines changes in citizenship policy in the form of naturalisation procedures across Europe.

2.2.2 Naturalisation in Europe

Immigration and citizenship policy in Europe took a marked turn in the early 2000s, following events such as the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the rise of far right political parties. This has been termed 'civic integration' (Brighton, 2007, Bloemraad et al., 2008) and predominantly targeted at migrants, whom political discourses have blamed for being unwilling to integrate and adopt majority cultural norms. Some believe that civic integration marks a policy convergence within Europe, based on integration requirements and culturally particular naturalisation criteria (Joppke, 2007, Odmalm, 2007). However, others contend that national models are still important, although these are no longer clearly aligned with the traditional assimilationist or multiculturalist models (Jacobs and Rea, 2007).

One of the features of the new integration regime in Europe has been the expansion of civic integration requirements. By 2010, all apart from seven European countries mandated language acquisition, whilst seventeen had country knowledge requirements, more than doubling since 1999 (Goodman, 2010b). The UK was the first European country to introduce citizenship ceremonies, but has since been followed by eight others. Increased prerequisites for naturalisation have been most notable in the EU-15, which have formalised language tests and introduced civic integration tests for the first time in the last decade. The conditions were initially for citizenship acquisition, but since 2007 integration criteria has also been imposed on settlement, family reunification and entry. In the UK, the Coalition government has introduced pre-entry language tests for spouses, demonstrating how integration requirements are being used as a form of border policing.

There has been extensive debate over the compatibility of new naturalisation measures with liberal principles. Joppke (2007) argues that schemes designed to strengthen citizenship are neither racist nor nationalist, based on universal values. However, some countries recently appear to have shifted towards a culturalisation of citizenship, as evidenced by the new 'patriotic' version of the Life in the UK test (see chapters 3 and 6). Similarly in France, citizenship ceremonies are used to showcase French republican principles, drawing on the history of the nation (Fassin and Mazouz, 2009). Other academics, whilst acknowledging that civic integration requirements aim to deepen citizenship, are critical of the degree of control they exert over immigrants (Etzioni, 2007, Goodman, 2010a, Kostakopoulou, 2010). This has been described as 'illiberal liberalism', whereby illiberal means are used to protect liberal values considered threatened by particular minority groups (Adamson et al., 2011). However, this results in the exclusion of entire immigrant populations, likely to disproportionately affect the most vulnerable.

Naturalisation has recently become the main means of immigrant integration across Europe. The Lord Goldsmith Citizenship Review, commissioned by the New Labour government, urged that naturalisation requirements should encourage integration and enhance the practice of citizenship through participation (Goldsmith, 2008). However, it also found that the process of acquiring citizenship does not promote further engagement with society, and therefore cannot necessarily be used to create more active citizens (Levesley, 2008). The potential of naturalisation measures to contribute towards active citizenship is explored in my study. Naturalisation requirements have also been criticised for creating double standards for citizens and non-citizens (Osler, 2009, Orgad, 2011, Brooks, 2012). Although they can be seen as a substitute for the civic education received in schools, premising citizenship on passing a test goes above and beyond what is expected of British-born citizens. Migrants must therefore prove their worth as 'supercitizens' before they are granted the status of citizenship (Anderson, 2012, Aptekar, 2012). Whilst these academic contributions are largely theoretical, my research considers these concerns from the perspective of individuals experiencing them first-hand.

Despite their supposedly liberal principles, European states have employed increasingly repressive measures against immigrants and ethnic minorities, often in the name of security. It is argued that this illiberal liberalism restricts the right to belong (Adamson et al., 2011). This is evident both formally, with many countries demanding ever-more stringent citizenship requirements; and informally, with exclusionary discourses exacerbating discrimination. Furthermore, the state can constrain both local and transnational attachments by imposing a top-down model of citizenship based on national identity. This is prominent in British political discourse, with national belonging often referred to in cultural as well as political terms. Citizenship and belonging have increasingly been policed through criminal and anti-terrorist measures, with 'migrant securitisation' extended beyond border control to those already residing in the UK (Waite, 2011). Indeed, it is argued that citizenship itself has become a tool to control populations and exclude particular identities (Sparke, 2006, Tyler, 2010). Whilst British values cited to new citizens include tolerance and liberty, the treatment of immigrants betrays these (Wolton, 2006). Thus these strategies, designed to mitigate the negative effects of non-belonging, may in fact intensify it.

Whilst the 2002 White Paper recognises the need for a stable sense of belonging to enable integration, this was frequently connected to notions of shared values, expecting migrants to become 'one of us' (Sigona, 2005). This is encapsulated in recent formulations of 'Britishness' which are increasingly racialised, causing the exclusion of particular groups, and potentially undermining its aim of strengthening social cohesion. Membership of the national community has been framed in cultural as well as political terms, with the Labour government incorporating the suggestions of commentator David Goodhart (2004) that immigrants should become part of the British 'we'. Citizenship has often been conflated with national belonging, demonstrated by the introduction of prerequisites such as the Life in the UK test and English language requirements, demanding cultural and linguistic proficiency. However, linking citizenship competencies to identity formation is problematic, as knowledge cannot be considered a prerequisite for belonging.

The Coalition Government has in some regards continued the approach of the previous government, exemplified by proposals such as National Citizen Service, a UK Day and more broadly in their notion of the Big Society. Towards the beginning of his administration, David Cameron (2011d, online) stated that "we've failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong". He suggested the need for a rearticulation of society, based on shared national identity and values incorporated in citizenship, which has informed the new version of the Life in the UK test. This furthers the project of singular national belonging begun by New Labour. Nonetheless, it is contended that multiculturalism can be combined with shared national and local belonging, creating an inclusive British identity (Rogers and Muir, 2007). A report commissioned by the previous government meanwhile argues for a concept of belonging beyond top-down 'Britishness' and multiculturalism, based on recognition, comfort and feeling at home (Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007). This combines the politics of belonging with place-belongingness and may be a more sensible direction for future policies. Citizenship, if used as a tool for enhancing belonging, should be separated from cultural nationalism and acknowledge that civic membership can co-exist with a multiplicity of identities.

Britain has a particular history of national inclusion and exclusion. Politicians have in the last half century linked British belonging to descent (Conservative politician Enoch Powell's Rivers of Blood speech), emotional attachment (Conservative politician Norman Tebbit's cricket test analogy), solidarity and democratic values (former Labour Home Secretary David Blunkett's community cohesion) and pride in the British Empire (former Labour Prime Minister Gordon Brown) (Yuval-Davis, 2006). New Labour's use of citizenship as a vehicle creating belonging and social cohesion could be considered progressive in comparison to the Conservatives' focus on assimilation. However, their rhetoric highlights the threat to the politics of belonging posed by migrants, who were blamed for a lack of social cohesion (Yuval-Davis et al., 2005, Waite, 2011). Thus migrants are the group who are expected to 'integrate' into society, with little regard for their personal sense of belonging.

There have been few studies that have examined the new process of citizenship acquisition from the point of view of migrants themselves. Those that have been carried out have contained rather mixed findings. Some research implies that the formal process of citizenship acquisition within the ceremonies creates a sense of pride and increases the emotional bond with the new country (Buonfino and Thomson, 2007, Levesley, 2008). However, other empirical studies have found that citizenship ceremonies and tests lacked meaning for many new citizens and were unable to strengthen national and local identifications and citizenship ideals (Hagelund and Reegård, 2011, MacGregor and Bailey, 2012). It is argued that integration measures such as citizenship ceremonies can at most have an indirect effect on sense of belonging (Peucker, 2008). Others have contended that whilst citizenship ceremonies aim to turn migrants into 'one of us', their recognition of new citizens simultaneously separates them from 'native' citizens, suggesting that they will never truly belong (Fassin and Mazouz, 2009, Byrne, 2012). Understandings of citizenship are partly founded on theoretical models, and I review their contributions and weaknesses in the next section.

2.2.3   Theories of citizenship

2.2.3.1   National models

British citizenship has drawn from three major theories: liberalism, communitarianism and civic republicanism. Liberalism has been described as the 'post-war orthodoxy' and has remained dominant in Western thought (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994). It is based on the principles of individual liberty, autonomy and market relations. The function of the state is to serve individual interests through the provision of rights, with further intervention considered to restrict personal freedom. Key liberal thinker, T.H. Marshall (1950), categorised these sets of rights as civil, political and social. He believed that social rights executed through the welfare state could be used to overcome inequalities within society. However, the proliferation of neoliberalism over the past few decades, with its associated

shrinking of the welfare state, has undermined Marshall's depiction of the egalitarian state as a provider of social rights.

More broadly, liberalism's idea of universal citizenship is challenged by enduring inequalities between groups of citizens. Indeed, it has been argued that the concept of citizenship is frequently romanticised, given that it has historically been used by dominant groups to naturalise their power and supremacy (Isin, 2001). In contemporary times, the privatised, market-based values of neoliberalism are considered threatened by groups such as immigrants (ibid.), perpetuating their unequal citizenship and precarious rights. Nonetheless, as will become apparent later in the thesis, immigration also has an important function in the global capitalist order.

The minimalist interpretation of liberal citizenship primarily considers it as a politico-legal status. This allows little room for participation, which is considered an optional right. Critics of liberalism have argued that it is too focused on the rights of citizens and not enough on their obligations (Sandel, 1982, Pettit, 1997). Some have contended that citizenship premised almost exclusively on rights is unable to support a healthy social order (Beiner, 1995, Schuck, 2002). This has been a recent argument of British politicians, who have increasingly emphasised the responsibilities of citizenship, predicating access to certain rights for groups such as immigrants on fulfilling obligations. As will be explored later, these concerns were a central reason for New Labour's reform of the citizenship agenda.

Communitarianism developed in part to counter the problems of the liberal focus on individual rights. It is based on the premise that "strong rights presume strong responsibilities" (Etzioni, 1995, p.1), emphasising the contractual nature of citizenship. This was echoed in Giddens' (1999) Third Way concept of 'no rights without responsibilities', later becoming a New Labour slogan. Communitarian citizenship is founded on membership of a community, providing the basis for group identity and common values. Citizenship is thus more closely connected to national and local belonging in this model, emphasising 'citizenship as feeling'

(Osler and Starkey, 2005). Communitarianism clearly inspired New Labour's community cohesion agenda, which focused on 'core values' and community relations, and the Conservatives' 'Big Society', with its emphasis on community empowerment.

Communitarianism has been criticised for its belief in a common culture, which has been condemned as repressive and assimilatory (Isin and Wood, 1999, Dahlgren, 2006). Whilst politicians have generally avoided explicitly referencing culture, the New Labour notion of 'shared values' to which all British citizens should subscribe implies a potentially homogenising process. Furthermore, participation is not always based on national or cultural identity, evidenced by issue-based social movements. This theory does not acknowledge multiple identities and membership of multiple institutions, which are particularly salient to immigrants. Delanty (2002) suggests that a new communitarian theory should encompass postmodern ideas of a fragmented and open community which reflexively shapes citizenship. This could act as an inclusionary space for new citizens to participate alongside existing members whilst retaining other affiliations.

Civic republicanism includes liberalism's emphasis on individual rights and communitarianism's civic community. This model of citizenship is based on active participation and self-governance. Despite historically following a model of top-down passive citizenship (Turner, 1990) 'active citizenship' has recently been heavily promoted in the UK. Citizenship is primarily considered a practice, grounded in a shared political identity, with priority given to the political community over other individual attachments. It is argued that citizens should practice 'constitutional patriotism', dissociated from nationalism (Habermas, 1996). There are ethical as well as legal dimensions to citizenship, with standards set for 'good' and 'bad' citizens. The moralisation of citizenship was evident in New Labour's attempts to define 'good citizenship', whilst demonising communities it considered to hold inappropriate values. Civic republican theory evidently influenced the design of naturalisation measures, which aimed to integrate

immigrants through engaging them in performances of citizenship, while encouraging active involvement in society.

Civic republicanism has been critiqued from various different angles. Young (1989) believes that the notion of 'civic public' denies difference, with homogeneity reinforcing the privilege of the majority group. She also takes issue with the artificial divide between public and private, arguing that this further oppresses marginalised groups. Isin and Wood (1999) have pointed out that civic republicanism is unable to explain discrimination against minority groups. Isin (2009) additionally claims that 'active citizenship' usually refers to behaviour already carried out by citizens, linked to government agendas. He suggests that we instead examine the figure of the 'activist citizen', who acts to resist prevailing ideologies. It is through these 'acts of citizenship' that subjects become citizens, challenging ideas of citizenship as purely based on status (Isin, 2008). This thesis explores how citizenship is constituted through citizens both enacting and challenging hegemonic citizenship discourses.

With the transfer of functions and membership from the state to supranational and subnational institutions, the state-centric approaches of liberalism, communitarianism and civic republicanism have been considered less relevant (Ellison, 1997). Whilst the national is undoubtedly still important, a translocal model of citizenship, encompassing multiple scales, was more applicable to my study, as explored in the next section.

2.2.3.2   Global models

It has been suggested that the three modern theories of citizenship are no longer adequate in an age where the national state is challenged as the sole provider of citizenship. Bauböck (2010) has described this new institutional structuring as 'citizenship constellations', whereby the rights and obligations of citizens are defined by multiple political entities, including federal and supranational bodies as well as origin and destination states of migration. The presence of 'foreignness' in

countries in the form of immigrants expands the horizons of citizenship and calls for rethinking the practices, institutions and communities that define it (Honig, 2001). Indeed Turner (1993) argued some time ago that the future of citizenship lay beyond the nation-state, allowing for a more progressive vision encompassing social differentiation. While acknowledging these global developments, my research foregrounds the state as a gatekeeper of citizenship, often setting a regressive agenda.

The rise of globalisation has led to the emergence of post-national and transnational theories. Post-national theorists argue that globalisation has undermined the political and socio-economic roles of states to the extent that they can no longer be considered the main locus of citizenship (Soysal, 1995, Sassen, 1996, Vertovec, 1999). They contend that citizenship practices frequently transcend the territorial boundaries of the state, increasingly involving supranational political organisations and transnational subjects. Furthermore, the proliferation of international migration has led to the extension of employment and social welfare rights to non-citizens in many states, supposedly diluting the meaning of citizenship. Nonetheless, denizenship cannot be seen as a substitute for citizenship, as it is based on precarious rights (Bauböck, 2002). This is evident in the recent attempts of the British government to reduce immigrants' access to benefits and free healthcare (Powell, 2013, Wintour, 2014), demonstrating that social rights are in fact becoming increasingly contingent on national citizenship. I would argue that ideas of post-national citizenship are premature, with citizenship still primarily premised on the national state, albeit with expanding local and global aspects.

Unlike post-national theory, transnationalism recognises that national membership is still an important part of citizenship. However, it acknowledges that individuals are 'multi-layered citizens', belonging to multiple, overlapping communities (Yuval-Davis, 1999). Transnational theory was predominantly developed to provide a framework for analysing the cross-border economic, political and socio-cultural activities of migrants. These include material flows of capital, dual political participation and connections to social groups and cultural identities in multiple

places. This theory will be useful for considering participants' citizenship as situated in transnational social spaces constructed between different government systems, civil societies and social groupings (cf. Faist, 2000). Their integration and sense of belonging within the UK will be influenced by this, although evidence suggests that political fears of transnational ties impeding incorporation into host societies may be unfounded (cf. Kivisto, 2001, Nagel and Staeheli, 2005, Ehrkamp and Leitner, 2006, Smith, 2007, Vertovec, 2007).

Transnationalism has given rise to the notion of 'flexible citizenship', symbolised by dual passport holders (Ong, 1999). This strategy of accumulating capital and power is enabled by the graduated sovereignty of states. It is particularly associated with elite business migrants, who are typically depicted as footloose and detached from place (Bauman, 1998, Sklair, 2001, Calhoun, 2003). However this is not solely the domain of wealthy entrepreneurs, with Werbner (2002) arguing that the deliberate use of multiple citizenships defines contemporary diasporas. This form of 'pragmatic citizenship' may conversely be limited by states attempting to retain the alignment between citizenship and national identity (Mavroudi, 2008).

Nevertheless, citizenship is often more than purely tactical. Whilst research by Waters (2003) into families of Chinese business migrants highlights the strategic intentions of their migration, she also found that their gradual integration into society through language classes and community involvement created a wider sense of citizenship. The impact of language classes on integration and meanings of citizenship is something that I explored with migrants taking the ESOL route to citizenship. Preston et al. (2006) similarly found that Canadian citizenship for Hong Kong transmigrants was valued both instrumentally and in terms of affirming belonging, identity and the right to participate. Living in a country necessarily involves creating some attachments, challenging the idea that migrants remain footloose. Studies of refugees have also found that they value both practical and symbolic elements of citizenship (Stewart and Mulvey, 2011), although the relative importance of each may vary between individuals. Debates over 'pragmatic

citizenship' highlight the tensions between citizenship as a status, and deeper notions of citizenship as a practice and feeling, which will be central to my analysis.

Whilst transnationalism is useful for considering citizenship practices across national spaces, translocalism acknowledges that these activities are locally grounded, highlighting the everyday emotional and social aspects of networks and flows. This has been explored by Velayutham and Wise (2005) in the context of a 'translocal village', whereby village-based social relations, rather than national identification, are extended across borders. However, this bi-local perspective has been criticised as it is unable to account for connections between multiple networks, places, actors and scales (Smith, 2007, Gielis, 2009). Conversely, Brickell and Datta (2011) argue that whilst translocality provides a useful base for transnationalism, it needs to consider places beyond fixed nations and localities. I will therefore use translocalism as part of a multi-scalar analysis of the lives of new citizens, connecting their experiences across local places to national discourses and global processes.

Citizenship theorists are often divided into two camps: political scientists who examine the internal content of communities of citizens, and immigration scholars who look at the boundaries of membership to these communities. Bosniak (2006) argues that while one is overly nationalist, the other fails to recognise the incursion of non-citizens inside the boundaries of citizenship. She contends that sustained dialogue is needed between these two perspectives, which are inextricably entwined in producing the citizenship of insiders and outsiders. I suggest that by examining immigrants becoming citizens, we can be attentive both to the boundaries and exclusions innate to citizenship, and the internal configuration of the citizenship communities which are being entered into.

Although theories of globalisation, cosmopolitanism and transnationalism have provided detailed accounts of space, they have been criticised for their lack of attention to time (Cwerner, 2000, Adam, 2002). It is argued that whilst the changing spatial relations structuring globalised communities have been extensively theorised, time is often implicit (Griffiths et al., 2013, Bastian, 2014). A

notable exception to this is the new mobilities paradigm, which has drawn attention to the reconfiguration of 'time-space geographies' relating to mobility and migration (Cresswell, 2006, Hannam et al., 2006, Sheller and Urry, 2006). This has highlighted the process of movement itself, in the form of the journey, which is structured by different senses of temporality including waiting, moving forward, stopping and repeating. In the UK, the naturalisation process was described as a 'journey to citizenship' by the previous Labour administration, implying a strong temporal dimension. During this journey, aspiring citizens are subject to periods of acceleration and statis, demonstrating how time is experienced unevenly (May and Thrift, 2001, Griffiths et al., 2013). It is therefore evident that time is important in settlement, as well as mobility. The importance of time will be further alluded to in the next section, which examines countertopography as my analytical framework.

2.3 Countertopography

2.3.1 Countertopography, geography and feminism

Countertopography was originally coined by Cindi Katz (2001), inspired by Marxist and feminist theory. She suggests that topography, the in-depth study of places and the connections between them, can be employed critically to highlight differences and inequalities. Katz argues for the global and local to be considered together, with globalisation transforming local places and social practices. By drawing 'contour lines' connecting individual places to certain social practices, the differential effects of particular global processes can be comparatively examined (ibid.). Building connections between supposedly disparate places and people, Katz argues, can enhance the possibility of united struggles against global capitalism. She posits topography as an alternative to 'situated knowledge', which is often based on abstract spaces and universality, instead arguing for an approach grounded in material places and social relations.

Katz (2001) uses an illustrative example of the de-skilling of young people in Harlem, New York and Howa, Sudan, highlighting different situations caused by the

same type of global process. In her topography of Howa, she demonstrates how local factors including civil war, economic decline and historical ethnic tensions produce precarious conditions for its residents. Meanwhile in New York, economic restructuring, funding cuts to public services and the uneven allocation of educational provision creates similarly difficult outcomes for young people. Katz argues that in both locations local conditions combine with global capitalist relations of production and reproduction, producing analogous localised effects from a common set of globalised processes. She explains how conducting a topographical analysis afforded a critical, spatialized perspective which was unobtainable through her original sequential analysis of events in the two places. While she contends that this can contribute towards alternative globalisations, she is unclear on the practical form that this resistance would take.

Countertopography is an inherently geographical concept, recognising the interconnectedness of places and scales. It resonates with aspects of Massey's (1991, 1994) earlier work, in which she argues for 'a global sense of place'. She describes place as made up of social relationships, experiences and networks which extend to wider scales and processes. She terms this a 'progressive concept of place', whereby place can be imagined in an extroverted fashion without seeming threatening. Whereas Massey is in this sense imagining local-global connections in a positive light, Katz's countertopography adopts a more critical stance, focusing on power relations and exclusions produced through the interaction between global and local forces. While globalisation aggravates historical divisions along class, ethnic, gendered and nationalist lines, her politics aims to bring together common struggles against oppression.

Countertopography can be considered as part of a wider movement to connect globalisation to feminist geographies. Feminists have urged scholars to undertake studies which recognise the mutual constitution of different scales and the ways in which they combine to produce social difference and inequalities (Marston, 2000, Nagar et al., 2002). These accounts also argue for greater consideration of human agency, geographical and historical context and local place, in order to ground

some of the abstractions of globalisation. Their recommendations go beyond simply advocating a gendered analysis of globalised processes, and indeed gender is not a central tenet of my study. Nonetheless, the work of feminist geographers has influenced my understanding of place, space and scale as contingent, interconnected and grounded in social relations and processes.

Geographers have employed countertopography as both an analytical and a methodological approach, using thick description to infer simultaneity between places. This has been particularly salient for feminists, who have argued that drawing connections between places based on material knowledge of specific contexts can overcome the hazards of essentialism and universalism (Silvey and Lawson, 1999, Pratt, 2008). Mountz and Hyndman (2006a) have described this approach as the 'global intimate', working from the scale of the body upwards to avoid the hierarchical separation of scales common in studies of globalisation. This has been applied in research exploring the everyday geographies of the state, looking at how state practices are enacted and contested on the ground (Mountz, 2003, Painter, 2006). My analysis adopts this approach, considering the stories of individual migrants as constituted by multiple scales and connections between different places.

It is contended that connecting personal narratives to wider temporal and spatial processes can give marginalised people a voice. Jackson (2011) demonstrates this in her study of migrants in Singapore, weaving together in-depth accounts of individuals' lives with other people, places and spaces. Chaudry and Bertram (2009) meanwhile describe how countertopography informed their ethnographic study of trauma in post-conflict Karachi, focusing on women's agency by situating global developments in local contexts. Although my participants are not necessarily a marginalised group, exploring their stories in relation to broader political, economic, socio-cultural and spatial processes should enable me to go beyond compartmentalising their positionalities, whilst simultaneously avoiding an abstract analysis of the implications of and responses to global migration. The next section

explores further the ways in which countertopography has been applied to studies in practice.

2.3.2   Applications in practice

The concept of countertopography has predominantly been utilised in feminist geopolitics and development geographies. Here, it has often been used to connect geographies of the Global North and South, demonstrating how similar globalised processes unravel in very different contexts. In setting an agenda for a feminist reading of globalisation, Nagar et al. (2002) suggest that countertopography can be used to bring together perspectives from different parts of the world, highlighting its potential for creating a relational account of globalisation that is attentive to place, space and scale. McIlwaine and Datta (2003), in their examination of the feminisation of development, similarly argue that linking places is crucial to form progressive alliances across space. These theoretical evaluations use countertopography as part of a wider feminist agenda to challenge Western hegemony and the uneven effects of globalised capitalism.

Empirical work along this vein has critically examined the enactment of localised politics in relation to global neoliberalism. Similar to Katz's work, these types of studies present a concurrent analysis of several places, demonstrating how processes which may otherwise have been attributed to local factors are in fact part of wider economic, social and political globalisation. Martin (2005) constructs a 'topography of neoliberalism' to demonstrate the differential effects of globalisation in two regions of Mexico. He shows that while local elites in the northern region have aided the development of a global consumer capitalist culture, the poorer southern state has been subjected to neoliberal development plans. Drawing connections between these distinct neoliberal landscapes, he contends that local resistance could form a coalition across difference, although fails to specify how this could be achieved.

Francisco and Rodriguez (2014) highlight a case where connected mobilisation is already occurring, through global networks of Filipina migrants. By examining the lives of domestic workers in Hong Kong and New York City, they show how their common experiences of social reproductive labour connect them across different locations, creating a transnational movement against the Philippine state. Devayasaham et al. (2004), introducing a special issue of the Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography on South Asian Migrant Women, similarly highlight the usefulness of countertopography in exploring the transnational activism, which is the focus of this collection of papers. They argue that breaking down the hierarchical ordering of scales is crucial to forming global movements that can operate in local contexts. These are some of the few analyses of countertopography that examine actually existing resistance movements that are connected across places, rather than simply exploring the possibilities for such alliances.

Countertopography has been deployed to research a variety of other topics. Rossiter and Wood (2005) adopt Katz's goal of studying disenfranchised groups in the context of Aboriginal rights in Canada. They demonstrate how the globalised capitalist order enacted through government discourse reduces Native land claims to neoliberal economic consumerism. They argue for a broader form of citizenship acknowledging grounded practices, which is a central tenet of my research. Their study also extends countertopography to incorporate past colonial relations, which they argue are symbolically erased by the state. I will be advancing a similar argument, in a vastly different context, in my analysis of Commonwealth migrants' experiences of the citizenship process in the UK (see chapter 6).

Meanwhile, Jayne et al. (2008) use the term to elucidate the political, economic, cultural, social and spatial factors that are implicated in drinking landscapes. They highlight its application in upscaling knowledge drawn from specific localities to draw wider connections in theory, policy and practice. This resonates with the aims of my research, using a study of local areas to insinuate broader political, practical and theoretical implications. Countertopography has also been advocated as a

theoretical and empirical framework for rural studies, where it is argued that transformations in the global countryside should be examined in a relational and contextual manner, highlighting the development and inequalities produced (Heley and Jones, 2012). Here rural migrants have been suggested as a focus of analysis, considering the impact of their transnational relations on the materiality of rural landscapes (ibid.). I will demonstrate how this relationship between migrants and landscape is also inverted, with particular areas more or less receptive to migration depending on their historical relations with global and national processes.

I would argue that countertopography has particular value for migration scholars, who have increasingly called for mobility and migration to be examined from the perspective of the everyday, grounding globalisation in local lived experiences (Hannerz, 1992, Conradson and Latham, 2005, Clayton, 2009, Cook et al., 2011, Ho and Hatfield, 2011). Countertopography specifically aims to achieve this by advocating methodologies establishing detailed descriptions of place, and analysing these in relation to other places and scales. While migration is a global process, it is played out through the lives of individual migrants, and thus can only be fully understood by examining their stories. A countertopographical analysis enables us to connect these individual experiences to places within, between and across borders, recognising the wider economic, social, political and cultural processes imbued in migration.

A handful of migration scholars have harnessed countertopography to study migration, perspectives which I aim to extend. It has been suggested as a useful tool for exploring the 'in-between' spaces inhabited by migrants (Mountz, 2011). This applies to certain groups of migrants who have been described as living liminal lives, implying that their identity/status has moved on from one stage but not yet reached another. Having left one country, yet not being fully incorporated in the new country, migrants are 'betwixt and between' (Turner, 1969), separated from both origin and host societies and unable to fully access social, material and symbolic resources in either. This has been considered in the light of Agamben's (1998) 'spaces of exception', whereby the state symbolically excludes migrants

from the nation despite them residing within its boundaries. Mountz (2011) uses Agamben in her study of offshore detention centres, employing countertopography to critique the abstractness of his theorisation. A grounded analysis of the exclusion faced by asylum seekers is produced as an alternative, mapping the geographies that cause this state of exception. She highlights the indeterminate spaces they are confined to, both figurative and literal, also attempting to connect social movements that have arisen from their situation.

Literature has typically explored liminality in relation to undocumented migrants and asylum seekers, whose uncertain legal status leaves them in a state of limbo. This has negative implications for social relationships, access to employment and services, and identity formation, as well as the ability to plan for the future (Menjívar, 2006, Sargent and Larchanché-Kim, 2006, Sigona, 2012, Bloch, 2014). It has been argued that there is a need for more studies examining liminality in relation to migration (Griffiths et al., 2013), an issue which my research addresses. The concept of liminality highlights the power relations implicit in place belonging, a key concern of countertopographical theorists. Subjects are differentially included in particular relations, affecting their political positioning and ability to act (Staeheli and Nagel, 2006, Dixon, 2011). In later chapters I will stress the benefits of applying the concept of liminality to a wider group of migrants. The use of countertopography in studies of migration is explored further in the next section.

2.3.3   Countertopography in the study of citizenship and belonging

Countertopography fits well with some of the citizenship theories discussed in section 2.2.3, in particular complementing my examination of citizenship and belonging from a translocal perspective. Pratt and Yeoh (2003) contend that applying countertopography to transnationalism accounts for the particularity of geographical contexts, in opposition to the deterritorialisation that is often implied by transnational theory. They suggest that it can be used as a tool to examine 'comparative transnationalisms', both by looking at different networks in the same place and comparing transnationalisms across spaces. Although translocalism is

attentive to local places, it is in danger of privileging the local above other scales. Countertopography brings a multi-scalar perspective to studies of migration and transnationalism, ensuring that grounded relations between places are connected to broader global processes.

Staeheli and Nagel (2006) have applied countertopography to an empirical study of the transnational practices of Arab-American activists. Central to their analysis is the concept of home and they construct a 'topography of home' based on three elements: "home as place, home as the relations between internal and external, and home as pluri-local and multiscalar" (p.1601). This definition of home was instrumental to my approach in examining new citizens' sense of belonging, elucidating the connectivity of the different places, spaces and scales in which migrants construct their homes. Furthermore, their discussion of citizenship landscapes provides a platform for challenging notions of citizenship as bounded or located in particular spaces. Countertopography therefore conditioned my understanding of citizenship as being created between places and scales, embodied in the lives of individual citizens.

Attempts have also been made to frame 'topographies of citizenship', with Nelson using this approach to create "a situated knowledge of global citizenship politics" (2004, p.163). Similar to several other scholars (Martin, 2005, Koopman, 2008, Chaudhry and Bertram, 2009), she employs countertopography to critique the effects of US neoliberal imperialism on particular regions of the Global South, in this case Cherán, Mexico. She demonstrates how global citizenship discourses infiltrate particular geographical and historical contexts, where they are reworked and in some cases resisted by individuals and groups acting at a local level. My research will build on this approach, examining how constitutions of citizenship by multiple agencies and actors converge and diverge across places and scales. Unlike Nelson, I will be looking at those who are the targets of citizenship policy in the Global North, with migrants' narratives of cross-border affiliations complicating the idea of citizenship being enacted in a singular locality.

Most research employs countertopography spatially to either connect geographically distant locations or to consider a single location as a site of different histories from multiple places (Pratt, 2008). Whilst the latter will feature in my analysis, I will primarily be extending the idea of using countertopography to link divergent social positions, an area that has thus far been little explored. The only example that I have found is Conlon's (2013) work on migrants in Ireland, which draws on common experiences despite their very different backgrounds. She explains these in terms of migrants' embeddedness in the mechanisms of global capitalism, including labour market needs, insecurity and flexibility. By connecting these with individual migrants' lives, the abstractness of globalisation is grounded in its effects on those who are both products and agents of a particular globalised process – migration.

Using countertopography in this way is able to build on the work of others who have challenged the essentialism innate to concepts of identity and belonging (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000, Anthias, 2002). Belonging has often been theorised in terms of intersectional social locations, producing gendered, classed and racialised identities. A number of academics have explored gendered (Fenster, 2005, Anthias, 2006, Nava, 2006) and racialised (Solomos, 2001, Sivanandan, 2006) belonging and their interactions with other forms of identification. In the UK, hierarchies of migrants have been established based on race, nationality, gender, immigration status and education/employment level, with intersections between them potentially compounding disadvantages (Jordan and Brown, 2007, McDowell et al., 2009). This has been accentuated by state policy restricting the entry of less skilled non-EU migrants, favouring white migrants with high economic worth. These intersectionalities challenge the idea of universal citizenship, creating contingent, partial citizenships (Staeheli, 2008b). I aim to complicate existing understandings of citizenship and belonging by discovering their different meanings in a diverse group with multiple identities.

Intersectionality has been criticised for its tendency to categorise people in fixed groups, reifying identity characteristics. In reaction to this critique, Anthias (2008)

introduced the idea of 'translocational positionality'. This recognises the interplay of characteristics such as gender, ethnicity and class, but unlike intersectionality brings to light the complex and potentially contradictory nature of these junctures. She highlights how identity is formed through processes and social relations, which are context-specific and subject to change. This is enacted in everyday life, with identity and belonging products of both structure and agency. This can account for the complexity of migrant pathways and different social positionings. Katz (2001) similarly argues for a breaking down of categorisations, contending that this impedes common struggles against globalisation. Countertopography can expand the remit of 'translocational positionality', rebuilding connections across social positionings that are based on shared experiences of processes rather than fixed groupings.

Migration studies has a tendency to group migrants by their status or immigration background, using this to explain similarities or differences between them. Research has demonstrated how migrant pathways affect perceptions of citizenship, finding that disadvantaged groups such as asylum seekers often base it on security and social recognition, whilst for elite economic migrants it may contain more pragmatic value (Waite, 2011, Andreouli and Howarth, 2013). One study discovered that refugees had an enhanced sense of Britishness as shared values and rights due to their previous experiences of persecution (Rutter et al., 2007). Meanwhile, those from former colonies may feel a sense of affinity with the host country from its past and present relations with their origin country (Binaisa, 2013). Others have highlighted how the backgrounds of migrants may affect naturalisation rates and motivations. Brettell (2006) observed that in America, migrants of different nationalities conceptualised citizenship acquisition in divergent ways, with the value given to emotional belonging, security and pragmatic usage dependent on relationships with host and origin countries. Nonetheless, these kinds of studies risk compartmentalising migrant experiences at the expense of recognising cross-cutting themes between groups.

While calls to break down traditional categorisations are not new (see for example Silvey and Lawson, 1999, Vertovec, 2010), empirical studies still often rely on identity markers such as ethnicity, nationality, gender and migration type to classify migrant experiences. Although these were a factor in explaining attitudes towards citizenship, there was a surprising degree of convergence between participants' narratives of the citizenship process. With the securitisation of migration, the majority of migrants are subjected to a degree of suspicion and control, potentially creating some shared experiences across different trajectories. Whilst research often focuses on a particular group of migrants, mine draws connections across a diverse range of new citizens. I will use countertopography as a means of challenging the categorisation of migrants, exposing commonalities forged by the imposition of a state-controlled nationalising process.

Much work on countertopography, in focusing on connecting the global and local, has missed out a crucial scale in between – the national. Nonetheless, some have considered the impacts of state control on individual bodies (Martin, 2005, Rossiter and Wood, 2005, Dixon, 2011). Dixon's (2011) study of vulnerable migrant workers in the US employs countertopography to ground the abstractness of national immigration policy, focusing on its differential intimate effects. She demonstrates how relations between individual bodies and various institutions and structures create an embodied process of becoming. This is particularly relevant to my research, which will focus on 'the making of the citizen' as a product of the relation between state and migrant.

Whilst the role of the state in mediating globalisation has been recognised by some utilising this theory, it is generally considered a facilitator of neoliberal globalisation. My research examines citizenship ceremonies and tests as a state reaction against globalisation, an attempt to renationalise its increasingly diverse population. This challenges the assumption many have made in the wake of Katz's theory that global processes flow seamlessly into local areas, generally endorsed by the state. Instead, it posits the state as resisting the effects of global migration in an attempt to return to a romanticised view of a communal past, based on shared

norms and values. Official recognition of the transnational worlds inhabited by migrants is therefore denied, creating a narrow vision of citizenship located in a single national space. This top-down portrayal of citizenship is inscribed in policy and practice aiming to integrate immigrants, connecting the experiences of the subjects it in imposed upon.

Although countertopography has provided a detailed analysis of space and scale, it has little to say about time. Rossiter and Woods (2005), by acknowledging topographies of the past, present and future, is a single exception. This is perhaps surprising, given the temporalities implicit in the idea of processes of globalisation transforming local areas. It has been argued that focusing on space over time supports a capitalist global community, maintaining the status quo of neo-colonial relations (Cwerner, 2000, Adam, 2002). Given the emancipatory objectives of countertopography, it would seem that a greater recognition of temporality is crucial. Massey, who influenced Katz's conception of countertopography, highlights the interconnections between temporality and spatiality in the production of political and social relations, contending that they should be conceptualised together as 'space-time' (Massey, 1992). She is however critical of Harvey's description of globalisation as a 'time-space compression', arguing that its abstractness allows no room for specific places and social relations, which influence unequal experiences of globalisation (Massey, 1993). Her consideration of temporal geographies, which is sensitive to the particularities of local networks and processes within globalisation, could provide an ideal basis for introducing time into theories of countertopography.

Although countertopography is a fairly new concept only used by a small number of academics, it has been applied in many different ways. Without careful consideration of its specific application in a particular study, it runs the risk of becoming so broad as to be redundant. I will be using countertopography as an analytical tool to draw divergent places and, in particular, subjects together. Unlike many other scholars using this term, my research is not a direct critique of capitalist globalisation. I do however draw on aspects of this literature. For

example, I highlight the ways in which the state deploys similar mechanisms to global capitalism in the 'divide and rule' strategy enacted through immigration policy. As Katz points out, this encourages fragmentation, with artificial divisions between groups undermining solidarity. This is embodied by prospective citizens who need to show their worth in order to acquire citizenship, portraying themselves as 'good citizens' in opposition to 'bad migrants'. This masks commonalities between migrants and weakens the possibility of critiquing the increasingly negative rhetoric surrounding immigration, which has been extended to the citizenship process.

My research predominantly furthers Katz's project of drawing 'contour lines' between subject positions and locations, lending itself less to her second goal of bringing people together to resist the negative implications of globalisation. Nonetheless, Katz's account provides little direction of how this could be achieved in practice. Although other scholars similarly argue that countertopography can provide the foundations for a 'gendered oppositional politics' (Nagar et al., 2002), the strategies for achieving this have yet to be fleshed out. I felt that its usefulness for my research lay in its ability to elucidate explanations for connections beyond categories, by linking migrant narratives with processes operating at multiple scales. Through this, I hope to challenge some of the existing literature on citizenship, migration and belonging.

2.4   Additional key concepts

In addition to citizenship and countertopography, there are a number of other key concepts that are utilised in my thesis. Two of them – integration and belonging – refer to my aim of examining the impact that the citizenship process has on these. The third – ritual – is inspired by anthropological literature considering ceremonial events as rites of passage. Along with several other academics (Merelman, 1988, Damsholt, 2008, Fassin and Mazouz, 2009), I believe that examining naturalisation as a ritualised process can provide valuable insights into its operation and purpose.

This section presents a brief introduction to these terms. These will be explored further in Chapter 5, which connects integration to citizenship as practice, and Chapter 6, which demonstrates how belonging and ritual are entwined with citizenship as feeling.

The term integration was first used in the context of race and ethnic studies by the Chicago School, denoting the assimilation of ethnic minorities. It has since become popular in academic and policy contexts as a strategy for dealing with immigration in Western nation-states. Integration is a contested term with divergent meanings, which has proved difficult to measure. It is considered to have three interconnected domains: socio-economic, legal-political and cultural (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003). These include aspects such as participation in the labour market, social institutions and politics, social interactions and cultural practices. Processes of integration are place-specific and have a strong temporal aspect, with migrants establishing themselves in their host communities over time (Hatziprokopiou, 2003). My research explores integration as both a policy and everyday lived experience, noting convergences and tensions between them.

Belonging is another key concept in my study which is closely related to citizenship. It is a multi-faceted term, encompassing both formal and informal elements and including practice, politics and affect (Mee and Wright, 2009). Whilst it has been considered vital for personal well-being, community participation and social cohesion, it can also create divisions and discrimination. It is an often taken-for-granted notion, most frequently articulated when threatened. Belonging differs from citizenship due to issues of identification, with certain individuals and groups cast as 'others' in the national community despite formal membership (Bond, 2006, Yuval-Davis, 2007). This has increasingly been the case with particular ethnic and religious groups, whose values are often portrayed as incompatible with belonging to Western societies.

Belonging has been explored at both an individual and collective level. While studies commonly focus on one or the other, my research demonstrates how citizenship brings them together through the dynamics of inclusion/exclusion. It is an inherently geographical concept, connecting matter to place. The social construction of space defines who belongs, with space used as a mechanism of social control at a domestic, local and national level. The connections between place and belonging are exemplified in landscapes, which communicate notions of belonging to the polity. As will be explored in later chapters, the boundaries of belonging are fluid, with new citizens' personal identifications and feelings of acceptance changing across different spaces and times.

Ritual has been used to refer to a number of interrelated themes, including structures, symbolic meaning, performative actions and experiences (Schechner, 1993). A concise, straightforward description has been provided by Tambiah, who defines ritual as "a culturally constructed system of symbolic communication" (1985, p.128). The study of ritual has been primarily associated with anthropology. Van Gennep's (1960) theorisation of rites of passage was an early influential text in this field. He suggested that ceremonies are related to 'life crises' and mark the passage from one social standing to another, which involves crossing spatial and symbolic boundaries. His work was expanded on by Turner (1969), who used the concept of liminality to analyse ritual ceremonies as periods of transition. This involves the symbolic transformation of dangerous outsiders (migrants) into orderly insiders (citizens) (Merelman, 1988). This is reflected in populist and political discourse, which although frequently demonising immigrants is more sympathetic towards those acquiring citizenship. Whilst empirical studies have often focused on observations of distinctive spectacles, my research seeks new citizens' interpretations of the ceremonies and tests alongside an examination of their everyday lives, aiming to connect 'special events' with unreflexive performances.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a literature review of the themes that run throughout my research. To set the scene, I examined the history of British citizenship, considering theories and events that have led to current political practices. These are also connected to a wider European policy convergence, and I explicate the way in which this has played out through revised naturalisation procedures. I then outlined different national and global models of citizenship, explaining how whilst political regimes have drawn on national theories, a translocal model was most relevant for my research. Although spatial dimensions of citizenship are significant to my study, I also aim to expand temporal aspects of migration and citizenship, an area that is far less explored.

Section 2.3 explored my analytical framework of countertopography. I highlighted Katz's theory and emancipatory aims, drawing on feminist and Marxist geographies to inspire connected resistance against globalisation. However, in critically examining literature on countertopography, I found few examples of academics who were able to provide examples of how this might happen in practice. Given the wide remit of countertopography, I felt that for my research it could be most usefully refined to explain linkages between the subject positions of a diverse group of new citizens. I explained how I will achieve this by considering local, national and global factors that bind migrants through a set of common processes. I also hinted at gaps in the literature, including temporality and an in-depth analysis of the state, areas which I will be highlighting my contributions towards in later chapters.

Finally, I presented other key concepts that are integral to my thesis. As well as outlining theoretical definitions of integration and belonging, I elucidated the domains that are particularly relevant to my study. Ritual theory also contributed towards my understanding of the citizenship process, and I introduced the anthropological literature on rites of passage to contextualise this. Throughout this chapter I have drawn attention to the issues and approaches that I will be returning

to in subsequent chapters, emphasising how I intend to extend current theoretical, empirical and policy debates.

Chapter 3   Researching naturalisation

3.1   Introduction

My research is situated between more traditional methodologies and newly emerging research directions in human geography. These are centred on notions of embodiment, emotion and performing places (Davies and Dwyer, 2007), which have led to the increasing prominence of performative, haptic and visual approaches to methodology (Crang, 2003). Within geography there has recently been particular interest in researching specific moments situated in place (Davies and Dwyer, 2007). This is especially relevant for my research, which is partly looking at experiences of particular events. Wood et al. (2007) have used performance to explore how sharing emotional experiences with others can create collective identities. Formation of group identities is an important ritualistic function of citizenship ceremonies, which aim to connect new citizens to both local and national communities. Migration has also been explored through performance, using mediums such as music and theatre (Duffy, 2005, Blunt et al., 2007). My research conceptualises citizenship ceremonies as a staged theatrical display, and my methodology was designed to explore this further.

My fieldwork was conducted in the region of Yorkshire and the Humber between June 2012 and September 2013, using four study sites in order to explore the meanings attributed to citizenship ceremonies and tests within the context of different geographical places. As my aim was to understand the experiences of a diverse range of new citizens with a multiplicity of identities, I recruited twenty five migrants who had come from countries worldwide. My participants varied by age, gender, nationality, occupation, education level, religion, migration background and many other markers of identity. The only commonality was their successful navigation of the citizenship process, followed by the acquisition of British

citizenship. Comparing and contrasting the individual experiences of this diverse group of new citizens, substantiated by interviews with eleven state agents and participant observation, formed the basis of my analysis.

This chapter outlines how I designed and carried out my primary research. Section 3.2 addresses the initial phase of project design, beginning with outlining my mixed methods approach. I detail my study sites and the way in which the citizenship ceremonies and tests operate. I then explain my strategy for sampling and recruitment, including the difficulties of accessing a disparate, unknown group. The next section (3.3) considers the research process itself, which included repeat interviews and participant sensing. I acknowledge issues which were particularly challenging, such as the problems I experienced in implementing more innovative visual methods. This process concluded with data analysis, which is explained in section 3.3.4. Finally, section 3.5 illustrates some of the ethical dilemmas I was faced with, in particular reflecting on the influence of positionality whilst conducting cross-cultural research.

3.2   Project design

3.2.1   Mixed methods

I chose to use a qualitative mixed methods approach in my research. Whilst some have suggested that this can provide deeper understandings (Rose, 2001), Jackson (2011) argues that it aims for detail rather than depth, giving participants multiple ways to express themselves. Mixed methods have been considered particularly relevant in studies of migration, with Findlay and Li (1999) contending that it allows consideration of both the agency of migrants and wider structural constraints. Whilst they suggest mixing qualitative and quantitative methods, this was not appropriate for my research, which was interested in perceptions and meanings of events and everyday experiences rather than attempting to quantify them. Other studies have combined a range of qualitative methods in order to access migrant's feelings of belonging, a theme which is central to my research (cf. Walsh, 2006,

Chaitin et al., 2009). It is considered especially relevant for examining the emotional and performative realms of citizenship (Jackson, 2011), an area which I was particularly interested in.

Using multiple methods fitted with my aims of exploring new citizens' feelings, experiences and understandings of the citizenship process. I felt that this was best uncovered by combining fairly open-ended interviews with participant observations. I also envisioned using audio-visual methods, following calls for sensory methodologies within research practice (MacDougall, 2006, Mason and Davies, 2009). Whilst I felt these could have been useful tools for exploring non-verbal and performed aspects of identity and belonging (cf. Latham, 2003, Bijoux and Myers, 2006), practically they proved difficult to implement (see section 3.3.3). I therefore concentrated on mixing two main methods – in-depth interviews and participant observation.

3.2.2   Research sites

My field sites included two urban and two rural areas. This allowed a greater exploration of the influence of place, which is central to feelings of belonging. Migration studies examining population movements from the Global South to the Global North have tended to focus on migration into cities, as this is where it is most prevalent. Experiences of rural destination migration are likely to be different, given the underrepresentation of ethnic groups and the traditional view of the countryside as an exclusionary, nationalist landscape (Kinsman, 1995, Garland and Chakraborti, 2006, Tolia-Kelly, 2007a). Urban areas meanwhile have been frequently associated with the appropriation and reconfiguration of landscapes by different groups, potentially creating new spaces of belonging (cf. Secor, 2004, Veronis, 2007, Alexander, 2008, Nelson and Hiemstra, 2008). I felt that this may have implications for the inclusion and integration of migrants. However, this urban/rural binary is overly simplistic, with context-specific factors having significant implications for inclusion/exclusion. My study sites included a mixture of

urban, suburban and rural localities with different socio-economic and ethnic profiles, exploring the impact that place has on belonging.

Divergences between urban and rural are also reflected in place-based narratives within citizenship ceremonies. This was evident in a study I carried out in 2010, which involved comparing ceremony scripts in different areas. Whilst rural areas followed government discourse highlighting the responsibility of migrants to integrate and contribute to the community, the emphasis of urban areas on the enriching nature of diversity promoted a more inclusionary version of citizenship. Exploring divergent local contexts within which citizenship ceremonies take place and the implications this has on migrants' experiences was central to my research. However, in reality the environments in which participants lived their everyday lives were more nuanced than a simple urban/rural divide, with the presence of in-between places such as suburbs and market towns complicating this binary.

Fieldwork was based in Yorkshire and the Humber, the fifth largest region in Britain, which is made up of four sub-regions: Eastern Yorkshire and Northern Lincolnshire, North Yorkshire, South Yorkshire and West Yorkshire. My study sites (see figure 1) were **Bradford**, **Calderdale** and **Leeds**, local authorities situated in West Yorkshire; and **North Yorkshire**, which is made up of seven local authorities (Craven, Hambleton, Harrogate, Richmondshire, Ryedale, Scarborough and Selby) North Yorkshire is a 'top-tier' council, providing a range of services across the county and working in partnership with 'second-tier' district councils who provide other local services. Citizenship ceremonies in North Yorkshire are administered at county level, and I attended them in towns within the local authorities of Craven, Hambleton and Harrogate. In Calderdale, citizenship ceremonies were all held in Halifax. In the Bradford area, I attended ceremonies in both Bradford and Keighley, while in Leeds they all took place in the city centre. Examining ceremonies within Yorkshire and the Humber allowed an exploration of how they differ even within the same region. In 2013 there were 8,593 attendees in the region, almost double the number than when they were first introduced (Home Office, 2014a). Leeds and Bradford are centres of inward international migration, with the number of non-UK

born residents estimated at 96,000 in Leeds and 79,000 in Bradford in 2012 (ONS, 2013) (see figure 1). They consequently have the most citizens attending ceremonies in the region, over 1,000 each annually (RDS, 2009). Calderdale has a much lower estimated non-UK born population of 15,000, whilst in North Yorkshire the figure is 30,000 for the entire county (ONS, 2013) (see figure 1), with both having less than 200 new citizens a year (RDS, 2009). I attended at least four citizenship ceremonies in each of these areas.

Figure 1: Map of non-UK born population in Yorkshire (2011) with study sites

Map created using 2011 census data from Casweb and UK Borders via Edina.

3.2.3   Format of ceremonies and tests

UK citizenship ceremonies are organised by local councils, reflecting the decision to devolve the ceremonies to give them a 'local flavour' (Home Office, 2003). They are usually held in council buildings, and the venue is required to display a Union Jack flag and a portrait of the Queen. The ceremony itself begins with an official government script, delivered by the registrar conducting the ceremony, which outlines British values and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Additionally a local dignitary, usually a mayor, councillor or county lieutenant, reads a speech largely related to the local area. New citizens are asked to either swear (religious version) or affirm (non-religious version) the Oath of Allegiance, followed by the Pledge of Commitment. They are then invited to collect their certificates and a gift from the local authority, when they may have photographs taken with the local dignitary in front of the portrait of the Queen and flag. The ceremony ends with the playing of the national anthem, although it is not usually sung. Refreshments are generally provided at the end, giving new citizens and their guests a chance to mingle with others.

The Life in the UK test was initially designed by an independent advisory group. At the time, it was compulsory for anyone who could speak English at ESOL (English for Speakers for Other Languages) entry level 3 or above before applying for British citizenship. This was later extended to include those applying for Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR). [1] Those below the required language level were expected to attend ESOL with Citizenship classes and progress one level, demonstrating their willingness to learn. Although a suggested curriculum for these classes is provided by the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE), teachers are able to adapt this to the needs of their learners.

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[1] Indefinite Leave to Remain means that an immigrant is allowed to stay in the UK without any time restrictions.

The test itself is based on material covered in the Life in the UK handbook, with additional study support guides also available. It consists of 24 multiple choice questions, 18 of which must be answered correctly to pass. There is no limit to the number of times it can be taken. The pass rate for 2010-2013, before the introduction of a new test, was approximately eighty per cent (Home Office, 2014b). As of April 2015, it cost £50 to take, on top of the £1005 fee to apply for naturalisation (£749 for children), plus an £80 fee for the citizenship ceremony.

The original version of the Life in the UK handbook, published in 2004, contained eight chapters: 'The making of the United Kingdom'; 'A changing society'; 'Britain today: a profile'; 'How Britain is governed'; 'Everyday needs'; 'Employment'; 'Knowing the law'; and 'Sources of help and information' (Home Office, 2004). Only Chapters two, three and four were tested. A second edition was brought out in 2007, supposedly to correct factual errors and simplify the level of English language used (Home Office, 2007). However, White (2008) argues that revisions were more fundamental than this, shifting from a message of welcome and tolerance to expectations of conformity. The 2007 edition included an additional chapter, 'Building better communities', and Chapters five and six were also examined on.

An almost entirely new version of the test was devised by the Coalition government. This aimed to correct out of date information, but also "put British history and culture at the heart of it" (Cameron, 2011c, online), reflecting a change in political approaches towards citizenship. The 2013 edition of the handbook contains five chapters: 'The values and principles of the UK'; 'What is the UK?'; 'A long and illustrious history'; 'A modern, thriving society'; and 'The UK government, the law and your role'. All of these are tested.

The Coalition government have also abolished the ESOL route to citizenship, making it compulsory for all migrants applying for ILR to take the Life in the UK test. In addition, migrants who do not meet the criteria for exemption are required to take an English language proficiency test, reflecting the government's emphasis on ensuring that all migrants can speak an adequate level of English. I recruited

participants who had either taken the Life in the UK test or the ESOL route to citizenship, to explore differences between the two approaches to citizenship education.

3.2.4 Sampling and recruitment

I used purposeful sampling to identify participants to be included in my study. This is based on creating in-depth understanding by using 'information-rich cases' (Patton, 1990). The only criteria were that participants had to have had their application for British citizenship approved, and be awaiting a citizenship ceremony. In the end I had to widen this to include those who had recently attended their citizenship ceremony, as it proved difficult to identify enough people who were at precisely the stage of the citizenship process that I was looking for. I also used a limited degree of snowball sampling, whereby participants referred me to another individual they knew who had applied for British citizenship. This approach risks selection bias, drawing participants from a limited range of social networks (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). This could have been a particular concern in my research, which was aiming to recruit migrants with a diverse range of demographics and social positions. However, this issue was minimalised by the fact that I only managed to access one participant using this method.

Recruiting participants was the most challenging aspect of the research process. I was attempting to access a hard-to-reach population, where the sample size and location was relatively unknown (Benoit et al., 2005). The only comprehensive record of those who have recently been granted citizenship is held by the Home Office, and passed onto the local authority concerned in order to invite them to a citizenship ceremony. These records are confidential, and I was therefore unable to gain access to them. However, after contacting the registry offices in my study areas and explaining my research to them, they agreed to send a flyer I had produced asking for research participants (see appendix A) with the letter inviting individuals to a citizenship ceremony. I felt that this was a particularly appropriate

method of recruitment as participants were free to choose whether they wished to contact me, without any external pressure. However, some of the registrars would only send the flyers out for a limited time, and having recruited just four participants this way, I had to consider other avenues.

My next approach was to identify organisations which could potentially help me to locate new citizens. This necessitated recognising the local contexts in which individuals are embedded, thereby considering which areas of the community potential participants may be involved in (Sixsmith et al., 2003). This initially led me to search for ethnic minority centres and ESOL providers, but this quickly widened to include religious organisations, sporting clubs, legal advice centres, residents' associations and other types of community group. For each organisation I identified the most relevant individual to contact, and either sent them an email or telephoned them. Out of the hundreds of emails I sent, only a fraction received a response, but I eventually managed to recruit a reasonable number of participants this way. I also placed adverts in community newspapers, on migration-related websites and mailing lists and on the Facebook pages of community organisations, which received some responses.

Using gatekeepers presents a number of issues. Firstly, they may select only participants that are approved by themselves, creating a biased selection (Sixsmith et al., 2003). However, in the case of the organisations I contacted, those that responded tended to only know of one or two potential participants, and I was more often presented with individuals who did not fit my criteria than denied access to people. Another issue is the role of power relations between the gatekeeper and participant, with the former often in some position of authority in relation to the latter. This makes informed consent more difficult, as gatekeepers may use coercion to persuade individuals to participate in research (Miller and Bell, 2002). Gatekeepers tended to ask potential participants permission to give me their contact details, although what they told them about my research was beyond my control. I did however use the initial telephone call to emphasis the voluntary nature of participation, a message I reinforced throughout the research process.

My final method of recruitment was approaching people at the citizenship ceremonies I attended in each area. In some ways this was the ideal setting, as I was able to meet them in person to explain my research and answer any questions directly. However, I was concerned that people might feel pressured into participating if put on the spot, so if they were interested I arranged a subsequent telephone call before setting a date to interview them. The fact that many I talked to said they did not wish to participate was a reassuring sign that people did not feel unduly under pressure. I was also wary of not disturbing what many regarded as a special occasion, and I waited until new citizens and their guests were mingling at the end of the ceremony, which provided a more relaxed, informal setting where people seemed happy to chat.

Whilst my recruitment strategies gave me limited control over the characteristics of my participants, I did end up with a good range of migration backgrounds, nationalities, socio-economic and demographic features within my sample (see table 1). I was also keen for my research to encompass those who are not considered the 'targets' of citizenship measures (cf. MacGregor and Bailey, 2012), including 'white' migrants from English-speaking countries such as America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. These have generally been excluded from research on the new citizenship measures, despite the fact that they are likely to have significantly different opinions from other groups of migrants. I managed to recruit a minority of such migrants, including three participants from South Africa and one from Canada. I aimed for a relatively even gender split, interviewing fifteen female and ten male participants. I also felt that recruiting migrants with a variety of ages was important, and participants ranged in age from mid-twenties to early-seventies. All participants had migrated to the UK within the last fifteen years, apart from one, who had been living in the UK for almost thirty years.

One of the difficulties of conducting research involving different phases over a period of time is the increased likelihood of dropouts. While I had accounted for this in my research design, it was impossible to anticipate the number of

participants that would not complete the research process, and the implications this would have on the data. Four participants chose not to participate in more than one interview, but consented to me using the data already collected. However, the interviews I conducted with these individuals were detailed and information-rich, and I was still able to analyse them and use the findings. I nonetheless identified further cases to ensure I had a sufficient number of multiple interviewees, recruiting twenty five participants in total, including one married couple. This included five from Bradford, six from Calderdale, nine from Leeds and five from North Yorkshire.

In addition to new citizens, I also interviewed eleven state agents (see table 2). This happened towards the end of the fieldwork process, to enable me to identify important stakeholders and issues whilst accumulating data. As one of my objectives was to consider the effects of citizenship ceremonies and tests on local and national belonging, I interviewed officials operating at both these scales. At the local level, citizenship registrars from each of the my field sites were recruited. Access was straightforward as I had already met them through attending citizenship ceremonies they had organised. National bureaucrats were recruited on the basis of their involvement in the design or implementation of naturalisation policy. This included David Blunkett, who devised the idea of citizenship ceremonies and tests, as well as policy advisors and civil servants. Although I was unable to speak to anyone from the current cabinet or shadow cabinet, an up-to-date perspective on citizenship policy was provided by senior civil servants at the Home Office during a day's visit (see page 82).

Table 1: Participants – new citizens

Name (pseudonym)	Location	Country of origin	Migration type	Age	Gender	Occupation	Citizenship route
Bintu	Bradford	Sierra Leone	Family (marriage)	Late 30s	Female	Hairdresser	ESOL
Corina	Bradford	Philippines	Economic	Early 40s	Female	Healthcare assistant	LIUK
Fiyori	Bradford	Eritrea	Refugee	Late 30s	Female	Cleaner	ESOL
Grace	Bradford	Ghana	Student/family (marriage)	Mid 40s	Female	Healthcare assistant	LIUK
Pasha	Bradford	Egypt	Family (marriage)	Late 20s	Female	Full-time parent	ESOL
Denise	Calderdale	South Africa	Family (marriage)	Early 50s	Female	Logistics analyst	LIUK
Jafar	Calderdale	Sudan	Family (marriage)	Early 40s	Male	Factory worker	LIUK
Maryam	Calderdale	Guinea	Refugee	Mid 30s	Female	Full-time parent	ESOL
Salim	Calderdale	Pakistan	Family (marriage)	Late 20s	Male	Factory worker	ESOL
Tanvi	Calderdale	India	Economic	Early 40s	Female	IT technician/parent	LIUK
Yolanda	Calderdale	Philippines	Economic	Early 40s	Female	Healthcare assistant	LIUK
Aakash	Leeds	India	Family (dependent)	Mid 20s	Male	Student/shop assistant	LIUK
Abbas	Leeds	Liberia	Refugee	Early 30s	Male	Cleaner/porter	ESOL
Isaiah	Leeds	Nigeria	Economic	Late 30s	Male	Nurse	LIUK
Juliette	Leeds	Mexico	Student/family (marriage)	Early 30s	Female	Food business	LIUK
Kess	Leeds	Ethiopia	Refugee	Mid 20s	Female	Waitress	ESOL
Nehanda	Leeds	Zimbabwe	Family (dependent)	Early 70s	Female	Retired nurse	N/A due to age
Noah	Leeds	Zimbabwe	Student/economic	Early 30s	Male	Engineer	LIUK
Paul and Olisa	Leeds	Nigeria	Economic	Mid 40s	Male/female	Social worker and nurse	LIUK
Alison	North Yorkshire	Canada	Economic/family	Early 40s	Female	Freelance IT	LIUK
Daniel	North Yorkshire	South Africa	Economic	Mid 50s	Male	Security guard	LIUK
Leandre	North Yorkshire	South Africa	Student/economic	Mid 30s	Female	University lecturer	LIUK
Moses	North Yorkshire	Ghana	Student/economic	Mid 30s	Male	RAF engineer	LIUK
Simon	North Yorkshire	Burma	Student/economic	Mid 30s	Male	Nurse	LIUK

Table 2: Participants – state agents

Name/organisation	Role
David Blunkett	Home Secretary - 2001-2004
Mark Rimmer	National Local Government Spokesperson for Citizenship Ceremonies; conducted first citizenship ceremony
Mary Coussey	Member of Life in the UK advisory group (2002-2003); Chair of Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (2004-2008)
Home Office	Nationality policy-making team
Bradford Metropolitan County Council	Citizenship registrar
Bradford Metropolitan County Council	Citizenship registrar
Calderdale Council	Citizenship registrar
North Yorkshire County Council	Citizenship registrar
Leeds City Council	Citizenship registrar
West Yorkshire Lieutenancy	Dignitary
North Yorkshire County Council	Dignitary

3.3 Research process

3.3.1 Interviewing

My primary research method was interviewing. This approach is considered useful for both exploring individual perceptions and locating them in their social and cultural context (McCracken, 1988, Mason, 1996). Additionally it can be used to examine processes of change, which I hoped to gain insight into by considering migrants' past, present and future (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). The diversity of attitudes from my varied sample of respondents was likely to be most effectively captured by allowing them space to express themselves fully. I therefore used in-depth interviews, which as the term implies, is able to create 'deep' understandings of multifarious meanings, emotions and experiences (Johnson, 2002). However, it is also important to acknowledge that language reconstitutes

events, rather than directly accessing lived experience (Denzin, 1991, Mason, 1996). It is argued that in-depth migrant-focused interviews are necessary to depict the complexities of their identities and subjectivities, which can then be connected to wider social structures (Lawson, 2000). Given the range of interconnecting social positions my sample occupied, it is doubtful that any other method could have successfully captured the nuances of their experiences.

The main limitation of the traditional interview for my research was that it is based on talk and text, therefore detracting from the visual and spatial, which are important facets of identity and belonging. Additionally, the interview is based in a particular, constrained context (Mason, 1996), potentially undermining its ability to connect to everyday life. Furthermore, the formal setting can be intimidating to participants and it was important to put them at ease. When interviewing expats, Jackson (2011) moved from semi-structured to open-ended interviewing, finding that informality generated greater depth and detail within the interviews. It is contended that a conversational approach with minimal intervention allowing participant greater control of the interview is one way to create more equal relationships (Lee, 1993). I therefore adopted a relatively open-ended approach, adding in more structure when discussing the specifics of the citizenship ceremonies and tests.

Within a semi-structured interview format, the manner in which questions are approached and their ordering are also important. I used a 'funnelling' structure, beginning with simple questions putting participants at ease, and broaching sensitive topics later on in the interview (Rubin and Rubin, 1995, Dunn, 2000). My interview guide (see appendix B) was based on themes that I wanted to cover, rather than specific questions, in order to make the interview less artificial and formulaic. Some have suggested that the interviewer should become an 'active listener', encouraging the articulation of meanings and experiences by the participant (Holstein and Gubrium, 1993, Bourdieu, 1996). However, McCracken (1988) has criticised this approach, believing it directs participants to answer in particular ways. It was necessary to strike a fine balance between the two, as some

direction was needed to ensure the interview remained focused on my research aims. In this regard a process of 'responsive interviewing' was helpful, involving adapting to research relations and the interview context (Rubin and Rubin, 1995).

I interviewed the majority of participants in their homes. As Valentine (1997) notes, this creates a relaxed setting. It adds to migrants' agency within the research process, as it is a space both constructed and controlled by them (Tolia-Kelly, 2004). It also relates to my research aims, with 'home' a central part of migrant identities and notions of belonging (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). Several have noted the significance of domestic material culture in migrants' lives, which reflects sensory attachments to other places (Tolia-Kelly, 2004, Walsh, 2006). By conducting interviews in homes, participants were able to show rather than just verbalise experiences related to domestic belonging (Jackson, 2011). However, I allowed participants to choose the most convenient location to be interviewed, and as a result conducted several interviews in public places such as cafes, bars and workplaces.

Another important part of interviewing is developing rapport and trust amongst participants. It is suggested that sharing a background with participants is beneficial to this (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). Nonetheless, Valentine (2002) gives examples of developing good relationships with participants despite different standpoints. The process of 'creative interviewing', whereby emotions are relayed through a process of mutual disclosure, is also considered helpful for encouraging participants to open up (Douglas, 1985). However, this was of limited use in my research given that I did not share many of the experiences of my participants. This reflects some of the dilemmas of cross-cultural interviewing, which are expanded on in section 3.5.

Interviews have been seen as an effective way of exploring issues across socio-cultural distance (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). Nonetheless, it is necessary to acknowledge racialised subject identities when considering responses of participants and ways to create an atmosphere of openness (Dunbar et al., 2002). It

is argued that empathy and self-disclosure can create shared understanding, furthering the responses of the participant. However, as highlighted above I often lacked similar experiences to disclose. Nevertheless, race is a fluid subject position (Dunbar et al., 2002) and I was able to draw commonalities with other aspects of participants' lives. Whilst reviews of cross-cultural interviewing often focus on communication problems, it is contended that mutual understanding and collaboration can be created by actively negotiating the 'insider-outsider' boundary (Ryen, 2002). This is explored further in section 3.5.

I conducted multiple interviews with participants. As integration is a process, this enabled me to examine changes over time. In particular, I felt that it was crucial to explore perceptions of a single ritual event, the citizenship ceremony, at different moments in time. Whilst it is suggested that rituals can create a community bound by emotions and shared experience and participation (Somdahl-Sands, 2008), this unity may be temporary, only lasting the length of the event (Moore and Myerhoff, 1977, Fischer-Lichte, 2005). I therefore planned to begin the research process before the citizenship ceremony, with the second stage shortly after it had taken place and the final part three months later. This allowed a comparison of opinions and emotions associated with the ritual at different stages of the process. Previous studies of British citizenship ceremonies and tests have relied on a single interview to assess naturalisation measures (MacGregor and Bailey, 2012, Andreouli and Howarth, 2013, Byrne, 2014), overlooking the significance of temporality in rituals associated with identity and belonging.

Multiple stages of research also allowed greater opportunity to build up relationships and rapport with participants. Although this was not initially the rationale behind this method, it did enhance the research process and the richness of my findings. As would be expected when allowing a stranger into your home, participants were sometimes reticent to begin with, and hesitant when answering my questions. However, by the end of the first interview this awkwardness had often lessened, and at the next interview some greeted me with real warmth, making the interview process run more smoothly and informally. I would often be

offered refreshments before or after the interview, and this generally encouraged friendly chatter, at times lasting long after the interview had finished. While developing rapport with a wide range of people can be challenging, entering into the homes and lives of my participants was made easier by my choice of research methods.

The trust developed over time by conducting multiple interviews is particularly important in cross-cultural research. As Ortiz (2001) found, developing collaborative relationships with participants over a period of time meant that they increasingly viewed him as an 'insider', therefore divulging more details about their lives. Additionally, it enabled him to explore both the past experiences and current lives of participants, which was essential to my study. Furthermore, a careful review of each transcribed interview before the next encounter with the participant allowed me to pinpoint themes that could be expanded on, adding to the depth of material covered.

3.3.1.1 Interview one – introductions

I aimed to conduct the initial interview several weeks before the citizenship ceremony. This began by adopting a biographical approach, which is considered particularly relevant for exploring the everyday lives of migrants (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). It is also useful for examining changes in the self over time, in relation to both individual identity and place in a community (Atkinson, 2001). I adopted a similar approach to that of Chaitin et al. (2009), who invited interviewees to "tell us your life story", instead asking participants to "tell me about your life in Britain", followed by questions related to my research (see appendix B). This open-ended approach gives participants greater agency, allowing them to control the direction of the interview and talk about what is important to them. Whilst I envisaged that they were likely to implicitly refer to experiences of inclusion/exclusion, integration and their sense of belonging, some participants did not react well to open questions at the start. In these cases, I responded by adding more direction to the

interview, often returning to a less structured conversation as they became more relaxed.

The first interview primarily ended up being a useful way of introducing participants to the research, and beginning to build up rapport. The interview guide was based on finding out background information about their migration journey, origin country and current situation, and I purposefully tried to avoid asking any particularly difficult or sensitive questions, although talking about reasons for migrating was inevitably emotional for some. A number were apprehensive about the research process, and this interview was particularly instrumental with them. One participant asked her immigration advisor, who had referred her to me, to be present at our first meeting. Following this interview she felt comfortable for me to attend her citizenship ceremony and we met twice more after this, both times at her home unaccompanied. However, I was unfortunately unable to recruit most participants in time to conduct an interview before their citizenship ceremony. If this was the case, I interviewed them twice, asking the introductory questions in the post citizenship ceremony interview.

3.3.1.2 Interview two – post citizenship ceremony

The second interview took place shortly after the citizenship ceremony. This was the most substantial interview, focusing on the citizenship ceremony, test and classes. I firstly asked participants to reflect upon their experiences of the citizenship ceremony, adopting the open-ended phrase "tell me about…". This was followed by more specific questions exploring the enactment of the performance, the emotions it elicited and their opinions of the event. I also asked for details of guests they brought with them, what they chose to wear and whether they did anything else to celebrate (see appendix B).

The interview also looked at the citizenship test and classes. Here I examined what they considered the purpose of the test to be, how they found the experience of taking it and whether they felt it had helped in their everyday lives. For those

attending citizenship and language classes I was particularly interested in investigating the social aspects of these classes, to discover how participants interacted with others in the classes and whether this had any implications for their sense of inclusion. Kiwan (2008) argues that engagement in classes has an integrative potential not provided by the test route. Therefore examining the different outcomes of these two paths to citizenship was an important part of my research.

3.3.1.3   Interview three – three months later

The third interview was conducted approximately three months after the citizenship ceremony. I asked participants to reflect on their lives since coming to Britain, detailing any significant events or changes. I then moved on to themes relating specifically to identity and belonging, including their conception of Britishness, their views of the local area, social contact with others and their work environment. These questions aimed to uncover the degree to which they felt included in both the nation and locality, as well as how well they had integrated into British society.

This interview also revisited feelings about the citizenship ceremony and test. As Kong and Yeoh (1997) state, the effects of national rituals on emotional identification with the nation may be short-lived. The political aims of such measures are to foster a permanent sense of allegiance and I therefore used this interview to see whether participants' attitudes had changed over time. I explored how they felt British citizenship had impacted on their everyday lives, both in terms of practical aspects such as work and travel and symbolic dimensions of identity and belonging (see appendix B).

3.3.1.4   Language

In order to make my research as inclusive as possible, I considered using translators where appropriate. Although basic knowledge of the English language is a

requirement of naturalisation, I felt that some participants may prefer to express themselves in their own language. However, in the end all interviews were primarily conducted in English, with two containing a small amount of translation.

There are a number of issues associated with using a translator in interviews. They may potentially create awkwardness, taking away from the natural flow of conversation. Nonetheless, Williamson et al. (2011) note that the atmosphere was generally relaxed in interviews in which they used a translator. Support from a member of the same ethnic community may in fact put participants at ease. In the case of my interviews, translation was provided by a family member or friend who was already present, stepping in only when needed, which became a natural part of the conversation. Additionally, it is argued that translators do not simply provide descriptions but have the power of choosing how to represent people and their lives (Temple and Koterba, 2009). Given that those translating were part of a participant's close social network, this seemed less of an issue. However, due to the informal nature they usually did not translate verbatim, and it was sometimes difficult to disentangle the interviewee's statements from their own. Despite this, in the two cases that involved informal translation, it was a valuable tool to help participants understand the meaning of my questions, and be able to answer them more fully.

Conducting interviews in English brings its own set of problems. There are variations in the way people express themselves in different languages, with divergent structures, degrees of explanation and display of emotions (Temple and Koterba, 2009). Additionally, nonverbal cues may be misunderstood (Ryen, 2002). Although almost half of my participants had spoken English since childhood, with many more since becoming proficient, cultural variations within the language were noticeable. Interviewing was most challenging with those who were less fluent. Whilst I was still able to conduct reasonably fluid conversations with these participants, I felt that they were often drawing on a limited vocabulary to express themselves. Additionally, they did not always understand my questions, although over time I developed ways of simplifying them. Conducting follow-up interviews

also helped with the language barrier. Often participants seemed nervous to speak in English at first, but by the subsequent interview gained confidence and were able to articulate meanings coherently, using greater detail. When it came to analysing the data, I was therefore able to draw on valid and useful material from all of my interviews.

3.3.1.5   State agent interviews

Interviews with state agents aimed to delve further into the perceived objectives of naturalisation policy and its execution in practice. I was interested to explore variations between local areas, both in the interpretation of national legislation and the way in which they constructed it as a local event. Interviews with citizenship registrars provided an in-depth account of the ceremonies in their area, focusing on the actors involved, the messages conveyed, new citizens' responses and the perceived rationale behind them. Talking to the organisers can also highlight the manipulation of material space in an event (Wood et al., 2007). This is significant in citizenship ceremonies, where the venue forms part of the ritual. Interviews with other bureaucrats focused on their area of involvement, generally considering naturalisation from a national policy perspective. These looked at citizenship ceremonies, tests and classes from their inception right through to the recent changes to the Life in the UK test by the Coalition government, primarily examining the reasoning behind them.

The style of interviewing I used with state agents was different to the approach I took with new citizens. As they were often pressed for time, I had to adopt a slightly more structured format, identifying the most important points to ask them before the interview. I also presented more challenges to state agents, using data I had accumulated from participant observations and interviews with new citizens to question the logic of naturalisation procedures. In some cases this meant playing devil's advocate, which allowed me to probe deeper into some of the more controversial issues implicated in both policy and practice.

In total I conducted fifty nine interviews, including the eleven with state agents. Four new citizens only attended one interview, seventeen (including the married couple who were interviewed together) were interviewed twice and four new citizens completed all three interviews.

3.3.2 Participant sensing

Participant observation was also undertaken at citizenship ceremonies. This method involves investigating interactions and behaviours within certain settings as they play out, becoming a process of 'knowing' an event from being there (Mason, 1996). Participant observation includes engagement with all of the senses (Herbert, 2000), which is particularly important in emotional geographies. Culture is embodied in performances that are enacted through bodily movements and sensory encounters (Crang, 2003, Latham, 2003), and being part of these events allowed me to engage with non-verbal experiences which were both influenced by and in turn shaped constructions of British culture.

My observation of citizenship ceremonies was based on 'participant sensing', involving both experiencing the event and taking notes, through which I hoped to gain partial understanding of the event (Wood et al., 2007). It has been considered worthwhile to pinpoint everyday emotions in the 'moment' of performance (Wood, 2012), given their importance in shaping movements, interaction and identity formation (Duffy, 2005). I was attuned to displays of emotion when attending citizenship ceremonies, following these up with participants in interviews. I also adopted elements of visual ethnography. This is based on the configuration of space and place (Emmison and Smith, 2000), which are important geographical aspects of my study. A good example is Stimson's (1986) study of how General Medical Council disciplinary hearings are partly constituted by the room in which they take place. This displays an impression of formality and tradition, embodying the values of the performance itself. This was important to note in my attendance of citizenship ceremonies, in which the venue was used to create a sense of

grandeur, ritual and celebration. My observations paid close attention to the staging and structure of the event and its potential effects on participants.

Researchers are inevitably part of the construction of an observation (Davies, 1999) and this required close scrutiny of the effects it may have had. The researcher's role within this method is based on a participant-observer continuum. Within citizenship ceremonies I had anticipated being more of an observer due to the inability to fully participate in the naturalisation process. However, in reality I found myself as much a part of the audience as new citizens' guests, and often shared in the general conversation between them. Most were unaware that I was a researcher until the end of the ceremony, and this anonymity allowed me to blend in more easily. Furthermore, in some ceremonies guests were invited to join in with parts of the ceremony, and I had to recite the citizenship pledge several times, as well as standing for the national anthem and the entrance of a dignitary. I was therefore able to reflect on my own feelings and actions during these performances, as well as observing those of other audience members. However, my experiences would not have been the same as others' present and therefore interviews played an important role in expanding on the unique encounters of participants.

As well as attending twenty citizenship ceremonies (see table 3), I observed four ESOL classes. Until recently, ESOL with Citizenship was a recognised route to naturalisation, and one that seven of my participants had taken. ESOL involves a different style of learning from the test, based on an interactive educational environment (Han et al., 2010, Kiwan, 2011). In order to understand how these classes functioned, and to be able to make comparisons with the Life in the UK route, I felt that it was important to observe them in practice. Whilst my presence was more obvious than in the citizenship ceremonies, the structured nature of the classes meant that students were soon absorbed in its content. I was also regularly asked to participate in these classes, often partnering with another student to work through an exercise. Breaks provided opportunities for informal chats with both students and teachers. This active involvement helped to break down some of the

boundaries between observer and participant. Although I was unable to watch the Life in the UK test being carried out, observing ESOL classes provided me with crucial contextual knowledge of the educational aspect of citizenship.

Leeds	Bradford	Calderdale	North Yorkshire	London
20th September 2012 Leeds Civic Hall	26th September 2012 Bradford Town Hall	13th June 2012 Halifax Town Hall Golden Jubilee ceremony	22nd January 2013 Harrogate Register Office	20th May 2013 City Hall Annual London-wide ceremony
3rd November 2012 Leeds Town Hall	28th November 2012 Keighley Town Hall	16th January 2013 Halifax Register Office	21st February 2013 Skipton Register Office	26th February 2014 Brent Town Hall 10 year anniversary ceremony
18th July 2013 Leeds Town Hall	13th February 2013 Bradford Town Hall	13th February 2013 Halifax Register Office	9th April 2013 Northallerton Register Office	
30th July 2013 Leeds Town Hall 3 private ceremonies	13th March 2013 Bradford Register Office	15th May 2013 Halifax Register Office	16th May 2013 Harrogate Register Office	
	10th July 2013 Bradford Town Hall	12th June 2013 Halifax Register Office		

Table 3: Citizenship ceremonies attended

My final observation was at the Home Office headquarters of the former UK Border Agency (UKBA). Here, I spent a day being shown the different stages of processing naturalisation applicants and speaking to the staff involved. This gave me an insight into the internal dynamics of the bureaucracy involved in citizenship acquisition, and I was able to examine how government rhetoric and policy is translated into the inclusion/exclusion of particular types of migrant for citizenship.

3.3.3 Problematic methods

I had originally intended to use an audio-visual methodology in addition to the stated methods. There have increasingly been calls for sensory methodologies within research practice (MacDougall, 2006, Mason and Davies, 2009). This has primarily focused on visual methods, although these are able to access senses other than vision. Exploring sensual experiences of place fitted well with the emotional geographies background to my methodology. Studies using visual methods such as photography have often looked at community, identity and culture (Harper, 2002). As these were integral to my research, I felt that this could be a useful tool for exploring aspects of my participants' identities that would otherwise be potentially difficult to access.

I planned to use 'auto-photography', based on recording individuals' views of the world and their place in it (Ziller, 1990). Participants would both take photographs at the ceremonies, and look out pictures they had taken since moving to Britain, documenting their life here. I had also anticipated videoing ceremonies and playing the recordings back to participants to elicit some of the experiences of 'the moment'. However, this idea proved short-lived as I was told by the organisers that I was not allowed to film during the ceremonies. I believed that these methods could have enhanced access to citizenship as a performance, both in formal rituals and everyday life.

My intention was to conduct visual elicitation interviews, in which the photographs taken would have been used as a focal point for discussion. It is contended that visual elicitation can uncover meanings which cannot be expressed verbally (Johnson and Weller, 2002). The visual is also able to enhance conversational means of communication, as well as providing different kinds of knowledge within the interview setting (Byrne and Doyle, 2004, Van Auken et al., 2010). As Clark-Ibáñez (2004) found, photo-elicitation interviews produced a greater amount of material and meanings than traditional interviews. This approach is considered beneficial in increasing participant agency, facilitating a process of mutual learning

in which they are considered an expert (Banks, 2001, Kolb, 2008). I felt that employing a participant-led method would reduce the formality of the interview, leading to more creative and insightful reflections.

However, photo-elicitation requires skills, time and effort on behalf of the participant, as well as easy access to photographs, which may limit its usage (Bijoux and Myers, 2006, Mason and Davies, 2009). These issues generated significant problems in my fieldwork, to the point where I had to discontinue this method. I initially asked participants to bring photographs of ten things that they felt had been important to them in their life in Britain, along with any they had taken at their citizenship ceremony. Some did not have access to these images, while others brought a large collection of photographs, making any analysis of their significance more difficult. Whilst a few responded to this task well, I was unable to implement it across enough interviews, and as a result decided to abandon it as a formal method. Nonetheless, photographs of the citizenship ceremony and other aspects of participant's lives were often shown to me unprompted, and these became an important talking point. These informal viewings proved a particularly effective way of bridging linguistic gaps, providing a different way of communicating experiences (Tolia-Kelly, 2007b).

3.3.4 Data analysis

Data analysis was an ongoing process. As well as recording detailed field notes after every observation, I kept a fieldwork diary, allowing continuous evaluation (cf. Bailey et al., 1999). I transcribed interviews shortly after conducting them, whilst they were still fresh in my mind. This involved listening to dictaphone recordings of interviews and typing them up verbatim, to enable the most detailed analysis possible. By briefly analysing every transcript between each research stage, I was able to prepare for forthcoming interviews, devising carefully thought out questions that I felt would deepen my understanding of participants' experiences.

Once I had collected all of my data, I engaged in several stages of thematic coding. I began with 'open coding', reading each transcript through in detail and noting down ideas in the margins (Crang, 2005). This was a time-consuming process, and a large number of themes emerged from my fifty nine interviews. I applied a theoretical model of citizenship proposed by Osler and Starkey (2005) to organise the array of categories and create three master codes. These were citizenship as status, pertaining to the legal relationship between state and citizen founded on a set of rights and responsibilities; citizenship as practice, based on the relationships between citizens and their ability to actively participate in democratic processes; and citizenship as feeling, related to belonging to a community of citizens. These were able to encompass the most salient themes, providing an initial structure to my data and eventually shaping my analysis.

I decided to use NVivo for the more focused coding. Given the volume of data I was working with, I found it an invaluable tool for collating and organising the material. Many codes had presented themselves during open coding, both participant-led 'emic' codes and analyst-driven 'etic' codes (Crang, 2005). I divided these between the master codes, with many more subdivisions emerging during this phase of analysis. NVivo also allowed me to attribute multiple codes to passages of text, as much of the narrative did not fit neatly into one category. The software made it easier to connect material both within and across cases. However, I avoided using the advanced analytical features available in NVivo, feeling that the statistical inferences it would make were irrelevant to my thematic approach.

One challenge associated with mixed methods is collating different data sources, with divergent methods potentially producing a collection of seemingly incompatible results. However, Mason (2006) argues that researchers should link rather than integrate data, allowing for multiple explanations. Although my field notes from observations were structured differently to interview transcripts, I was able to code them using the same method. This meant that data could be connected along analogous themes, providing a complementary analysis. Once I had coded both datasets, I engaged in memoing, a conceptual process of

developing relationships between data that goes beyond the codes (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This enabled me to begin to connect data analysis to my wider theoretical framework.

3.4 Ethical considerations

3.4.1 Principles of ethical research

My research conformed to the ESRC's (2012) six key principle of ethical research and was approved by the University of Leeds Research Ethics Committee. Participants were given information about the purposes of the research and their role in it before considering whether to participate, either over the telephone or in person. This was reiterated verbally at the beginning of the first interview, where they were also asked to sign a consent form (see appendix C) having read an information leaflet about the project (see appendix D). Silverman (2006, p.324) has pointed out that informed consent is "a process of negotiation, rather than a one-off action". I reconfirmed this consent throughout the research process, both at the beginning interviews and during telephone contact in between. Re-evaluation of consent is considered particularly important with migrants (Ellis et al., 2007). Leaning (2001) argues that their different language, culture and norms make informed consent more problematic. As my participants were from a diverse range cultural backgrounds, some were more aware of the concept than others. Where necessary, I verbally explained the purpose of the consent form and its implications.

All data was stored securely. Anonymity was assured by giving participants pseudonyms and not disclosing details which may have made them identifiable. State agents with a high public profile were the exception to this, as it was necessary to identify them in order to understand the instrumental role they played in orchestrating the naturalisation process. However, I made sure I was clear about this before the interview, and sought their written consent as a form of

acknowledgement. I recorded David Blunkett's consent verbally on account of his blindness.

My research was designed so that it was unlikely to cause participants any physical or social harm. It also aimed to minimise inconvenience, as I met participants at a time and place that was suitable for them. However, interviews did cover sensitive topics such as difficult migration experiences and discrimination. I therefore needed to find ways to manage these both during the interview and afterwards. I took this into consideration when designing my interview guide, aiming to frame sensitive questions in a culturally appropriate and clear manner (Dunbar et al., 2002). I was aware that the interviews themselves may bring up unexpected topics and create emotional reactions (Lee, 1993). In one particular encounter, a participant broke down in tears when recalling the difficulties of her life as an asylum seeker. At this point I paused the interview to offer her some support, and after she had calmed down checked whether she was happy to carry on. I also gave participants the details of relevant support services where appropriate, in particular those offering advice on immigration matters.

3.4.2 Positionality

Feminist literature has drawn attention to issues of positionality, power relations and reflexivity within research. Haraway (1988) was one of the first to highlight the partial, situated nature of knowledge. This led to calls for reflexivity, involving "self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as researcher" (England, 1994, p.244). Relatedly, others argued that there was a need to locate the self within structures of power, with researchers often occupying higher positions of influence than those they research (McDowell, 1992). It is contended that one way to create reciprocal relations is by valuing participant knowledge above our own (England, 1994, Skelton, 2001). Whilst this was at least partially possible in the collection of data, I ultimately had to impose my own interpretations of knowledge in the analysis and presentation of results. Furthermore, several academics have drawn on personal experience to suggest

that transparent reflexivity is impossible, as the research interaction can never be fully understood (Rose, 1997, Valentine, 2002). These debates also ignore the power of participants in defining their own agenda within the research and the audience in producing divergent interpretations of results. While it was necessary to consider my own standpoint and how this may have played out within the research, I would suggest that focusing on fixed power relations may be unhelpful. Control is likely to be negotiated within the research process, despite potentially different positions of influence within wider society.

Positionality has become an extensively debated topic within methodological discussions. Some have suggested that research should only be conducted with participants with a similar social position to the researcher (Bourdieu, 1996). England (1994) commented on her 'failed research' with lesbians due to concerns over her differential position as a white, heterosexual academic. 'Insiders' may be considered less threatening (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). Nonetheless, whilst being an 'insider' might encourage sharing personal issues, it may also facilitate withholding of information, or certain knowledge may be taken-for-granted (Mohammad, 2001). It also severely limits what kinds of research can be conducted by whom. As an alternative, some have suggested mechanisms to minimise the intrusion caused by research from 'outsiders'. This includes cultural sensitivity and inclusiveness, building up relationships and trust and interrogating the role of particular identities (Howitt and Stevens, 2000, Skelton, 2001). However, I believe that the insider/outsider binary is unhelpful, as it suggests static positionalities. Categorising identities ignores heterogeneity and multiple axes of sameness and difference (Valentine, 2002). Whilst I may not have shared the ethnicity of a participant, I often had other identity traits in common. Several participants were of a similar age to me, and a number were also middle-class and university educated. Occupation was another point of commonality, with some able to relate to me as a student, others by the fact that I had been a care worker in the past. Additionally, although I did not share participants' international migration experiences, having migrated internally to Yorkshire I could to some extent relate to not being 'from here' in the local sense.

The focus on positionality has also been criticised as it does not allow for understanding across difference (Rose, 1997). Mullings (1999) argues that researchers should seek 'positional spaces' from mutual situated knowledges creating trust, which are not necessarily identity based. 'Insider' and 'outsider' statuses are themselves fluid and negotiated throughout interviews, with the boundary often blurring over time (Mohammad, 2001, Sultana, 2007). Aspects of similarity and difference can be played on within interviews, which may affect research interactions. However, this is also influenced by participant interpretations. Valentine (2002), for example, found that participants in one project often misread her identity as heterosexual, an assumption she chose not to challenge. In an encounter with a devoutly Christian participant, I chose to emphasise my upbringing as a Quaker, rather than the fact that I am no longer religious, feeling that this might have damaged the rapport that we had built up. Whilst much has been written about positionality, less has been made of the researcher's personality. Moser (2008) contends that this interacts with positionality and can create a bridge across cultures. In my previous research I have often found that appearing attentive and open-minded has been more beneficial to building relationships than the likely impact of sharing characteristics such as gender, age or class, and I maintained this approach throughout my interactions with participants. In informal chats before and after interviews, common interests often emerged, providing an easy way to connect. Where differences were present, I found learning from others a useful way of navigating cross-cultural research. This varied from participants' educating me about their country or religion, to in one case being shown around a Sikh temple.

Debates around positionality tend to assume that the researcher is in a greater position of power than their participants. Whilst this may have been the case with many of the new citizens, it was not true of state agents. Power relations here were often asymmetrical, with the participant in a position of greater influence than myself (England, 1994). This can create a 'locus of control' within interviews, where the discussion is largely driven by the elite being interviewed (Schoenberger, 1991). This was an issue with David Blunkett, who had a limited amount of time

and was keen to stick to his agenda. However, other state agents were more open to questioning, creating a better balance within the interview.

In general, doing multiple stages of research was beneficial, as I was able to build deeper, more meaningful relationships with participants. However, it also blurred the boundaries between researcher and participant, which at times became problematic. Managing participant expectations of the relationship between interviews was particularly challenging. Given that they were inviting me into their homes a number of times, some participants seemed to expect a lasting friendship to be formed. I was unprepared for this, particularly when one participant withdrew from the study on the basis that I had not contacted her since the last interview. Whilst this was an isolated case, it prompted a great deal of reflection on my part and I subsequently responded to participants as I saw fit, sending some the occasional text or responding to their concerns if they telephoned me. Whilst not wishing to accentuate the academic/public divide, I nonetheless found it difficult to strike a balance between professionalism and personalisation.

As part of the reflexive process, I have spent some time considering how the knowledge I accumulated may have been affected by my subject position (England, 1994). In particular, I felt that my status as a white, British national may have influenced some of the responses I received from participants. Narratives of the citizenship process were generally positive, with the most open criticism of aspects of it coming from highly skilled and educated migrants. Whilst it is possible that they were genuinely more disenchanted by the process, given that they were not the intended targets, it may also be the case that in sharing my privileged position, they felt able to speak more critically of it. Low skilled migrant workers and refugees are more likely to have had negative experiences with the authorities, and although I made it clear that I was not connected to them, may still have felt under pressure to tell me what they thought I wanted to hear. This seemed particularly salient in the case of refugees, who unanimously had the best opinion of acquiring British citizenship. Nonetheless, they were more forthright about the negative aspects of the asylum system. Having had particularly difficult immigration

experiences, it is perhaps unsurprising that refugees appeared most overtly grateful for receiving British citizenship.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined my methodology, considering both my research design and the fieldwork process. In this concluding section, I revisit and further discuss the lessons learnt from challenges I was presented with during my data collection phase. It is hoped that some of these insights can be used to contribute towards improved research practice.

I began this chapter by outlining an approach to research based on emotional geographies and a performative approach to citizenship, which informed my use of mixed methods. However, in practice I was unable to successfully engage participants using visual elicitation methods, with my research instead relying on interviews and participant observation. Literature tends to suggest that visual methods can increase participant control of the research process, providing them with an engaging and enjoyable experience (Markwell, 2000, Radley et al., 2005). However, I would argue that these positive features may be overemphasised. In my experience, many participants were confused by the request to bring photographs to interviews, considering it unconventional and impractical. In this case, I responded to the wishes of participants to engage in verbal communication, abandoning methodology that I had originally considered to be more inclusive.

I designed my research aiming for the widest possible sample of new citizens. However, as outlined above, accessing them was extremely difficult. Whilst 'hard to reach' groups tend to be defined by their vulnerability (Atkinson and Flint, 2001, Benoit et al., 2005), citizenship applicants were rather 'hidden' in the sense that they form a disparate group, who were extremely difficult to locate. Gatekeepers are often considered stakeholders in the phenomenon being researched (Sixsmith et al., 2003), but I had to adopt a wider definition, identifying them by considering the contexts in which individuals lead their everyday lives. After using multiple

avenues of recruitment, persistence paid off, and I eventually reached the desired number of participants.

Repeat interviewing was crucial to my methodology, and brought with it many benefits. These included a chance to examine changes over time, build up trust, and probe into issues more deeply. Previous studies of citizenship ceremonies have relied on a single interview to determine participants' opinions of the events (MacGregor and Bailey, 2012, Andreouli and Howarth, 2013, Byrne, 2014). Whilst this may capture the emotions of 'the moment', it fails to consider the longer-term effects of national rituals. If the citizenship process is to contribute towards integration and belonging, it must have a lasting impact. I would therefore argue that a study design with multiple stages is essential when conducting this kind of research.

Nonetheless, like visual methods, researchers tend to have focused on the positive aspects of repeat interviewing, regarding developing rapport with participants as an essential part of good qualitative research. Less acknowledged is the degree of complication this adds to the researcher-participant relationship. Having visited participants multiple times, we inevitably began to build a relationship, and this was strengthened in cases when I also attended their citizenship ceremony, which for some was a highly significant event. Whilst academics have identified the dilemmas associated with becoming a 'researcher-friend' (Watson et al., 1991, Dickson-Swift et al., 2006), there is little written on the potential challenges this presents for the research process as a whole. As I have highlighted, misunderstandings of the nature of the research relationship can have highly negative consequences, leading to a termination of the research contract.

The latter part of this chapter considered the ethical implications of positionality. This feminist approach has brought clear benefits in terms of recognising the subjectivity of research and the partial nature of knowledge. However, although it is necessary to recognise the position of privilege a researcher may have over their participants, and the power that is invested in them to speak for others, I would

argue that there has been too much emphasis on difference. This is often based on static characteristics such as gender and ethnicity, not recognising the intersubjectivity of identities that is also championed by feminism. Despite having a very different background from many of my participants, I was able to connect through both shared interests and dialogue about our differences. I would therefore suggest that the concepts of 'insider' and 'outsider' need to be revaluated, as this false dichotomy may act as a hindrance to building productive research relationships. The next three chapters present an analysis of my research findings from interviews and participant observations.

Chapter 4   Citizenship as status

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines citizenship as status in relation to citizenship ceremonies and tests. This is conceptualised in terms of legal rights and responsibilities, which forms a binding contract between state and citizen (Osler and Starkey, 2005). However, it is also imbued with power, particularly in the case of immigrants, where the state has ultimate control over their immigration status, and the ability to grant or withhold citizenship. Throughout this chapter I use countertopography to draw contour lines between the experiences of participants, who expressed similarities despite their different social locations.

The first section considers the impact of the new naturalisation measures on the status of resident immigrants. I contend that this has accentuated the division between immigrant and citizen, motivating immigrants to aspire for citizenship whilst simultaneously justifying the imposition of tough requirements. However, becoming a British citizen does not necessarily result in shedding the label of 'outsider'. New citizens are therefore brought together in their feelings of foreignness, lacking full recognition as a 'British citizen'.

The next section examines the securitisation of migration and the ways in which it has influenced the naturalisation process. I will explain how prospective citizens of all backgrounds are forced to prove themselves to the state and society. I highlight the impact that negative portrayals of immigration have had on the processing of immigrants, their access to services and their self-representations, all of which provide motivations for acquiring citizenship. I demonstrate how the 'politics of desire' (Fortier, 2013) operates through naturalisation measures, creating citizens who are both desired by the state and express their desire for it. This emotive form

of governance may contribute towards new citizens' ideas of citizenship, and the state that granted it to them.

Section 4.4 looks at citizenship as a contract between state and citizen, composed of a set of rights and responsibilities. The emphasis of naturalisation measures is on the obligations of new citizens, whilst the availability of social rights is deliberately downplayed. Responsibilities were also the foremost message about citizenship picked up by participants from the citizenship ceremony and test, where state coercion operated to maintain the obedience of its newest members. Nonetheless, the rights and freedoms afforded by living in the UK were important to many participants, and I highlight how this could form the basis for a more inclusive vision of national identity. The contractual nature of citizenship was cemented in the oath of allegiance and citizenship pledge, a speech act designed to unite citizens in their new status.

The final section explores the idea of 'pragmatic citizenship' (Mavroudi, 2008) in the context of participants' lives. The practical benefits accrued from being a British passport holder were overlooked in naturalisation measures and regarded disdainfully by state agents, who promoted a thicker version of citizenship. However, this failed to recognise the implications of holding citizenship for settlement as well as mobility, potentially aiding the integration of migrants. As I will articulate in later chapters, the granting of status as a British citizen had effects on citizenship as practice and feeling, connecting new citizens to their place of residence whilst maintaining translocal ties with other places. Contour lines can thus be drawn linking local places worldwide to localities within the UK, with rootedness in each place and movement between them profoundly affected by citizenship status.

4.2 Immigrant versus citizen

4.2.1 The immigrant outsider

The introduction of stringent requirements for citizenship means that applicants have to invest a considerable amount of extra time, energy and finances in the process. It also serves to further promote their 'foreignness', justifying the imposition of requirements above and beyond what is expected of British-born citizens. There was frustration from some participants at these added demands, particularly in relation to the Life in the UK test, which they felt would not be passed by many natives. However, the emphasis the Life in the UK places on learning about a new country from which you are considered an outsider became a way of rationalising these expectations, as Corina and Moses alluded to:

> *But me, I am not from here so it is a requirement to know about the*
> *laws before you become a British citizenship.*
> *(Corina, economic migrant, Philippines)*

> *It's actually important for people who have lived here. Because even*
> *those people who got a lot of people who got born in Britain, some of*
> *the things they don't even know in that anyway so I suppose it's*
> *important for everybody in a way. But extremely widely important for*
> *people who have not been in the UK for a while or not been living here*
> *since birth.*
> *(Moses, student/economic migrant, Ghana)*

Here, citizenship was associated with having lived in the country for a certain amount of time, ideally from birth. The requirement for prospective citizens to possess particular knowledge became normalised in the fact that 'we' are not 'from here', so must therefore conform to 'their' requirements. This suggests an expectation of one-way immigrant incorporation (Freeman, 2004). However, the degree to which this knowledge is useful for integration is questionable, given that

it is not widely possessed by the host population. Although Moses recognised that everyone should know about the country in which they live, he posited that this was still more important for immigrants, suggesting that the onus should be on them to prove their successful adaptation. Naturalisation measures therefore become a self-perpetuating tool, convincing prospective citizens of their necessity by entrenching the division between immigrant and British-born.

Negative populist rhetoric surrounding immigration also erects a clear boundary between immigrants and citizens, affecting new citizens' views on acquiring citizenship. Being branded an immigrant had impacted the everyday experiences of many, either through direct discrimination or negative self-categorisation. Gaining the status of a British citizen was often seen as a way of escaping the stigmatisation associated with being classed as an immigrant, as Bintu and Leandre explained:

Whatever I want to do now, they can ask me, I can give my passport, the British passport. And they will say oh she is a British citizen. So it make my life grow up more. But before if they used to ask me for my passport, whenever I would give them this passport they would say oh oh no, you are asylum seeker, they think I am asylum seeker. Unless I start telling you see, I say I'm not asylum seeker, I'm married to British, I am citizen, I have citizenship, but I already applied for my British passport. Still they don't believe me, you see. So if I have a British passport it will build my life up more.
(Bintu, family migrant, Sierra Leone)

I used to get really annoyed when you get these clearly politically motivated news things about immigrants [laughs]! Now I can just it doesn't apply to me anymore. I guess it does and it doesn't in a sense, because if you say you're British and they say well the British people have done this then that includes you as well.
(Leandre, student/ economic migrant, South Africa)

Despite their very different social positions, Bintu an uneducated migrant from Sierra Leone and Leandre a highly skilled South African migrant, they felt similarly victimised by the negative connotations of being classified as an immigrant. The implications of being mistaken for an asylum seeker were particularly challenging for Bintu, who was refused access to a GP on this basis. The racialised vision of immigrants as asylum seekers (Fekete, 2001) meant that she was denied the rights that her legal status should have afforded her, increasing the perceived need for the only document which could fully prove her right to be present in the country, a British passport. As a white, highly educated migrant, it is unlikely that Leandre would have been subjected to the same treatment, but she nonetheless felt the psychological effects of being homogenised as part of a group which is consistently demonised in the media. This stigmatisation may be internalised by migrants, creating negative self-representation related to their status, leading to a loss of self-esteem and an inability to challenge their harmful status (Goffman, 1963, Campbell and Deacon, 2006). Both participants considered the only way to counteract this was to acquire British citizenship, affording public recognition of a legitimate status, and official inclusion as a British person.

A countertopographical analysis illuminates how the positionality of migrants is produced relationally through everyday processes (Heley and Jones, 2012). These processes can furthermore be used to connect the individual experiences of different migrants. The increasingly negative view of immigration as an uncontrollable global force in Western societies is perpetuated by national and local actors and played out in the lives of those they demonise. This is linked to wider debates over the potential damage that ethnic diversity causes to social cohesion, directed towards those already living in the country. Media, public and state representations combine to exclude immigrants from national rights and recognition, impacting individual identities and opportunities. This connected very different subjects in their motivations to gain formal membership.

4.2.2 Less-than-equal citizens

However, even once naturalised participants often did not consider themselves authentic British citizens. Many subtly excluded themselves from this category, even after receiving their British passport, suggesting that the label of immigrant is not easily lost. This was evident in Paul and Yolanda's comments:

It's good, the opportunity we have here, let me say, not only
immigrants, even the some of you citizens. Only that's all citizens don't
know what they have so they don't make use of the opportunity.
(Paul, economic migrant, Nigeria)

You have an opportunity and you are very fortunate that you've got
Great Britain as your country or that you've got a good government,
because your government helps people.
(Yolanda, economic migrant, Philippines)

Both participants here categorised 'we' immigrants, in opposition to 'you' citizens, despite the fact that they had already received British citizenship. This demonstrates how collective 'we-images' can inform self-identification within stigmatised groups (Mennell, 1994). In this case the term 'immigrant' was not used as an overtly negative marker, but simply a way of describing themselves despite now having changed legal status. They also implied that those who possessed British citizenship as an automatic birthright had taken-for-granted opportunities, which were appreciated more by immigrants. This echoes the original rationale for introducing new citizenship measures, aiming to emphasise "the value and significance of becoming a British citizen" (Home Office, 2002, p.30). However, immigrants such as Paul and Yolanda, originating from countries with fewer perceived democratic freedoms and employment prospects, were grateful for the opportunities afforded without this needing to be reinforced by the government. Whilst this kind of appreciation has more typically been associated with refugees (Rutter et al., 2007), these narratives suggest that a wider group of migrants may

value opportunities not available in their origin country. In fact, according to Paul, it is existing citizens who fail to display this gratitude.

The government's targeting of new citizens in their attempt to increase the significance of British citizenship further sets them apart from British-born citizens, for whom these measures are not considered appropriate. This instils a sense that new citizens are still regarded as migrants (cf. Anderson, 2013), and indeed the term 'immigrant' was used by many as a self-descriptor. Countertopography is able to materialise in-between spaces, which are considered crucial to the functioning of exclusionary geopolitical forces globally (Mountz, 2011). Thus Agamben's (1998) abstract concept of 'spaces of exception' within the nation can be applied to real life situations. Whilst this has been researched with asylum seekers, whose incarceration in offshore detention centres places them literally between states (Mountz, 2011), this experience is one that is figuratively shared with other groups of migrants. In my study, participants were brought together in striving for British citizenship and the opportunities it afforded, and remained united in their less-than-equal citizenship, occupying a space somewhere in-between immigrant and citizen.

Language differentiating immigrants from nationals was also frequently used in the citizenship ceremonies. While outwardly appearing to be welcoming new citizens into an equal status, scripts nonetheless made frequent use of the 'national we' (Billig, 1995) into which the 'foreign you' are being incorporated. As a line from the official ceremony script reads: *"we are here today to extend this welcome to you and to confer the honour of citizenship upon you"*. Although intended as a mark of acceptance, a welcome simultaneously defines the outsiders who are being welcomed (Derrida, 2000). The fact that 'we' 'extend' and 'confer' upon 'you' places power in the hands of state officials, suggesting that they have ultimate control in the ability to attribute but also to withdraw British citizenship. Since 2002, 53 people have been deprived of British citizenship (Galey and Ross, 2014), with the Immigration Act 2014 extending government powers to strip individuals of their citizenship even if this renders them stateless. This demonstrates the

conditionality of hospitality, with tolerance used selectively towards different groups (Darling, 2009, Furedi, 2011). Thus a seemingly benign practice of tolerance can become a tool for exerting spatial power, with the 'tolerant' setting the limits for the acceptance of the 'tolerated' into 'our' nation (Hage, 1998). Tolerance is an effective means of separating 'majority' and 'minority' (Lewis, 2005), with these types of power relations not present between the state and British-born citizens. They are innately considered part of the national whole, not subjected to reminders of their otherness or the expectations of conformity resulting from their difference.

Citizenship was commonly conceptualised as a sacred right conferred by birthplace and passed down generationally, a privilege to be earned by outsiders who can never truly belong. This demonstrates the problem of portraying citizenship as a natural phenomenon (Somerville, 2005), with the biographies of new citizens unable to be erased despite the symbolic transformation of status. The attitude of some of the officials conducting the ceremonies was telling in this regard:

> *I think it's very important that they have a ceremony. Umm you know*
> *I'm British I was born here. Umm so I'm very proud to be British and I*
> *think going through the ceremony gets the point across that it is a*
> *privilege.*
> *(Calderdale registrar)*

The registrar here compared being British as a natural birthright afforded to her, to becoming British as a privilege for immigrants to earn. She believed the aim of the ceremony was to reinforce this message, therefore also strengthening the division between 'they' who need a citizenship ceremony to remind them of what they are becoming, and 'us' who have been ascribed our status as British citizens since birth. Despite having established 'elective belonging' (Pollini, 2005) through naturalisation, this was unable to supersede the traditional notion of citizenship being based on a combination of birth, ancestry and long-term residence (Bond, 2006). This connects an ethnicised national identity with citizenship, with the

authenticity of a legal status determined by the degree to which one is considered a member of the nation. The European-wide shift from civic to ethnic citizenship identities has been widely noted by scholars (Odmalm, 2007, Joppke, 2007, Kostakopoulou, 2010), and it is evident that this may also inform interpretations on the ground. Continuing to draw distinctions between new immigrant citizens and existing British-born citizens suggests that those who have been naturalised cannot be afforded the same status.

Whilst countertopography illustrates the way in which global processes may affect divergent local places in a similar manner, I have used this section to highlight the missing analytical scale – the national. Although the state is recognised in certain countertopographical analyses (cf. Martin, 2005, Rossiter and Wood, 2005, Dixon, 2011), it tends to be seen as seamlessly advancing the interests of global capital. In this view, citizenship is used as a vehicle for promoting globalised neoliberalism (Nelson, 2004). As my analysis shows, whilst incorporating aspects of globalisation, states have simultaneously challenged it, attempting to retain sovereignty by exerting control over their borders. This has recently been extended to citizenship, with the imposition of naturalisation measures now commonplace amongst Western states. This accentuates the division between immigrant and native, which cannot be erased even upon the acquisition of formal membership. The prevailing association of citizenship with being rooted in national territory heightens the binary between British-born and foreign-born. Contour lines can thus be drawn between new citizens, whose experiences of exclusion from full belonging are created by a national reaction against globalisation, in which migrants as global agents are represented as 'out of place'. The state's response to global threats in the form of securitisation is explored further in the next section.

4.3   Securitisation of naturalisation

In this section I explore the idea that citizenship is increasingly subject to a similar degree of security as migration, imposed by both restricting access and through the ritualised process of naturalisation. Within studies of ritual there is a division between those arguing that consent is formed by consensus and integration and those contending it is constructed through coercion and the appropriation of symbolic resources. The latter maintain that rituals are not an expression of the social order or culture, but powerful structural acts sanctifying authority. These could be linked to Foucault's notion of governmentality, which theorises the way in which the modern state employs a mix of institutions, practices and tactics to retain power over populations through security. Indeed some judge recent citizenship measures to be a new form of governmentality, encouraging self-government through moral responsibility (Sparke, 2006, Damsholt, 2008, Löwenheim and Gazit, 2009, Tyler, 2010, van Houdt et al., 2011, De Leeuw and Van Wichelen, 2012, Turner, 2014). Prospective citizens are expected to engineer their own integration and participation, the conditions of which are prescribed by the state. This is targeted at certain groups, who are tested on their ability to perform 'common values', while others are deliberately excluded from accessing citizenship. Whilst the state is often examined as a distinct unit by academics, this demonstrates how it permeates everyday social relations (Mountz, 2003, Painter, 2006). Citizenship rituals can be deemed part of the wider securitisation of migration, rejecting those who do not conform.

4.3.1   Governing opportunity

In the UK, 'migrant securitisation' has significantly impacted the way the immigration system works, with the focus predominantly on law enforcement and surveillance (Waite, 2011). Ideas of security feed heavily into the management of borders through the bureaucratic processing of applications for visas, leave to remain and citizenship. This was apparent in the headquarters of the former UKBA,

with civil servants often viewing one of the roles of their job as protecting national security. As I observed in my field notes:

> *Security was paramount, both to get into the HQ but also in the*
> *processing of applications. There was a locked room where sensitive*
> *cases were processed, and there were many security checks done on*
> *applicants. The language used by civil servants reflected these concerns,*
> *they legitimated the checks as making absolutely sure they were letting*
> *the right people through.*
> *(Observational field notes, 16/8/13)*

The use of physical space to create a notion of security was interesting here. Entry into the headquarters was heavily policed, meaning that only authorised people were allowed in this space. This is reminiscent of the national borders which the agency are controlling, with only those with the correct legal documentation permitted to enter domestic space. Dealing with sensitive cases in a locked room meanwhile has parallels with a detention centre, where immigrants are physically confined until the state can expel them, legitimately or not.

Admitting only the 'right people' was associated with perspectives viewing the potential of applicants to be criminals or terrorists, demonstrating how immigration policy has increasingly been connected with anti-terrorism legislation (Sivanandan, 2006, Burnett, 2007). The initial process of sorting separated out migrants as potentially 'good' or 'bad' before they had even had a chance to prove their credentials. This is part of an impulse that now extends extraterritorially into offshore border controls (Vaughan-Williams, 2010). As an extract from my field diary shows:

> *The treatment of a person often depended on their nationality, with all*
> *of the nationals of a particular country (e.g. Pakistan, Somalia, Eritrea,*
> *Ethiopia) screened for war crimes and terrorism.*
> *(Observational field notes, 16/8/13)*

This continues the principle of affording faster, more efficient treatment to those from 'safe' countries (Bloch, 2000a), whilst immigrants of other nationalities are considered guilty until proven innocent. It also highlights how certain ethnicities are discriminated against in anti-terrorism legislation in the name of state security (Bourne, 2001). Immigrants from countries considered 'unsafe' were often fleeing conflict, and therefore also more likely to be asylum seekers. Sivanandan (2006) has described the discrimination resulting from combining fears of asylum seekers and terrorism as 'a racism of global capital'. He argues this has been brought about by diverting attention away from the real threat to western values – global market fundamentalism – and deflecting the blame onto another globalised phenomena – migration. A countertopographical analysis can ground abstract accounts of the nation-state, by materialising its borders in the bureaucratic practices of immigration officers (cf. Mountz, 2003). National legislation designed to respond to a global issue positions individual bureaucrats as custodians of immigration regimes, yet their actions are also conditioned by their own backgrounds and motivations. State ideologies operate through personal decisions accepting particular identities whilst excluding others, having real implications for the granting or withholding of immigration status, and eventually the attribution of British citizenship. All prospective new citizens are subject to this process, but their treatment differs due to global and national geopolitical factors which are beyond their control.

State control of immigrants can be considered in the light of Foucault's work on governmentality. Tyler (2010) has adopted his notion of biopolitics, managing human populations within their environment, to show how immigrants are controlled through legal, moral and social strategies. Viewing this through a geographical lens is particularly relevant, as spatial boundaries are recreated by the state by demarcating 'same' and 'other' (Huxley, 2008). For participants, this had material consequences, with many finding that their rights were limited or removed altogether due to their immigration status. This was particularly true of refugees such as Maryam, who was left destitute whilst appealing her asylum case:

When I came first, you ask asylum you know if the Home Office refuse
you first time you have to scared because they're gonna take you home
you know, they're gonna stop give you, they're gonna stop your support
you know and if you don't have any family here it's gonna be difficult
for you.
(Maryam, refugee, Guinea)

Having had her initial asylum application refused, Maryam found herself in a 'space of exception' (Agamben, 1998), subjected to the power of the state and its ability to mark out individuals who are excluded from the nation whilst residing within its boundaries. This reflects the state-imposed hierarchy which has divided 'deserving' migrants from 'undeserving' asylum seekers who are unable to access the most basic social support (Sales, 2002). By marking out exceptions to national laws, the state is able to reassert its sovereignty (Agamben, 1998), resisting the infiltration of universal human rights laws.

Whilst not subject to the same degree of control and deprivation as asylum seekers, other participants nonetheless found that their immigration status limited their life chances. As Moses conveyed when talking of the challenges of living in Britain as an immigrant:

Previously it was quite difficult because you can't really get anything
done before getting your stay, you know what I mean? And obviously
with that you have your permanent job and all of that umm. That
doesn't mean before I was living here illegally… But if you have your
stay then you can actually plan what you want to do in life.
(Moses, student/economic migrant, Ghana)

Moses expressed a sense of liminality while holding an immigrant status, an in-between-ness during which all he could focus on was overcoming the next hurdle to ensure that he could remain in the country. Without British citizenship he was unable to take a professional position in the armed forces, and could not apply for

the postgraduate course he wished to study due to the high rate of international student fees. This time was characterised by uncertainty and impermanency, with Moses feeling that he could not move forward with his life, but at the same time could not go back to the country he had come from where he was still a legal citizen. He was also quick to point out that he was not an 'illegal immigrant', highlighting both the stigma associated with this term but also the restriction of opportunities for even those with a legitimate immigration status. This contradicts studies which attribute liminality solely to undocumented migrants (Menjívar, 2006, Sigona, 2012, Bloch, 2014). As Sargent and Larchanché-Kim (2006) have found, state immigration policies have affected the everyday lives of migrants to the point where they are permanently in a state of transition. This connected the experiences of participants, who found that the uncertainty of their status hampered their ability to create a settled life for themselves in Britain.

The narratives of new citizens challenge theories of post-national citizenship, which assert that states have expanded formal inclusion, with most civil, social and economic rights based on residency rather than citizenship (Soysal, 1995, Sassen, 2002). Although asylum seekers do not have official residency rights until their case is decided, immigrants who had been granted residency such as Moses similarly felt that they were unable to access sufficient opportunities to lead a comfortable life in the UK. As is evidenced in Coalition government attempts to restrict access to benefits and healthcare for immigrants (Powell, 2013, Wintour, 2014), social rights are becoming more, rather than less, contingent on national citizenship. Whilst dividing immigrants into categories based on deservingness, the government is simultaneously rolling out blanket legislation that is harmful for even the most privileged of migrants. The Conservative Party have overtly expressed their desire to create a 'hostile environment' for undocumented migrants (Travis, 2013b), the implications of which filter into the lives of other migrants. For Moses and Maryam, as well as the majority of other participants, the guarantee of the permanent right to remain along with the opportunities it brought were major motivations for applying for British citizenship. However, the granting of citizenship is also heavily controlled by the state, as is examined next.

4.3.2   The politics of desire

The politics of immigration has increasingly been based on the desirability of immigrants (Schuster and Solomos, 2004), creating an immigration policy that is designed to admit "only those we need" (UKBA, 2008, online), further articulated by the Coalition government as "only the best and brightest" (Cameron, 2011a, online). Meanwhile, low-skilled economic migrants from outside of the EU have been effectively banned from entering the country. A social order is thus created based on 'good citizenship' practices including work, contribution and self-responsibility (Jordan and Brown, 2007). This has served to entrench categorisations of migrants, and when reinforced by populist rhetoric on 'illegal immigrants' and 'bogus asylum seekers', effectively demonises entire groups of immigrant populations.

Such rhetoric has clearly influenced the management of immigration and nationality. This was revealed in an interview with Home Office officials, when I asked about why the probationary period before family migrants could apply for citizenship had been increased from two to five years:

> *It's about umm people demonstrating a strength of connection. I mean*
> *there's always been in the press and things this suspicion of the*
> *marriage route, about marriages of convenience and sham marriage. So*
> *increasing the probationary period from two years to five years is part*
> *of that, you know making people demonstrate this longer commitment,*
> *through a five year period rather than two… You get the Daily Mail*
> *stories of people who are you know after two years they'll up and leave,*
> *once they've been here two years and got settlement. So well five years*
> *it makes sure you last longer!*
> *(Head of Nationality at Home Office)*

Residency requirements for naturalisation are common amongst European countries, often justified as giving individuals time to integrate into society

(Goodman, 2010a). However, this particular case of lengthening residency requirements for family migrants appears to be based more on populist discourse stoking public fears. The official here suggested that this policy is a response to "suspicion" in the media about the marriage route, citing the Daily Mail as her source. Increasing the probationary period to five years therefore becomes a mechanism for preventing 'sham marriages', based on the presumption that having remained in the country for that length of time, immigrants must be genuinely committed, both to their partner and the nation, and not trying to 'scam' the system. This demonstrates the power of negative media stereotypes in influencing the political agenda, with the path to citizenship as well as border controls partially dictated by sensationalist reporting of stigmatised minorities. This will impact all migrants who have been admitted via the family route, severely delaying the point at which they can gain full recognition as citizens.

Negative political and populist discourses also shape the way that migrants identify themselves and relate to others. As McDowell (2009) found, the hierarchical ordering of migrants based on both personal characteristics and legal positioning may be reproduced by migrants themselves. In my research, participants strategically positioned themselves in relation to other migrants in order to legitimise their own status. Some spoke of people they knew who were 'bogus immigrants' or who had been part of 'marriages of convenience', stories told by participants such as Simon and Corina which were used to illustrate degrees of deservingness between migrants:

> *I've got a few friends who become British citizens and they claimed asylumship, asylumship when they came in. And I don't talk to them either really, I don't get on with them. Because here I am working hard, pay my taxes and I'm doing what I can and then they are just don't even they even get the easy way out I'd say. They get all the money and everything.*
> *(Simon, student/economic migrant, Burma)*

That was one achievement already I was able to do for myself [laughs]!
Without help from anybody so because I did strive it for my own self.
Because some came here in UK, they use some British men just to came
here without their own qualification which I don't like about it.
(Corina, economic migrant, Philippines)

Both Corina and Simon drew distinctions between those that they considered to
have gained entry by illegitimate means, including marriages of convenience and
false asylum claims, to their own legitimate movement through worker and student
migration routes. It was common for economic migrants to justify their presence in
the country on the basis of being needed for their skills or qualifications to fill a
shortage in the labour market. This enabled them to portray themselves as
superior to family migrants or asylum seekers, who they felt had not entered the
country on their own merit, and as Simon put it, were considered to "get the easy
way out". He also depicted his good citizenly attributes of working hard and paying
taxes in opposition to money grabbing asylum seekers, a dichotomy commonly
drawn between 'British' taxpayer and 'immigrant' benefit claimant (Philo et al.,
2013). Emphasising legitimacy as an immigrant in turn justifies inclusion in full
British citizenship. However, it simultaneously serves to distance themselves from
other migrants, many of whom are facing similar struggles in attempting to
authenticate their presence in an increasingly anti-immigrant country.

Immigrants were also classified and included/excluded on the basis of their
perceived ability to integrate. The rhetoric of strict immigration controls for good
race relations has been present in successive governments since the 1960s
(Spencer, 1998). This posited that by limiting overall numbers of immigrants, those
allowed into the country could be more easily integrated (Schuster and Solomos,
2004). Discourses of stringent border controls combined with integrating existing
immigrants also fed into the design of the naturalisation process. Mark Rimmer, a
passionate advocate for celebrating ethnic diversity during citizenship ceremonies,
nonetheless expressed the importance of a tough stance on managing migration:

What we should be doing is making that demarcation between having a strong front door, so effectively trying to stop illegal immigration. Properly managing migration into the country because that's what's required for our future in terms of jobs and people's pensions. And then when they get to the stage of Indefinite Leave to Remain and wanting to go for that gold standard of citizenship, actually really celebrating the fact they're wanting to become British.
(Mark Rimmer, National Local Government Spokesperson for Citizenship Ceremonies)

Populist discourse on illegal immigrants featured in Mark Rimmer's analysis of immigration policy, which is combined with the idea that it is in 'our' national interest to restrict the entry of those who will not contribute to British society. This is in contrast to a positive view of immigrants with Indefinite Leave to Remain, who having proved their right to inclusion, have expressed a wish to become members of the nation. This highlights the emotional dimensions of citizenship, with anxiety conditioning the political response to perceived threats (Marcus, 2002). Emotional discourses are used by governments to create boundaries of belonging, demonstrating how belonging itself is "an emotionally constructed category" (Ho, p.791),.Emotional constructs therefore have the power to reaffirm some ideas of citizenship and belonging whilst excluding others. The central role of emotions in citizenship remains underexplored (with a few notable exceptions, cf. Marcus, 2002, Fortier, 2010, Fortier, 2013), and my study adds to this emerging field.

Naturalisation meanwhile creates a 'politics of desire', whereby citizens are distinguished both in terms of their desirability to the state, but also by the degree to which they themselves desire it (Fortier, 2013). Those seeking citizenship have proved themselves desirable by meeting the stringent criteria to obtain visas, Indefinite Leave to Remain and British citizenship. As one Home Office official expressed, this means that the *"baddies"* have largely been *"weeded out"* by the time immigrants are eligible to apply for nationality. Secondly, they have demonstrated their desire for the state by applying for British citizenship,

considered a symbol of allegiance to the nation and all it imbibes. Mark Rimmer talked of this as the "*gold standard*", alluding to the outstanding qualities of both the state and the new citizens it is accepting. In this way British citizenship operates beyond a purely legal entity, with the granting or withholding of status related to the emotional registers of the state. By recreating notions of 'good citizenship' through the naturalisation of 'worthy' immigrants, the state is reconfirming its democratic legitimacy and power to define citizenship (Honig, 2001).

The politics of desire was expressed most overtly within the citizenship ceremony itself, the culmination of the naturalisation process which was the final mark of acceptance by the state. To some extent this acted as an antithesis to the surveillance state which had been present as a force of control throughout participants' lives as migrants. In the citizenship ceremony, citizenship was performed as a consensual relationship between the state which wished to incorporate individuals into its 'loving' self, and the citizen which desired recognition from the state (Somerville, 2005, Fortier, 2013). However, this masks the historical relationship between the state and the migrant. Although the migrant may have always desired to belong to the country, the state would often have not initially considered the migrant as a 'loveable' citizen, instead using their immigration status to demarcate them as undesirable. As previously discussed, the practical implications of this may result in exclusion from the most basic of human rights. Yet in the moment of the citizenship ceremony, this appeared to be forgotten by participants such as Fiyori and Maryam:

> *All day I am happy, at that time. People hug me oh the government like*
> *you. I say yeah they like me after ten years they give it to me [laughs]!*
> *(Fiyori, refugee, Eritrea)*

> *When you go outside you feel happy because maybe people show you,*
> *you have a British passport you know and if you have some problem*
> *British government come to help you, you know. You feel happy and*

very proud as a British.

(Maryam, refugee, Guinea)

Whilst gratitude towards the government for granting them British citizenship was expressed by many participants, it seemed particularly poignant coming from refugees such as Fiyori and Maryam. Both talked in a completely different manner about the suffering they endured while appealing the rejection of their asylum claims, becoming quite upset. However, the positive emotions generated by the citizenship ceremony appeared to erase any negative feelings about the state which had for so long restricted their access to rights and opportunities, impinging on every area of their lives. Although these experiences were not forgotten, they were overridden by a new image of a caring state whose function was to help its citizens, amongst whom they were now counted. A yearning for acceptance was revealed in Fiyori's narrative, who could now consider herself 'liked' by the British government, despite ten years of rejection as an undesirable migrant. Desire for the state and the wish to be desired by the state combined to create the affirmative feelings experienced by many at the time of the citizenship ceremony. This could be considered a successful strategy for encouraging support for the socio-political order (cf. Elgenius, 2011), using the power of spectacle to suppress or alter previous opinions formed from negative everyday experiences.

The citizenship ceremonies I attended outwardly presented the UK as an inclusionary state embracing new citizens into its fold, remaining silent on the boundaries of the polity which had previously worked to exclude those it was now accepting. This demonstrates how rituals can be used as an instrument of hegemonic social control through constructing popular consciousness and naturalising ideologies (Moore and Myerhoff, 1977, Kong and Yeoh, 1997). Ceremonies were largely future-oriented, concentrating on the opportunities available to national citizens in return for their loyalty to the generous state. The audience was directed to engage with the celebratory atmosphere of the ceremony, whilst simultaneously contemplating the meaning and significance of citizenship. As I observed at a citizenship ceremony in Leeds:

The ceremony itself was informal and had an element of fun to it. This was particularly due to the light-hearted friendliness of the registrars, and also the engagement of the citizens. This was particularly evident during the deputy lieutenant's speech, which citizens were clearly listening carefully to, and laughing along at his jokes… The informal, celebratory atmosphere was overtaken by a moment of solemnity with the playing of the national anthem, which ended the ceremony. (Observational field notes, 18/7/13)

This ceremony combined informality with moments of deeper reflection, but maintained a positive outlook throughout. The fact that I observed mostly solemn expressions during the playing of the national anthem suggests that new citizens were following what might be seen as the appropriate emotional response to this piece of music. Thus the ceremony was able to create 'affective citizens', governed to act out feelings in the way that was expected of them (cf. Fortier, 2008). The success of this performance can be attributed to the fact that it was able to hide the social power operating behind it (Alexander, 2004). While the happiness associated with being granted British citizenship formed an important part of remembering the ritual, its ability to help participants forget was also crucial to its function. The capability of citizenship ceremonies to construct the state as an object of desire may have a lasting impact on new citizens' views of citizenship and the state as the entity which granted it.

Countertopography theorists have drawn attention to the divide and rule strategy of global capitalism which works to prevent unified struggles against oppression (Katz, 2001). However, I would argue that this is also a strategy that may be used by states. Immigrants are subject to a form of national governmentality which induces them to prove their worth above others in order to qualify for citizenship. Naturalisation measures function to create migrants who strive to become the desirables who will be granted citizenship, achieved by symbolically separating themselves from the undesirables. This classification and division of migrants

serves to mask their common experiences of exclusion at the hands of the state, minimising the possibility of striving for a more inclusive citizenship.

4.4   Citizenship as a contract

Citizenship at its most basic level is defined as a politico-legal status binding state to citizen. Whilst theories of the nature of rights and responsibilities and their relative weight vary between liberal, communitarian and republican traditions, there is a general consensus that these constitute the main element of the relationship between citizen and state (Isin and Turner, 2002). This view of citizenship as a contract was upheld by a substantial number of participants, with the majority mentioning rights and responsibilities at some point during the interviews. The attribution of citizenship status played a particularly important part in recognising this, which as Jafar explained:

> *When you become a citizen let's say British citizen. You have got rights*
> *and obligations. I mean it's for me now it's applicable… Before I read it*
> *as a foreigner, it's not part of me. But now I involved everything.*
> *(Jafar, economic migrant, Sudan)*

Jafar's background in the law meant that he was well educated on the legal aspects of citizenship, but whilst still classed as a "foreigner", he felt unable to apply this to himself. On becoming a British citizen, his attitude towards the rights and obligations of citizenship fundamentally changed, with Jafar claiming that he would now be increasingly involved in society. The implications of this on the exercise of particular rights and responsibilities were talked about by other participants, including Daniel:

> *Having been accepted into the British fold gives me a clearer conscience*
> *to vote in Britain. I would've felt embarrassed to vote as a stranger for*
> *your politics. But now that they've opened the doors and said welcome,*
> *you're now part of us, I now would vote with a clearer conscience and*

> *feel that yeah I've got a right to vote, because I have been kindly*
> *welcomed by the British people to live in their country.*
> *(Daniel, economic migrant, South Africa)*

Daniel's narrative highlights the sense of inclusion he felt from being "welcomed" and "accepted" by "the British people". Despite telling me of how he had fitted into British society with relative ease, due to his similar cultural upbringing, he nonetheless still considered himself a "stranger" until gaining official recognition as a British citizen. The degree to which he was able to integrate politically was therefore dependent on his citizenship status. This draws attention to feelings of otherness experienced even by more acculturated migrants, with their status excluding them from full belonging.

Jafar and Daniel indicated that incorporation is a two-way process, with Britain becoming "part of me" and them becoming "part of us". This highlights two dimensions of belonging: personalised and recognition, exemplifying how both may be enhanced by citizenship acquisition. Whilst previous research has found that acquiring citizenship does not enhance understanding of the term (Stewart and Mulvey, 2011, MacGregor and Bailey, 2012), these narratives demonstrate how it may influence citizenly practices. Despite having been eligible to vote previously as a Commonwealth citizen, Daniel felt that he could only now exercise this right having had it officially accepted by the government on behalf of "the British people". With public discourses increasingly marking immigrants out as 'foreign', the perceived illegitimacy of acting as a citizen without official recognition was experienced by a wide range of migrants, contributing to their differential citizenship. Whilst citizenship does confer new rights on an individual, I would argue that it is also important to consider its effects on the confidence to exercise rights and engage with responsibilities, which I elucidate further in the next two sections.

4.4.1 Responsibilities

Despite the supposedly reciprocal nature of rights and responsibilities between state and citizen, naturalisation measures tended to focus on the latter. This is a reflection of a wider move towards neoliberal citizenship characterised by individual responsibility (van Houdt et al., 2011). The latest edition of the Life in the UK handbook talks of the "responsibilities and privileges of being a British citizen" (Home Office, 2013a, p.3), with little mention of rights. Both the official and dignitary citizenship ceremony speeches also emphasised the responsibilities of British citizenship:

> *You have made a pledge to respect British law, observe British values*
> *and fulfil your duties and obligations as a British citizen.*
> *(Official speech)*

> *One of the prime purposes of the ceremony today is to remind all*
> *participants of the responsibilities that flow from becoming a British*
> *citizen.*
> *(Dignitary speech, Leeds)*

The main message from both the national script and the dignitary's speech was the importance of adhering to the obligations of British citizenship. Both served to remind the audience of their citizenly duties, suggesting that while they are already expected to know of these, this needed reinforcing. This singles immigrants out as a group that are assumed less likely to adhere to these responsibilities, particularly given the lack of 'reminders' delivered to the British-born population. However, some officials did take a softer approach to the model of citizenship based on individualised responsibility which was fed to them by national government, attempting to balance this with narratives on opportunities and rights. Multi-scalar axes of power influence the everyday enactment of citizenship policy (Nelson, 2004). In this case, local autonomy played a role in mediating the disciplinary state, at the same time promoting alternative versions of citizenship (cf. Creed, 2004,

Verkaaik, 2010). This highlights the contested nature of citizenship, which is constructed by agents operating at different levels. Whilst rights and responsibilities are one of the founding principles of citizenship, the nature of these is subject to divergent interpretations. As will become apparent, they are part of a constant process of negotiation, with dominant visions shifting with wider societal changes.

The duty-driven version of citizenship promoted in official discourse throughout the naturalisation process appeared to be effectively transmitted to new citizens. Responsibilities tended to be the most salient aspect of the overall message presented by the citizenship ceremonies and the Life in the UK guide to be taken away by participants, as exemplified by Nehanda and Yolanda:

> *It's for them to know how the country is run and also to know what they*
> *should do and what they should not do, I'm sure that is the main*
> *purpose.*
> *(Nehanda, family migrant, Zimbabwe)*

> *They [the dignitary] said about you know like being a citizen here. And*
> *yeah we've been given the paper and everything what you should be*
> *like, you be a good citizen of England, and then you need to be uh like to*
> *be happy here and enjoy the life here and just to be a good citizen and*
> *follow all the laws and you know the obligations of you know and*
> *everything for the Queen, for the country.*
> *(Yolanda, economic migrant, Philippines)*

Both participants picked up on the emphasis of naturalisation measures on obeying laws and fulfilling obligations. While Nehanda considered this the main purpose of the Life in the UK test, Yolanda's recollection of the dignitary's speech in the citizenship ceremony included more positive elements of being happy and enjoying life, alluding to the celebratory nature of the occasion. It is argued that the festivity of rituals can detract from the seriousness of the message being presented (Blehr,

1999). Nonetheless, Yolanda primarily associated being a "good citizen" with responsibilities, investing this with considerable significance. The national symbolism present in the ceremony, including material objects and the words sworn in the oath, led Yolanda to associate these civic duties with nationalism (cf. Ager and Strang, 2008), reflected in the fact that she believed they were carried out "for the Queen, for the country". 'For Queen and country' is a phrase that is more commonly used as a motivation for soldiers going to war, suggesting that the ultimate sacrifice is made on behalf of the nation. This ties modern citizenship to traditional notions of patriotism, questioning the ability of the vision being presented to fully accept a diverse range of transnational subjects with allegiances elsewhere.

Responsibilities were generally conceptualised in terms of contribution, obedience and loyalty, reflecting a mixture of communitarian and republican values. Migrant narratives have conveyed belonging as based on contribution, highlighting the role of participation in feeling part of society (Levesley, 2008, Sveinsson, 2010). Research has found that belonging is enhanced by a sense of civic duty and support for the political order (Heath and Roberts, 2008). This was the rationale behind many citizenship reforms in New Labour's 2002 White Paper, which states that an awareness of the importance of citizenship rights and responsibilities will increase a sense of belonging. However, some studies have concluded that citizenship does not necessarily create integration and belonging (Hagelund and Reegård, 2011, Stewart and Mulvey, 2011). Belonging is a 'thicker' concept, not based purely on identifications and formal status (Crowley, 1999). 'Citizenship acts' may be carried out even by those who are not officially recognised as citizens, challenging the power of the state to define citizenship (Marston and Staeheli, 1994, Isin and Nielsen, 2008).

State agents and new citizens talked of contributing to the economy, the labour market, the community and the democratic process as key responsibilities. This suggests that citizenship is imbued with economic, social and political value, with new citizens expected to contribute towards all three. Obedience tended to be

framed in terms of obeying the law. Although having a clear criminal record is a requirement of naturalisation, participants seemed to consider this as even more important now they had been granted their citizenship. As Abbas and Kess articulated:

Every day you go commit big crime, they're going to take it back from you. That mean you lose everything, that's why I'm saying. Everything they tell there agree with that, I have to respect it.
(Abbas, refugee, Liberia)

I'd say it is important that you feel something. Because that feeling is good. So it makes you, it makes pressure on you. What kind of pressure? It's good pressure, like to obey with the stick with the people, with the law, to be part of country.
(Kess, refugee, Ethiopia)

Despite having become a British citizen, Abbas nonetheless highlighted a politics of fear that was still present in his life. This stemmed from his previously insecure asylum status. State control was implicit in his regulation of behaviour to ensure that his citizenship status would not be removed, feeling that he had to agree with everything that was said in the ceremony. This demonstrates a mode of governmentality whereby individuals are trained to police themselves (Huxley, 2008), which in this case is predicated on being an obedient citizen. Kess also alluded to the idea of self-governance when she talked of the "good pressure" that is exerted in the citizenship ceremonies, which encourages new citizens to conform to societal rules and norms. This was brought about by the emotions that were experienced within the ceremony, showing how feelings can be channelled in rituals to create subjectification (Damsholt, 2008). Security is thus to some extent part of migrancy even after the attribution of citizenship, with the state harnessing fears of insecurity to coerce new citizens to behave in the appropriate manner. Although other migrants expressed similar sentiments to Abbas and Kess, the fact that they were refugees added resonance to their narratives. Previously subject to

the highest level of surveillance, the state still had the ultimate power to remove their citizenship, effectively rendering them stateless. Thus it is perhaps not surprising that responsibilities were seen as paramount, even becoming part of exercising rights, as the next section explores.

4.4.2 Rights

In an age of neoliberalism, many communal benefits provided by the welfare state have fallen victim to public spending cutbacks, leading to a decline in social entitlements for citizens (Marston and Staeheli, 1994). In addition to this, there is a permeating view that immigrants are more likely to take advantage of social rights to which they are not entitled, despite evidence suggesting the opposite (Dustmann and Frattini, 2013). This was reflected in the redesign of the Life in the UK test, which made the headlines for removing information about benefits from the book. As former Immigration Minister Mark Harper stated: "the new test rightly focuses on values and principles at the heart of being British. Instead of telling people how to claim benefits it encourages participation in British life" (Home Office, 2013b, online). Pitting claiming benefits in opposition to participating in British life draws on the stereotypical representation of benefit claimants as lazy and workshy, an image that has similarly tarred immigrants due to populist rhetoric implying that they are cheating the benefits system (Rogers et al., 2009). Mark Harper professed that it was wrong to even provide immigrants with knowledge of the benefits that they are actually entitled to, implying that this is against the "values and principles" of being British. The focus instead is on the duty to become involved in British society, while adhering to these values and principles. Blaming immigrants for abusing the generosity of the welfare state demonises them as a group, regardless of the validity of this accusation in individual cases. Claiming benefits thus has particular stigma attached to it for immigrants, denying them access to social rights.

Whilst citizenship ceremonies did mention rights, these tended to be confined to the civil and political realms, similarly devaluing social rights. Interestingly, political

and community participation were portrayed as both a right and an obligation. This challenges the liberal ideal of the individual having autonomy to exercise rights (cf. Kymlicka and Norman, 1994). Given the low voter turnout rate in the UK, it also adds to the idea that the duties of new citizens go above and beyond those of existing citizens. Political rights were considered opportunistically by a minority of participants with a personal interest in politics. These included people with a background in the law, and one participant who aspired to become a politician. Whilst the majority of participants said that they had already voted or intended to vote in the future, this was more often considered a duty than a right, as expressed by Bintu and Paul:

"'m a British citizen so I'll have to go and vote you know, I have to do it.
But politics no I'm not too bothered.
(Bintu, family migrant, Sierra Leone)

When you apply for citizenship and passports they will check all those
things. If one is really trying to it's just part of the so-called integration
as well. Some people will come here they are really not bothered to go
and vote… These are civic responsibility, you know. One should exercise
it.
(Paul, economic migrant, Nigeria)

Although having different views on the significance of politics, Bintu and Paul both viewed voting as a responsibility. Bintu's political apathy was superseded by her feeling that it was a duty to vote having become a British citizen. Paul meanwhile had voted at the first possible chance. However, this appeared to have the motive of proving that he was well integrated. This linked back to the surveillance state, whom he believed would use his record of voting when deciding on his citizenship application. He portrayed himself as integrated and obedient, in opposition to those who do not adhere to their civic responsibilities. Talking of "exercising" a responsibility situates political participation somewhere between right and

obligation, constructing it as a compulsory right applicable to all citizens, but particularly immigrants.

Rather than being categorised as civil, political or social, the rights accrued from citizenship were most commonly viewed as an overarching means of providing equal access to opportunities. The prospects available to British citizens were commented on extensively by participants. New citizens often connected the welcome provided by the citizenship ceremony with the status it granted which afforded them the same rights as other British citizens. This was alluded to by Kess and Grace:

> *Like I said it's easy, you are welcome in this country, you can do anything you want, anything you want. Like not something bad but something good! You know you can go to uni, you can work, you earn then. Umm you are equal with the other people. I like that one, you are equal, you have rights the others has. This is good, I love this, I really like that. You are equal, what the other people get, you will get it.*
> *(Kess, refugee, Ethiopia)*

> *You have an advantage, to get things, to be treated as how British citizens are also treated. Yes. That's the main advantage of it.*
> *(Grace, family migrant, Ghana)*

Whilst theories of racial inequality tend to focus on visible difference, here it was immigration status that had been used to deny access to a wide range of opportunities (cf. Fekete, 2001, Sivanandan, 2006). As Kess stated, she now had greater chances to access employment, education and other benefits, which the state had removed from her altogether as an asylum seeker. Nonetheless, participants from different migration pathways such as Grace also felt that citizenship would ensure equal treatment as a British citizen. The promise of equality was an important part of what citizenship meant to participants at an individual level. Although others were not subject to such an extreme restriction of

rights by immigrant status, the opportunities accrued from becoming a British citizen were unanimously appreciated.

The idea that anything was achievable as a British citizen was also expressed in state agent interviews, often in relation to successful members of ethnic minority communities. The Leeds registrar talked about a dignitary presiding over citizenship ceremonies who was himself an immigrant:

> *I think it's good for the citizens to see that somebody from a different ethnic background who has not been born British, but he's come over here, he's become a British citizen, and he's done really really well for himself I think rings a bell and he sort of says look you know you can do anything, you can do anything. And you know I'm sort of proof of it.*
> *(Leeds registrar)*

By bringing an immigrant who had achieved success into the citizenship ceremony, officials attempted to provide a role model for new citizens. However, this creates a potentially overoptimistic impression that their race and immigration background will have no bearing on their future prospects. This ignores subtle aspects of institutional and everyday racism which still impact the life chances of ethnic minorities (Essed, 1991, Phillips, 2006). The notion that "you can do anything" simultaneously serves to create a vision of the nation as a land of opportunity, similar to discourses on American immigration portraying the 'American dream' (Greer, 2013). The politically motivated myth of the immigrant 'American dream' constructs America as a country of equal opportunity free of racism, where failure to succeed is blamed on the individual, masking structural disadvantage and discrimination which affects life chances (Zhou and Xiong, 2005). The construction of a 'British dream' within the ceremonies may end up serving a similar purpose.

Whilst the current government has removed many rights from immigrants, other politicians and commentators have suggested that the rights and freedoms afforded to British citizens could form the basis for a new kind of national identity

(Parekh, 2000, Brown, 2004). This has been subjected to criticism from some academics, arguing that these are too vague and are based on values common to all liberal democracies (Joppke, 2004, Cantle, 2005). Whilst these arguments have their merit, they fail to acknowledge that many immigrants originate from countries which suppress democratic freedoms. For some, this was the reason they had migrated to Britain, with my sample including political activists, religious minorities and one participant who had moved to escape South African apartheid:

> *The thing Britain had to offer me at the time was the simple fact I didn't agree with the apartheid system and I didn't agree with the way their education system was, that the blacks went there and the whites went there and the Cape Malaysians went there.*
> *(Denise, family migrant, South Africa)*

Denise's initial rationale for migrating to Britain was that it was a liberal democracy, an experience shared by a number of participants. Whilst she admitted that she would have been happy to move to another country with similar principles, living in a democratic, multicultural society adhering to human rights was the initial foundation for her attachment to the country. Whilst human rights feature in the original Life in the UK guide, in which the 16 Convention Rights are laid out, this has been removed from the most recent edition. This is reflective of the current government's resistance to the Human Rights Act, largely on the basis of being able to legitimately avoid applying it to immigrants (Travis, 2013a). Although many states worldwide are based on a model of liberal democracy, Britain was nonetheless considered a bastion of the modern democratic system. Daniel in particular mentioned this in regard to the dignitary's speech at the citizenship ceremony:

> *He did mention at one stage he said something about we are proud of our democracy. I think what many people don't realise is that I think Britain is almost one of the forerunners of democracy in the Western*

world, in the modern world. I think that could've come across more

strongly.

(Daniel, economic migrant, South Africa)

For Daniel, the fact that Britain was "one of the forerunners of democracy" contributed strongly to his expressed admiration for the country. He believed that this should have been the main focus of the ceremony, implying that it could encourage a sense of pride that could be shared with new citizens. Given that democratic freedoms include the right to cultural and religious beliefs, this creates an inclusive mode of identification. Nonetheless, the democratic values preached during the citizenship process are undermined by Britain's treatment of immigrants (Wolton, 2006). Whilst a framework of democratic principles is perhaps not specific enough to construct the foundations of a strong sense of national identity (O'Donnell, 2007, Sales, 2009), I would argue that it has been too readily dismissed by many commentators.

Theorists of countertopography and citizenship alike have argued that an emancipatory vision of citizenship based on collective agency and rights can be used to challenge exclusions inherent to both nation-states and globalisation (Nelson, 2004). This is captured in Turner's (2002) notion of 'cosmopolitan virtue', a thin vision of global citizenship combining existing affiliations with the moral obligation to care for other cultures. A citizenship embedded in basic human rights could provide a foundation for a progressive struggle against the inequalities caused by repressive immigration legislation. Constructing a shared vision for the future from a normative model of democratic values can draw on positive elements from global justice, whilst highlighting the need for a fairer immigration system and a more inclusive version of national identity. Nonetheless, the next section demonstrates how contractual speech acts uttered during the ceremony predominantly tie citizens to fulfilling their individual obligations, bypassing the associated set of rights and freedoms.

4.4.3 A contract that binds

The citizenship ceremony has a particularly strong role in cementing the binding nature of the rights and responsibilities that are accrued from becoming a British citizen. This is most clearly expressed in the swearing of an oath, which can be considered as a 'speech act' (Austin, 1962, Tambiah, 1985), whereby saying is conceptualised as taking action. It is argued that scripts increase the intensity of cultural meanings which are ordinarily only present in the background (Alexander, 2004). It has even been contended that culture only exists through performative speech acts (Dewsbury et al., 2002). However, I would argue that the scripting of spoken performances relies on cultural representations. Therefore, whilst national-cultural identities are reformulated in the present, they are shaped by pre-existing sets of norms and values (Tamir, 1996). The most significant verbal elements of rituals are expressed in the form of blessings and oaths, which tie an individual to a particular power and aim to construct certain attitudes. The importance of speech is clear in US citizenship ceremonies, with those unable to swear an oath not granted citizenship (Honig, 1998). Furthermore, the wording of the British oath is able to reinforce meaning by connecting sentimentality to morality, belonging and obligation (Damsholt, 2008). In this case the speech act can be considered to express loyalty and commitment to the state, rather than simply being an act in its own right.

Swearing an oath is able to tie an individual to a particular power (Connerton, 1989), which in the case of citizenship ceremonies is the state. In this act, new citizens were simultaneously united with each other and divided from British-born citizens, of whom this requirement is never made. It is compulsory to recite both an oath of allegiance and a citizenship pledge. New citizens choose whether they wish to swear by Almighty God, or affirm the oath, which reads as follows:

> *I swear by Almighty God/ I do solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm, that on becoming a British citizen I will be faithful and bear true*

allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second her Heirs and
Successors according to law.

In the religious version of the oath, swearing by Almighty God constitutes the binding force tying new citizens to the words they are saying. The act of swearing by God resonates with swearing an oath on the bible in court, implicating the legally binding nature of the words spoken by participants. Indeed at some of the ceremonies I attended, new citizens had brought along bibles to swear on whilst saying the oath. The use of religion in rituals was explored by Durkheim (1965), who suggested that it recreates a moral community through sacred beliefs. The work of Neo-Durkheimians on 'civil religion' highlights how traditional religious symbols and rituals are used to generate emotional loyalty to the nation (Bellah, 1967, Smith, 2003).Religion is often present in national and political ritual events, for example in the UK context where the monarchy is connected to the Church of England (Bocock, 1974). In addition to the presence of a religious oath of allegiance, the national anthem 'God Save the Queen' is played at the end, reinforcing the link between religion, nationality and citizenship.

 In the non-religious version of the oath, religion is replaced by sentiment in the phrase "solemnly, sincerely and truly" (Damsholt, 2008), with the emotive response this elicits constituting the binding nature of the words. The oath of allegiance is particularly nationalist, with new citizens bound to the symbolic figurehead of the country, rather than the polity or society. This, along with the portrait of the Queen, led to participants such as Bintu and Tanvi associating the sense of Britishness portrayed in the ceremony primarily with the royal family:

> *When you swear for the Queen, for the country, for the culture, you*
> *know you have to obey to their rules, you have to obey to their culture*
> *here.*
> *(Bintu, family migrant, Sierra Leone)*

Kate: And can you remember what was said about Britain in the speeches?

Tanvi: Yeah. You know umm following the rules and keeping with the law. That was written in the letter as well and oath as well and being a citizen you'll be loyal to all the British, to the Queen mainly and uh to the kingdom.

(Tanvi, economic migrant, India)

Many new citizens thus envisaged their primary loyalty lying with the Queen, who stood for the legal, cultural and communitarian elements of British society. This reflects the use of the monarchy in modern British rituals as a symbol of stable values (Cannadine, 1983). Nonetheless, the significance given to this is at odds with the views of the British public at large, with a survey by Demos showing that only a third are very proud of the royal family (Wind-Cowie, 2011). This suggests that it may be a somewhat outdated entity on which to base allegiance to the country, particularly considering British-born people are not required to swear the same oath.

In contrast to the royalist oath of allegiance, ideas of politico-legal citizenship are expressed more clearly in the citizenship pledge:

I will give my loyalty to the United Kingdom and respect its rights and freedoms. I will uphold its democratic values. I will observe its laws faithfully and fulfil my duties and obligations as a British citizen.

Like the rest of the citizenship ceremony, this pledge is focused on responsibilities. Even where rights are mentioned, this is in terms of the obligation to respect them. This could be seen as targeted at groups with particularly 'different' cultures, whom it is assumed will have illiberal values which conflict with 'our' rights and freedoms (Adamson et al., 2011). The Life in the UK handbook cites specific examples, including forced marriage and female genital mutilation, which are clearly directed towards particular cultural groups. The citizenship pledge also uses

emotive language, with being 'faithful' and 'loyal' suggesting an intimate, unbreakable relationship between state and citizen. This was alluded to by Corina (economic migrant, Philippines), who joked that she was *"going to marry the pledge"*. Associating becoming a British citizen with getting married depicts long-lasting commitments between parties beyond the initial emotional responses to a new relationship status, emphasising that new citizens have made a promise for life (Somerville, 2005).

The power of speech acts, whereby saying becomes doing (Tambiah, 1985), was exemplified by new citizens' reactions to reciting the oath and pledge. For many, speaking the words aloud made the contract they were signing up to a reality, prompting reflections on what it meant from participants such as Juliette:

> *You don't realise what you swear at, you know. You're reading it and*
> *you say oh my God yeah that's true. Have to be loyal and then I have to*
> *umm uh what is it said? Uh you know you have obligations to do this*
> *and then you have also rights to umm to protect. And uh… it's very good*
> *uh because uh we're reading line by line. So you're reading it, you're*
> *thinking, you know you're just thinking what you're doing.*
> *(Juliette, student/family migrant, Mexico)*

Despite having read the oath and pledge many times before the ceremony to the point where she could recite them off by heart, Juliette felt that she did not fully understand their meaning until uttering the words at the ceremony itself. Repeating the oath line by line after the registrar gave her a chance to consider the implications of the rights and obligations which she was signing up to by speaking those words. The ritual acted as a 'time apart' and a 'place apart' from everyday life (Goheen, 1993), clarifying the structural basis of citizenship which may otherwise be taken for granted. This personalised the concept of citizenship, which was transformed from an abstract notion to one that Juliette could apply to her own life. The speech act worked to unite migrants, with the previously divisive

mechanisms of governance now bringing them together in speaking the words that confirmed their new status.

A countertopographical analysis illuminates the ways in which uniting and dividing populations can be used strategically to govern them (Katz, 2001). It can link national ideologies with grounded collective performances reproducing them through consent and coercion. Although encouraged to prove their worth above other immigrants in order to become citizens, upon the acquisition of citizenship migrants are brought together as subjects of the national states. However, in line with anti-immigrant rhetoric, the onus of upholding responsibilities is directed at those from elsewhere, connecting individuals from different places in their foreignness to this place. Translocal migrants are thus bounded and controlled by expectations of national allegiance. Citizenship ceremonies imbued with symbolism leave little space for the practical aspects of citizenship, of which I turn to next.

4.5   Pragmatic citizenship

The formal rights granted by citizenship were appreciated alongside additional practical benefits accrued by individuals from their new status. These included increased opportunities for mobility and travel alongside factors aiding settlement such as improved access to employment and education. This could be characterised as 'flexible' (Ong, 1999) or 'pragmatic' (Mavroudi, 2008) citizenship, where obtaining a new passport is used strategically by immigrants. There was little acknowledgement of this in naturalisation measures, with state agents criticising those who applied for British citizenship for instrumental reasons. However, although all of my participants valued the practical advantages of being a British passport holder, most also possessed a wider sense of citizenship as both participative and emotive (cf. Waters, 2003, Preston et al., 2006). This was reinforced by the state project of attempting to retain the alignment between citizenship and national identity (cf. Mavroudi, 2008).

The necessity of gaining British citizenship for practical reasons challenges the idea of citizenship as a choice. This plays a key role in citizenship ceremonies, which are predicated on the consent of citizens, used to both legitimise the liberal democratic state and reproduce the nation (Honig, 1998, Coutin, 2003). The idea of citizenship as a consensual relationship is evident in ceremony speeches, in which new citizens are congratulated on "*choosing to become British citizens*" (North Yorkshire dignitary speech) and welcomed to the place that they have "*decided to make their home*" (Leeds and North Yorkshire dignitary speeches). Consent to the regime is further epitomised in the oath of allegiance and citizenship pledge, in which a speech act confirms new citizens' assent to the nation and the values it imbibes (cf. Honig, 1998). This is at odds with citizens born in Britain to British or settled immigrant parents, whose citizenship is automatically attributed based purely on location of birth.

The notion of choice overlooks the fact that for many, long-term migration is not intended and may be forced, with the destination country and in particular region often not pre-planned. This has consequences for motivations for citizenship acquisition, which rather than being based on an enduring desire to join a nation through state membership, is more often brought about by gradual settlement in a country leading to recognition of the benefits it will provide. For some participants, citizenship was considered a necessity rather than a choice:

> *The other reason why I applied for British citizenship because you have to do that. Like if you come and seek asylum, they grant you, if they grant you now they give you residence. After residence you need citizenship.*
> *(Abbas, refugee, Liberia)*

> *At the end of the day it was a necessity, it was a piece of security that I needed, I've got it. And I'm grateful but I will never ever ever change the way I live.*
> *(Denise, family migrant, South Africa)*

For Abbas, applying for British citizenship was seen as a natural step in his migration journey, following on from being granted asylum and Indefinite Leave to Remain. In his mind, there was no element of choice, with his application based on the idea that "you have to do that". Lack of real choice in the decision to naturalise is often associated with refugees, due to their uncertain legal status and inability to return to their origin country (Stewart and Mulvey, 2011). Whilst this was reflected in my findings, other participants also felt constrained by their immigrant status, believing that British citizenship was the only way to guarantee certain opportunities. Denise was particularly interesting in this regard, as having arrived in Britain almost three decades ago, had only recently considered acquiring British citizenship a "necessity". This was due to the tightening of border controls in Europe, which would have required her to obtain a costly visa in order to travel to Switzerland. Having resided in Britain for so long, she was adamant that her new status would not "ever change the way I live", clearly dismissing the intended significance of subscribing to the national values portrayed in the citizenship ceremony. These narratives show the importance of wider national and international political contexts restricting opportunities for immigrants, which creates a need for naturalisation (Coutin, 2003). Denise's story suggests that as states continue to enhance security both at the border and within their territory, the desire for citizenship as a legal status protecting rights and freedoms, affording immigrants their own sense of security, is likely to increase.

4.5.1 Exercising mobility

The pragmatic motivation for acquiring citizenship most frequently mentioned by participants was travel. This was considered to provide an easier life and reduce inconvenience, particularly in relation to obtaining visas, with the British passport ranked best for global travel, enabling visa-free access to 173 countries (The Straits Times, 2014). Despite the transnational connectivity of places, the movement of people between national territories is increasingly restricted, with some bodies allowed more freedoms than others (Andrucki, 2010). Therefore, holding a valued national passport is crucial to exercising mobility as an international citizen.

The British passport embodied the status of British citizenship, and for many represented the pinnacle of the journey to citizenship. Becoming a British citizen was often equated with being a British passport holder, and passport applications were usually sent off at the first possible chance. It was primarily viewed as a means of mobility, which for participants such as Pasha, was the main reason for applying for British citizenship:

> *When I apply for it I apply not because I really want to be British… It's the passport there. It's there then [I can] do anything with it. Because I anyway when I apply for it I thought like I didn't expect anything from it. It's just to make the life easy for paperwork and travelling and that's it. (Pasha, family migrant, Egypt)*

Pasha revealed the choices that became available to her upon receiving her British passport, compared to the previous constraints to her mobility from her Egyptian passport. Her reflection on not wishing to "be British" shows her understanding of Britishness as something deeper than simply being able to call herself a citizen, which she had no desire to be part of. However, Pasha's belief that being a British citizen would not affect her behaviour or feelings of belonging was only expressed by a minority of participants, those who similarly had little concern for subscribing to a thicker version of citizenship. One participant with analogous views was Alison, who conceptualised citizenship in terms of freedom of mobility:

> *Kate: What does British citizenship mean to you?*
> *Alison: [pause] Ease of travel. Opening up umm opportunities in Europe. Being able to travel in and around Europe and being able to work in Europe.*
> *(Alison, economic migrant, Canada)*

Alison, despite having Canadian citizenship, highlighted the greater opportunities which came with being a British passport holder. For her, this was based on becoming a European citizen, rather than simply a British national. This

demonstrates the pragmatic value of British citizenship to even so-called 'mobile elites' for its access to Europe. Alison, with her dual Canadian-British citizenship, epitomised the image of a transnational 'flexible' citizen, which combined with European citizenship increased her ability to accumulate capital by living and working across borders (cf. Ong, 1999). Although occupying a less privileged social position, Pasha similarly combined the use of her two passports to make travel easier, also having the ability to access the advantages of citizenship in both Britain and Egypt. This suggests that the strategic use of multiple citizenships is not solely the domain of elites, and could define the transnational experiences of many migrants (Werbner, 1999). These participants embodied the notion of 'citizenship constellations' (Bauböck, 2010), with their citizenly rights constructed through membership of multiple states, in addition to a supranational union.

Being a citizen of the European Union entitles members to additional rights, most notably freedom of movement and residence within the EU. These were considered important by the majority of participants, but particularly by better-off migrants who travelled for work and leisure. It is argued that obtaining this citizenship is most likely to affect non-EU immigrants, who are simultaneously granted rights at both a national and transnational level (Meehan, 1993). However, contentions that this marks a new form of post-national or cosmopolitan citizenship (Archibugi, 1998, Soysal, 2001) are premature, with European citizenship still predicated on being a citizen of a member state. In the UK context, membership of the EU is currently the subject of heated political debate, with arguments for withdrawing altogether popular amongst the British public (Ipsos MORI, 2014). European citizenship is therefore a fragile construct, ultimately a product of the negotiations and power of national politicians. Becoming a citizen of Europe is not acknowledged in the citizenship ceremonies, which focus on membership to national and local communities (Byrne, 2014). Information on the EU has also been significantly reduced in the newest edition of the Life in the UK handbook. The connectivity of British citizenship to a transnational European citizenship is not recognised by a government intent on strengthening borders and distancing itself from the EU.

The type of passport held by an individual has implications for their recognition both domestically and internationally. Many participants had had visa applications rejected by countries they wished to travel to with no explanation provided, negatively categorised on account of their nationality. The identity imposed on them based on their passport affected the degree of scrutiny they were subjected to, particularly at national borders, as Jafar highlighted:

> *If I use my Sudanese passport and go anywhere, I have to stay in airport*
> *for long time to check your passport because you are Sudanese and*
> *Muslim and they think you are maybe terrorist or something. You have*
> *to stay for long time check and ah sorry for your patience and every*
> *time. But when you travel with your British passport it's very*
> *respectable outside and don't need to check your passport just go.*
> *(Jafar, family migrant, Sudan)*

Jafar's narrative reflected the securitisation of migration which is increasingly linked to terror (Sivanandan, 2006, Waite, 2011). His Sudanese passport implicitly categorised him as a Muslim, and therefore a potential terrorist. He was consequently subjected to extensive security checks at national borders, characterised as 'suspicious' due to his nationality. As a British passport holder, he felt that he would be afforded respect wherever he travelled, with his negatively stereotyped religious identity superseded by possessing a valued national passport. This was a particularly salient concern for immigrants from countries associated with conflict and terrorism, such as Jafar, and refugees, whose travel documents marked them out as different. However, every participant I interviewed stated that their original passport was not as valued as a British passport. In a world of securitised borders, holding a respected passport is more important than ever. This challenges theories of deterritorialised post-nationalism, with chances for both mobility and settlement dictated by national documentation confirming an individual's right to cross borders and reside in particular places.

As states make it harder for non-nationals to enter and remain in their territory, they are simultaneously discrediting mobility as part of citizenship. In attempting to promote a 'thick' version of citizenship, the emphasis is instead on integrating into national society and belonging to a territorially defined national community (Etzioni, 1995, Young, 2003). The motivations for acquiring citizenship expressed by participants such as Pasha and Alison were dismissed by state agents as disregarding the real meaning of citizenship:

> *If they've had quite an easy ride and it's just you know for the sake of*
> *ease of travel because they don't have to get visas to travel to Europe,*
> *to them it's you know and it's come quite easy as it were to become*
> *British, it's perhaps not saying it's not valued as much but you can sort*
> *of tell that they perhaps don't fully appreciate what becoming British*
> *should mean to people.*
> *(Leeds registrar)*

State agents tended to feel that those who had had an "easy ride" were using citizenship instrumentally, implying that their perceived failure to exhibit emotions openly in the citizenship ceremonies evidenced this. This reflects ideas of 'flexible citizenship' which are usually associated with elites (Ong, 1999). However, this overlooks the fact that immigrants who have had their rights severely restricted are potentially more likely to value the practical freedoms afforded by British citizenship. In my research, refugees were just as likely to cite the benefits of being able to travel as other participants, and particularly welcomed this given their previous inability to obtain a passport. Furthermore, the Leeds registrar contended that those who had applied for citizenship to make travel easier did not appreciate deeper meanings of citizenship. This was phrased as "what becoming British should mean to people", suggesting that simply being thankful for the benefits accrued from a new citizenship status was not sufficient to becoming a British citizen. This was connected to an appropriate display of positive emotions, with an absence of this implying that citizenship was not being appreciated in the correct way. She went on to talk of the gratitude expressed by those who have had a more difficult

migration journey, echoing state discourse of emphasising the significance of citizenship to immigrants. The fact that British citizenship should be imbued with meaning suggests a deep emotional attachment, going beyond the notion of a status formed of rights and responsibilities. This reflects states' reaction to the 'inevitable lightening' of citizenship, whereby membership had become more accessible, demanded less obligations and was increasingly disconnected from nationhood (Joppke, 2010). As I will argue in later chapters, this response is out of touch with a globalised, translocal world.

The naturalisation process as a whole disregards the increased opportunities for mobility available for those with a British passport, with being granted citizenship both the product of and precursor for staying in place. As I noted while observing the processing of applicants at the UKBA headquarters:

> *It was accepted that the reason you would apply for British citizenship was that you would stay in the country, with a question asking this on the application form. This logic seemed to partly deny the desire for increased mobility for many, particularly those without a passport. (Observational field notes, 16/8/13)*

The idea that granting British citizenship should keep people within the country denies the reality of migrants' translocal lives. Visits to their origin country were the most common reason for participants leaving the UK, although the majority expressed no desire for permanent return. In fact the motivation of greater freedom to travel was combined with a wish for easier re-entry into the UK. Most participants had had difficult experiences at the UK border, subjected to long periods of waiting and probing questions. Recognition as a British citizen enabled them to join *"the British queue"* at airports, where they were regarded with less suspicion and afforded better treatment. Therefore, as well as extending international rights to movement, it was once again state control of 'suspicious' bodies that motivated migrants to upgrade their status, affording an easier return into national territory. The importance of status to residency is explored further in the next section.

4.5.2 Enabling settlement

Whilst the British passport was most frequently associated with travel by state agents, in reality it was also an important piece of documentation for residing within the UK. It acted as proof of holding the status of a British citizen, confirming eligibility for citizenship rights. This was particularly important for those whose rights to work and access services had been misrecognised in the past, such as refugees like Abbas:

> *Sometime you taking your residence paper and go to register some*
> *place they say no they are not taking it you need your passport. Where*
> *your passport? I don't have a passport! Because the Home Office give*
> *me this one. I went to another agency here, they didn't take me. I gave*
> *them my visa and still say no. I didn't have no time to argue with them*
> *or call help or something like that because if you argue with the*
> *employer, even they accept it but they wouldn't give you a job. Better*
> *you walk away.*
> *(Abbas, asylum seeker, Liberia)*

This story of rejection by employers on the basis of not having a passport was common amongst refugees. It limited their choice of employment, leaving them powerless when job agencies refused to recognise their documentation. These problems are in part a product of increased political control of immigrants, with employers subject to penalties of up to £20,000 for every illegal immigrant they employ (Government Digital Service, 2014). This is likely to deter companies from employing anyone of whom they are unsure of their legal status, having a detrimental impact on the employment prospects of refugees. Further issues have arisen with the introduction in 2005 of limited leave to remain of five years for all refugees, after which they are able to apply for ILR, while previously ILR was granted once refugee status was confirmed (Doyle, 2010). A British passport was considered objective proof of their legitimate employment status, providing a pragmatic reason for acquiring one at the first possible chance.

Employment concerns related to status were not just confined to refugees. Since Gordon Brown's mantra of 'British jobs for British workers', employers have been under increasing pressure to prioritise British citizens above foreign nationals when recruiting employees (Anderson, 2014). The Coalition government have reinforced this rhetoric, talking of the 'social duty' of employers to hire British workers (Dominiczak, 2013). This reflects a model of the 'social investment state', whose role it is to enable opportunities for employment, education and training for its citizens (Lister, 2003), defined by status rather than residency rights. This was recognised by a number of participants, who suggested that there was a hierarchy of employment, in which British workers were chosen first, followed by EU migrants, with non-EU migrants ranked lowest. Participants such as Salim and Simon felt that this had personally affected their chances of getting a job:

Isma: We had a lot of issues with barriers a lot when he had his
Pakistani citizenship to apply for the jobs, such as McDonalds won't
take him on because there's a lot of paperwork involved.
Salim: Yeah.
Isma: And then because the manager there said we've already got two
we don't take more than two or three people on, that have got
indefinite to remain but if he gets his British passport he causes no
problem.
(Salim, family migrant, Pakistan)

If I have my Burmese passport, also I have a limitation of applying for
jobs as well… And to be honest I have applied for three, four jobs
previously but as soon as they ask you what nationality you are, my
application form just goes to the bottom.
(Simon, student/economic migrant, Burma)

Contrasting the experiences of Simon, a skilled nurse, with Salim, who was searching for unskilled work, shows the widespread nature of perceived discrimination in the labour market against foreign nationals. Although both had

the right to work in the UK, they felt their access to employment was restricted due to an alleged preference for British workers. This could partly be due to the amount of legislation related to employing foreign workers, which includes checking their eligibility to work in the UK, amounting to extra bureaucracy. As Salim's encounter with McDonald's suggests, this may deter employers from hiring immigrants, meaning that British citizenship is all the more important. The barriers faced by immigrants are a product of the state prioritising citizenship rights above residency rights (Kofman, 2005), based on the logic of 'protecting our own'.

The citizenship ceremony, in celebrating the opportunities available to new citizens, fails to recognise the exclusions that acted as a barrier to accessing these opportunities previously. Whilst participants complained of limited employment prospects, extortionate fees for higher education and travel restrictions prior to obtaining British citizenship, this was glossed over by those conducting the ceremony. Any talk of the hardships experienced by immigrants was confined to the past of their origin countries, constituting the reason why they migrated:

> *Some have seen great conflict and anguish and seek a peaceful life in*
> *Britain where they may live in harmony with their families and*
> *neighbours.*
> *(Calderdale registrar speech)*

> *[Acquiring British citizenship] marks the conclusion of a journey which,*
> *for many of you, has been challenging, sometimes dangerous and all*
> *too often accompanied by sadness, tragedy and personal loss.*
> *(Leeds dignitary speech)*

The speech from the Calderdale ceremony contrasted the "conflict and anguish" immigrants experienced in their home countries to the "peaceful life" that is offered by Britain. The Leeds dignitary similarly implied that the "challenging" aspect of migrants' journeys occurred before their arrival to the UK. This downplays the significant hardships frequently experienced by immigrants while living in the

UK without British citizenship status. As this chapter has outlined, this includes being subjected to state surveillance, media demonisation and exclusion from opportunities to live a comfortable life. The degree to which this impacted on the decision to naturalise should not be underestimated, and neither should it be disparaged. Valuing British citizenship as a status, with its associated recognition domestically and internationally, along with the hope of equal opportunities, was for most able to contribute to a deeper notion of citizenship as feeling and practice.

Countertopography enables us to see how different places are becoming increasingly connected through common experiences of processes of globalisation. However, as transnational mobility expands into 'spaces of flows', states simultaneously attempt to control the movement of 'suspect' migrants, disputing their status as 'agents of mobility'. This demonstrates how the practices of immigrants are simultaneously defined by the mechanisms of global capital, with its need for flexibility (Conlon, 2013), and by the workings of the state, recreating a citizenship based on rootedness in territory. These condition the emotions and identities of migrants (Fortier, 2006), which cross-cut traditional categories based on social background or migration route.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at citizenship as status, a legal contract between state and citizen which the government has the power to grant or withhold. The first section examined how representations of 'immigrant others' filtered into the lives of new citizens, motivating them to acquire citizenship and justifying being tested for their suitability. However, even after upgrading their status, many felt unable to shed the label of immigrant. Countertopography can be used to demonstrate how media, political and public discourses affect formations of identities in everyday life. Contour lines can thus be drawn between new citizens, whose status as less-than-equal citizens impacts their treatment in practice. This contests assertions that citizenship is progressively being decoupled from national identity,

demonstrating how increasingly ethnicised visions of citizenship exclude certain groups from full belonging.

The next section considered how the securitisation of migration has been extended to naturalisation. Immigrants are subject to a form of national governmentality which severely restricts opportunities, leaving them in a state of liminality. Whilst scholars have primarily associated this with undocumented migrants, I would argue that the research lens needs widening to include other groups of migrants. I demonstrated how the politics of desire induces migrants to prove their worth as desirable citizens above less desirable migrants in order to qualify for citizenship. The ritualised process of naturalisation also functions to create citizens who desire the state, with the celebratory citizenship ceremony having a powerful impact on erasing negative memories.

Section 4.4 explored the idea of citizenship as a contract between citizen and state. The model of neoliberal communitarianism presented in naturalisation measures portrays citizenship as based on obligations to yourself, the state and society, with a stripped back version of social rights. Participants echoed this focus on adhering to responsibilities, which for refugees in particular was grounded in a fear that their new status could be removed. Nonetheless, the rights and freedoms associated with Britain were important in various new citizens' visions of citizenship, many of whom originated from non-democratic countries. Therefore I would suggest that the possibility of modelling national civic identity on a framework of democratic values may have been too readily dismissed, with its potential for inclusion and bettering the treatment of migrants.

The final section examined the importance of pragmatic citizenship to migrants. Whilst citizenship is portrayed in naturalisation measures as a decision to stay in place, conversely participants often saw possessing a British passport as an opportunity for greater mobility. However, this was combined with a desire to utilise British citizenship to enhance prospects for settlement. Migrant experiences are commonly differentiated on the basis of factors such as race, nationality,

gender and migration pathway, but my research uses countertopography to elucidate a surprising number of similarities on the basis of simply being a migrant. For the majority of new citizens, gaining British citizenship was a way of navigating the external forces constraining their opportunities, rather than a conscious decision to become subjects of a renationalising process. Nevertheless, as I will explore in the next two analysis chapters, the acquisition of citizenship as status had implications for citizenly practices and feelings of belonging.

Chapter 5 Citizenship as practice

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines citizenship as a practice of active participation within society. This goes beyond the idea of citizenship as a status marking official inclusion within a particular national territory. It follows civic republican theories of citizens acting on their rights and responsibilities in order to form and maintain a democratic community (Oldfield, 1990, Dagger, 2002). This idea was particularly popular with the New Labour government, and informed the naturalisation measures they introduced, which are the main focus of this chapter.

The first section considers the notion of community as a site of citizenship practices. It explores how New Labour's community cohesion agenda influenced the citizenship ceremony and test in promoting belonging and interaction at a neighbourhood level. However, I will argue that this romanticisation of community overlooks localities as possible sites of indifference and discrimination. Community was also integral to ideas of 'good citizenship', including volunteering and contributing to national society. However, judgements of 'good' and 'bad' citizens were shaped through transnational values systems rather than singularly informed by national norms, which needs further recognition.

The second section looks at naturalisation measures as part of the integration process. I explain how their aim of encouraging mixing is compromised due to the inability to engage host populations. Nonetheless, whilst national rhetoric has become increasingly assimilatory, limiting acceptable types of difference, I demonstrate how citizenship ceremonies have embraced local diversity. There has been limited focus on economic integration within naturalisation measures, yet I show how valuable labour market participation can be for settlement and adaptation. I will argue that naturalisation measures are increasingly being used as a benchmark to demonstrate the ability to assimilate, overlooking the everyday

acculturation of migrants, which can be analysed through a countertopographical lens.

Citizenship has recently been politically portrayed as a competency that can be learnt, heralding the introduction of formal citizenship education, which I explore in the third section. The Life in the UK test supposedly aimed to create active citizens, but many participants questioned its effectiveness. I will describe how ESOL with citizenship classes provided a more positive arena for deliberative citizenship, creating a version that was inclusive of local, national and transnational values. I end by returning to the importance of the everyday in practices of citizenship, arguing that by using countertopography to analyse grounded experiences alongside other scales, we can more fully understand the adaptation of migrants to host societies.

5.2   Defining the community

Citizenship is often envisaged as being based on relationships between individuals and a political community (Smith, 1989, Staeheli, 2008a). It has been defined as "a social network of interacting individuals, usually concentrated into a defined territory" (Johnston, 2000, p.101). 'Community' became a specific policy focus after the 2001 race riots, which were attributed to segregated groups leading 'parallel lives' (Cantle, 2001). This led to the development of Labour's community cohesion agenda, which was instrumentalised as a remedy for divided communities, aiming to bring them together through active citizenship practices developing a civic identity. However, as this section exemplifies, the messy realities of community life do not neatly match idealised political models.

The Coalition government, whilst abandoning 'community cohesion', have nonetheless retained a focus on communities. This is most evident in their 'Big Society' agenda, ratified in the Localism Act 2011, which aimed to give local people the power to work together to build the kind of communities they wanted. The current government similarly believes that integration occurs in communities, echoing New Labour thinking that bringing people together by focussing on

'common ground' can create the conditions for integration (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012). Nonetheless, despite paying lip service to reducing economic inequalities, their agenda has been accompanied by widespread funding cuts to community services. They have also axed the Migration Impacts Fund, brought in by the Labour government to help localities adapt to immigration, suggesting a lack of real commitment to aiding integration within communities.

5.2.1 Creating cohesive communities

Following the Labour government's decentralised approach to community cohesion (Local Government Association, 2002, Communities and Local Government Committee, 2008), both the citizenship ceremony and test primarily defined community as operating at a local level, particularly focusing on the neighbourhoods in which people live. This has commonly been recognised as the scale where the foundations of cohesion are built (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, Flint and Robinson, 2008). However, the concept of neighbourliness ignores power relations, inequalities and the tensions of living with difference (Fortier, 2008).

The neighbourhood was mentioned in a chapter of the previous Life in the UK guide entitled 'Building better communities', which told new citizens that they should be a "good neighbour". It cited mundane actions such as "avoid making too much noise" and "put out your rubbish" as ways of creating harmonious communities (Home Office, 2007, p.107). Similar messages were picked up from the citizenship ceremony, as Salim explained:

> *Yeah he said when you, you will look after the area. And don't make*
> *mess and throw that. And now your Pakistani is dead, when you live*
> *now you are a British citizen. So you have to do nice and clean your area*
> *and neighbour and for your community and respect your law here.*
> *(Salim, family migrant, Pakistan)*

Salim implied that being a British citizen necessitated keeping his area clean for his neighbours and local community. He talked of this as part of lived citizenship, which was influenced by his status change from Pakistani to British citizen. However, whilst simple ways of keeping the area pleasant to live in may reduce tensions, they are unlikely to create the 'shared values' and 'civic identity' desired by David Blunkett within the mantra of community cohesion.

Acts of community improvement can operate at a deeper level, having the potential to bring different types of people together in working to create shared spaces (Touraine and Macey, 2000, Shindo, 2012). This was a popular idea in citizenship ceremonies, which talked of actively contributing towards making the country and community "a better place". This was reflected on by Juliette:

> *I remember [the dignitary] literally saying to bring some good to the community. I mean yeah you have to help to improve, yes? To make it better place for future generations because you know they've been*
>
> *working so hard and then it's a huge responsibility.*
> *(Juliette, student/family migrant, Mexico)*

Place improvement was talked about by participants in terms of material, social and skills-based assets. Juliette's idea of focusing on future generations could potentially provide a level starting point for residents new and old to become involved in the community, with progress based on the future rather than the past or present situation of the area. This notion of 'shared futures' has been advocated by previous policy groups which stated that it could be used to create common ground amongst citizens (Local Government Association, 2002, Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007). This echoes the ideas of urban cosmopolitan theorists, who have stressed the binding potential of local projects based on shared objectives (cf. Amin, 2002, Sandercock, 2003, Nava, 2006). Whilst this was also subscribed to by many new citizens, it is unclear how it could become a practical initiative reaching out to every resident. Although some participants had become

involved in schemes they felt created community betterment, these tended to be confined to small-scale projects in religious and ethnic organisations. The recommendations based around 'shared futures' as a tool for community cohesion therefore seem unlikely to filter into the everyday lives of the majority of citizens, unless a concerted effort is made to set up targeted programmes.

Community was also related to by new citizens as the people with whom they had day-to-day contact. This included transient neighbourly encounters, such as waving over the fence or greeting one another in the street, which some geographers have suggested can create spaces of conviviality (Thrift, 2005, Amin, 2006, Laurier and Philo, 2006). However, others writing on the geographies of encounter argue that the potential of fleeting contact to foster positive relations is overemphasised (Valentine, 2008, Valentine, 2010, Matejskova and Leitner, 2011). This was supported by my study, in which deeper forms of contact appeared to have the most impact. Nehanda, a retired pensioner, talked of her community as a group for older people:

> *I can say the community itself, because I have joined the [name of community group] here. The community, it's good, because I go on Mondays and Thursday, because I joined the club next door to this, elderly people have joined the club. They are quite good, the community itself is good, they have no discrimination, that I'm an African. I'm the only African there… I was scared to join when I got my indefinite. I thought maybe they didn't like the Africans because I have never seen an African going to that centre.*
> *(Nehanda, family migrant, Zimbabwe)*

Participants such as Nehanda had joined communities based on aspects of their identities other than race, ethnicity or immigration status, the factors that have increasingly been used to demonise particular groups (cf. Cheong et al., 2007). They were thus able to create their own sense of cohesion within neighbourhoods, by coming together with others who lived in close proximity with shared

characteristics or interests. Top-down citizenship policies are unlikely to impact on these types of pre-existing micro-level communities. Nehanda's story also highlights that integration is a two-way process (cf. Vasta, 2007, Crowley and Hickman, 2008). During the interview she said that due to fears of discrimination, she had to wait to be invited to this group, which she took as a sign of acceptance from the community. The onus should therefore also be on host communities inviting newcomers to become involved in community activities, which receives little official recognition due to the targeting of immigrants in policy.

Community is often romanticised as a positive entity (Staeheli, 2008a). However, living within a neighbourhood does not always create the kind of convivial bonds the term implies. Whilst the new Life in the UK guide advocates social integration through local mixing, recommending "getting to know your neighbours" (Home Office, 2013a, p.154), this was not necessarily attainable. Both Fiyori and Daniel were struck by the lack of welcome they received from their neighbours when they moved into the area:

Do you know if you have neighbour, new people's coming ask but these people don't ask me. One day some house painting something, me I make tea, I go her I give for tea. Say no no no no nothing. You know in my country if you know new building, new things uh I help the people do you know for biscuits or tea. But no no no I say ok. I tell in my country like this and my culture, she say ok thank you.
(Fiyori, refugee, Eritrea)

People are polite, but not necessarily over friendly in other words when we moved into our new house in our new neighbourhood we never had any invites from anybody to come around for a cup of tea or anything like that… And as a result we've found ourselves almost doing the same, we've had people move in across the road and though we'd meant to invite them around because in South Africa you often do that sort of thing, just somehow we haven't got around to doing that yet and I think

that's because we are slowly becoming part of the British culture [laughs]!
(Daniel, economic migrant, South Africa)

Despite very different social positions, Fiyori a refugee from Eritrea and Daniel a South African migrant of British descent, both participants had experienced indifference when attempting to interact with neighbours. They attributed this to "British culture", which they contrasted to the welcome they would provide to new residents in their origin countries. Daniel observed this practice without much consequence, and had ended up adopting it himself, considering it another element of his acculturation. However, Fiyori felt upset by the rebuttal of her attempts to engage with other local residents, which contributed towards her negative impression of the area. Although migrants were the primary focus of the community cohesion agenda, they often already followed the idea that being a 'good neighbour', as emphasised in both editions of the Life in the UK handbook, was part of citizenship. It was the indifference of their neighbours that was the main barrier to developing relations with others in the locality, meaning that they were forced to search elsewhere for the type of community bonds they desired. This was generally most pronounced in localities where the immediate neighbours were white British, with some citing deeper engagement with co-ethnic British people and other migrants. This challenges the optimistic view of neighbourhoods as sites of everyday cosmopolitanism (cf. Sandercock, 2003, Keith, 2005, Germain and Radice, 2006, Nava, 2006), with the lack of sociality occurring within some residential areas undermining their potential as a source of cohesion.

Neighbourhoods could also be the location in which ideas of community were played out in the most exclusionary manner, through discrimination and racism. A number of participants talked of the racism they had experienced whilst moving around the local area. Some, such as Fiyori and Aakash, had been repeatedly verbally abused and shunned by members of the public:

Do you know sometimes British people if you see some African people,

don't like African people… Sometimes they see me like bad, yeah. One

they also say umm he see me, are you African or are you Pakistan say,

why are you asking me? I'm Africa. Uh bitch Africa say.

(Fiyori, refugee, Eritrea)

Some people make trouble you know with you while you are walking.

Swearing at you, you know. But it's alright, it happens, you know. My

dad says to just stay quiet you know you don't have to do anything. Just

listen them and ignore them.

(Aakash, family migrant, India)

Migrants were discriminated against predominantly on the basis of visible differences, demonstrating how racialisation in public spaces occurs through the senses (cf. Simonsen, 2008, Bloch and Dreher, 2009, Nayak, 2011). Aakash, as a practising Sikh, felt that he was particularly targeted because of his appearance. When walking to the Sikh temple with him, I observed a group of youths shouting abuse, a type of racism which was a daily feature of his life. Although he brushed this off as something that just 'happens', the inability to freely express his religious identity in public space influenced his feelings about British society at large. He mourned for India, where he felt he could be himself wherever he went, whilst in Britain he had lost this freedom and often stayed at home. Fiyori similarly experienced racism upon simply stepping outside of her front door. Her stories of being racially abused were spoken about alongside the drinking, drug taking and fights that she described as characterising her area. Neighbourhoods may therefore become sites of fear, rather than the spaces for fostering community talked of in naturalisation measures. This can prompt withdrawal from local spaces, decreasing the likelihood of interactions of any kind (Noble, 2005, Bloch and Dreher, 2009).

Studies have found that spatial variations in racism and prejudice are often based on local social circumstances (Forrest and Dunn, 2007, Valentine and Waite, 2012, Swanton, 2010). The complex dynamics of local inclusion are reflected in Hickman

et al.'s (2008) research, where being 'from here' was of greater significance in defining belonging than race, ethnicity or class. Convergent discourses of the locality informally controlled the right to belong, with perceptions of the area as being culturally diverse producing more inclusive neighbourhoods than those considered ethnically homogenous. Amin (2002) meanwhile identifies two types of neighbourhoods particularly associated with racial tensions: deprived working class areas characterised by ethnic isolation and 'white flight' suburbs, where residents have moved to escape the presence of immigrants. As Sandercock (2003) points out, these neighbourhoods are likely to have significantly different dynamics from multi-ethnic areas with greater mobility, cooperation and local institutional intervention. My study sites included a mixture of urban, suburban and rural localities with different socio-economic and ethnic profiles, exploring the impact that place has on belonging.

The influence of local contexts on the character of encounters with difference is an important geographical concern which has thus far been little explored. Several participants compared their treatment in different areas where they had lived, with Bintu and Tanvi noting differences:

> *I know more people in Bradford, I meet more people in Bradford you*
> *know. I feel like I'm a woman here. Because when I was in Shipley some*
> *English people wouldn't want to talk to me. They treat me like aliens!*
> *Like aliens has come ooh!*
> *(Bintu, family migrant, Sierra Leone)*

> *There was this old couple and they started telling nasty things you*
> *know? So things like that happen once in a while here. But it never*
> *happened in London.*
> *(Tanvi, economic migrant, India)*

For Bintu and Tanvi, coming from very different social positions and migrant backgrounds, it was place attributes, rather than individual characteristics, that

determined their treatment by host communities. Both participants had found that discrimination was more prevalent in the smaller, less ethnically diverse towns that they had lived in. Bintu's feeling that she was treated like an 'alien' alluded to the unfamiliarity of difference within the small town of Shipley, located within the Bradford Metropolitan District, compared to the everyday visible diversity that was present in Bradford, a large Yorkshire city with a history of inward migration, where people treated her as human. Tanvi similarly talked of the discrimination that she had experienced in Halifax, a market town in Calderdale, in contrast to feeling accepted in the mixed neighbourhood where she had lived in London. She later attributed this to what a neighbour had told her about Halifax's previous negative experiences with Pakistani communities, whom she claimed had stirred up mistrust in local host communities. This draws attention to the significance of local historical dynamics in creating landscapes of inclusion/exclusion.

The majority of citizenship ceremonies celebrated the history of the area in welcoming migrants, masking past and present tensions between groups and individuals. This may undermine the welcome that ceremonies impart on new citizens on behalf of the local community (Byrne, 2014). Areas which are unfamiliar with diversity, or which have experienced tensions between groups in the past, are more likely to be suspicious or resentful of new arrivals (Amin, 2002, Sandercock, 2003, Hickman et al., 2008). Place is therefore crucial to the experiences of migrants, reinforcing arguments from countertopographical theorists for examining how specific places react to the impacts of globalisation, in this case migration (Katz, 2001). Countertopography highlights the materiality of exclusion (Mountz, 2011), recognising it as a global process that is shaped by local meanings, while drawing connections between its victims. Here, appearing 'different' from the majority of residents in an area influenced treatment more than personal backgrounds. We can relate these individual experiences to the wider forces conditioning them, creating an intimate account of globalisation (Mountz and Hyndman, 2006b). In this case the insecurities associated with globalised change manifest themselves in local areas, leading to the negative treatment of the migrants scapegoated for causing this change.

Whilst experiences of racism and discrimination were common amongst participants, this often did not appear to significantly alter their opinions of Britain and its residents. Racism was rather dismissed as an inevitability, as expressed by participants such as Moses and Bintu:

I think a lot of people we've come across in Britain who are not really nice generally most of them are probably lacking sort of education or maybe travelling experience umm so they tend to treat other people differently... I know you come across people like that but yeah. Where I can't get fair treatment yeah there will still be places where I can't get it but you know I just move on with it. You tend to meet nice people at times then you meet people where basically they take only to their own and only wants to do stuff towards them.
(Moses, student/economic migrant, Ghana)

Yeah they have some people they are racist but it doesn't matter. You see. Because even in my country they have racists, you see. So it's all over the world, for me it doesn't matter for me... But England I think is really good country.
(Bintu, family migrant, Sierra Leone)

Moses, a highly educated economic migrant, and Bintu, an illiterate family migrant, did not openly challenge the racism they had experienced while living in Britain. They stated that the best way to counteract it was to simply avoid spaces where it might happen, whilst dismissing it as insignificant when it did occur. Moses excused the prejudiced people he had met on the basis of being uneducated and lacking worldly experiences. Although rural areas have been considered particularly hostile towards racial difference (Kinsman, 1995, Garland and Chakraborti, 2006, Tolia-Kelly, 2007a), Moses described the residents of the small North Yorkshire market town in which he lived as welcoming. He attributed this to the fact that the majority were middle-class and educated, demonstrating how race may become linked to class (Fortier, 2007). Bintu meanwhile felt that racism was common in

many places, and was therefore not part of how she defined Britain. Other migrants who had been victims of discrimination similarly downplayed it and made excuses for the perpetrators. This may partly have been because they felt uncomfortable discussing it with a white researcher. Nonetheless, both new citizens and state agents ascribed racism from white communities to extremist groups (cf. Burnett, 2007) or individual 'mixophobics', a label imposed primarily on those from low-income backgrounds who are intolerant of ethnic diversity (cf. McGhee, 2003). Discrediting racism as a practice carried out by a minority of 'bad citizens' masks the widespread nature of personal and institutional discrimination.

Countertopography can link the negative treatment of different migrants, resulting from their perceived difference from the ethnicised national norm, creating "contours of common struggles" (Katz, 2001, p.722). Participants from a variety of backgrounds experienced discrimination in different guises, producing shared individuated emotional reactions. This demonstrates the divisions caused by a capitalist society, which reduces the potential for those sharing in a struggle to resist it. Further articulations of 'bad citizens', defined in opposition to the ideal of the 'good citizen' are explored in the next section.

The central role of community in discourses of citizenship and integration is potentially problematic. The term community is itself contested, with commentators highlighting its use as a tool for inclusion/exclusion and governing conformity (Tamir, 1996, Staeheli, 2008a, Shindo, 2012). Wise (2005) suggests that integration should be based on an open, emergent community rather than a pre-existing formation. This allows communities to become products of engagements between diverse populations, rather than powerful groups imposing their versions of community on others. These ideas are examined further through the experiences of participants in section 5.3.2.

5.2.2 Making 'good' citizens

The New Labour government typically adopted a model of civic communitarian citizenship, based on participating in civil society and building social capital within communities (cf. Delanty, 2002). This included a moral aspect, with society setting standards for good and bad citizens (cf. Dagger, 2002). Whilst David Blunkett has often been quoted on his promotion of 'core values' which hold British society together (Blunkett, 2001, 2004), he explained to me that citizenship to him meant more than this: *"I don't think we got across that this was trying to change behavioural uh behaviour in society so it was a behavioural thing as well as a value laden"*. The degree to which the behaviour of individuals conforms to ideals thus determines their worth as citizens in a community of value (Anderson, 2013). This creates 'citizenship-as-desirable-activity' (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994), with individuals expected to contribute and participate for the common good.

One of the practices frequently attributed to good citizens was volunteering. This was heavily emphasised in both New Labour's communities' agenda and more recently David Cameron's Big Society (Blunkett, 2003, Cameron, 2011b). Volunteering was encouraged in both versions of the Life in the UK test and also in citizenship ceremonies, which used it as an example of becoming involved in the local community. The ceremony officials attempted to capitalise on positive emotions generated during the event to influence the behaviour of new citizens. This was explained by one of the registrars:

> *That instant because you're in the ceremony, that moment, probably you can produce that sort of sense of euphoria, of thinking yeah! And people kind of pick up the sentiment and think yeah I'm going to do that.*
> *(North Yorkshire registrar)*

Aware of the emotional response created in citizenship ceremonies, officials used this moment to convey messages which they hoped would have a lasting impact.

As the North Yorkshire registrar highlighted, these feelings could be harnessed to influence positive behaviour in a way which could not occur in an ordinary situation. This shows how emotions are targeted within rituals to create self-improvement amongst subjects (Damsholt, 2008). This message was picked up on by a number of participants, including Jafar:

Kate: And did it [the ceremony] change the way you felt about the local area at all?

Jafar: Yeah I feel I am when that time I feel I have to be involved in the community and yeah.

Kate: What kind of things?

Jafar: Uh you know from the first week I told my son to go and work as a volunteer, there is a place here for elders. I tell him to go and find volunteering there and do something something like that. I feel I have to do that. Me or my son or my daughter.

(Jafar, family migrant, Sudan)

Jafar took away the need to participate in the community through volunteering as the main message from his ceremony. He stated that this responsibility could be transferred onto his son or daughter, thus conceptualising citizenship in terms of the family unit. In feeling that "I have to do that", the voluntary element is lost, creating a paradox of compulsory volunteering. This was an idea promoted by the New Labour government in their concept of earned citizenship, whereby migrants would have been required to volunteer in order to qualify for citizenship (Home Office, 2008). Being a good citizen is thus portrayed as a requirement for gaining citizenship status, a practice which must continue as a British citizen, with the liberal vision of citizen agency not applicable to migrants.

The onus on migrants to volunteer suggests that their citizenly behaviours are not adequate. Contrary to this, many of my participants had either volunteered in the past, or expressed a desire to in the future. This ranged from formal activities in charities or schools, to informal practices through religious or ethnic organisations.

Political emphasis is on the former, with the latter not mentioned in the ways to volunteer listed in the Life in the UK handbook, overlooking this form of contribution from migrants. Additionally, there is little recognition of the barriers migrants may face to involvement, including lack of time and social exclusion (Korac, 2003). Some participants had actually been rejected from voluntary positions, showing how citizenly aspirations cannot always be achieved in practice. Participants typically admired volunteering as a British trait, feeling that they wished to emulate this themselves, suggesting that it is not something that needs imposing in order to make 'good citizens'.

The separation of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' migrants through stringent citizenship requirements has led to those going through the process having to prove that they are 'supercitizens' (Anderson, 2012, Aptekar, 2012). This frames citizenship as a privilege rather than a right, with prospective citizens required to demonstrate exemplary behaviour in the form of having 'good character' and a 'sound mind' in addition to knowledge and language requirements. This rhetoric continued upon the granting of citizenship, as was reflected by ceremony officials:

> *"I hope that you will justify the great confidence that we have placed in you.*
> *(Calderdale dignitary speech)*

> *Hopefully it has produced you know people have come to the ceremony and they've thought about you know their responsibilities and through their actions they set an example for other people.*
> *(Bradford registrar 1)*

The Calderdale dignitary's speech implied that being granted citizenship was founded on the trust which had been placed in new citizens by the state, involving living up to certain expectations. By presenting citizenship as a privilege, the granting of it is seen as something that produces enhanced obligations in return. The reflects Giddens' (1999) communitarian mantra of 'no rights without

responsibilities', which was adopted by New Labour. The Bradford registrar meanwhile talked of producing a certain type of citizen from the ceremony, namely one who is involved and responsible, but also sets an example for others. This message was picked up by Grace, who attended a ceremony in Bradford:

> *"That's what I've seen about the message. You need to respect the laws.*
> *Be a good citizen, that's the main message. Be a good citizen in Britain,*
> *then you will enjoy it and other people around you to also enjoy it and*
> *show a good example to all that's what I've seen about the message.*
> *It's really enlightened me more."*
> *(Grace, student/family migrant, Ghana)*

Many new citizens used the phrase 'good citizen' when describing their citizenship obligations. This was partly defined by responsibilities, such as obeying the law, but also through more active behaviour, including community participation. Grace alluded to the idea of supercitizenship when she talked of setting a good example for others, suggesting that existing citizens could learn from her actions. New citizens are thus both subjects and agents of the revisioning of citizenship, incorporating and acting out the deeper version of citizenship promoted by the state.

A few participants implicitly identified themselves as supercitizens. This was framed within discourses of deservingness, with citizenship granted on the basis of consummate behaviour. Simon and Isaiah explained how they felt this had been acknowledged by the state:

> *I'm proud of it that I've done it that way I've got my. I think I can also*
> *say that I can proudly say that I've earned my citizenship, for working*
> *hard.*
> *(Simon, student/economic migrant, Burma)*

The message is there is we are impressed at the very fact that you've been probably well-behaved, you've been which is one of the core you know one of the expectations you may have. And then obviously you've been a good citizen.

(Isaiah, economic migrant, Nigeria)

Both participants believed that citizenship was granted in recognition of their good citizenly practices. Simon used this to portray himself as a hardworking migrant who had earned his place in society, whilst Isaiah talked of how the state had personally approved the fact that he had met behavioural expectations. This demonstrates how New Labour's framing of 'good' and 'bad' migrants in terms of labour market status affects the way individual migrants position themselves in relation to others (Jordan and Brown, 2007, McDowell et al., 2009). Whilst ideas of 'deservingness' were most common amongst economic migrants, they were also mentioned by other participants. However, the identification of supercitizens is problematic, separating new citizens not only from 'undeserving' migrants, but also from existing citizens, who have failed to live up to these standards (cf. Honig). Citizenship thus once again becomes a divisive force, disconnecting groups who could work together for progressive change towards a more inclusive vision.

Notions of good citizenship in political rhetoric tend to be formulated in relation to national priorities and concerns. The removal of information on benefits from the Life in the UK handbook, for example, was a product of the stigmatisation of benefits claimants combined with increasing anti-immigrant rhetoric, which equated one with the other (cf. Philo et al., 2013). However, participants formulated their ideas of citizenship in transnational worlds, combining dominant discourses in their origin societies with those from the UK. Ideas from origin countries influenced beliefs of appropriate citizenly practices but also fed into the labelling of 'bad citizens'. Denise and Corina both expressed prejudices towards groups which were shaped by their socialisation in other countries:

Back home you were brought up that umm you made your way through

life, life didn't owe you, you owed life. And I think that's the big problem

in this country. People coming in and expect to be given. Not for me.

(Denise, economic migrant, South Africa)

I'm not being racist but where there is a Muslim group there's trouble.

I'm not saying this just because you know I'm here in Britain, even back

home where I live where there is a Muslim place but there are the

people that are very religious but they are the one who's committing a

crime. It's not one hundred per cent of them but most of them. So that's

what I observe. I'm not being racist but it's just that in reality that's

really happening.

(Corina, economic migrant, Philippines)

Denise referred to her idea of benefit-seeking migrants in one sense to defend her own positioning as a good citizen, which she based on her upbringing in South Africa. However, she also criticised the approach in the UK, where she felt that the generous welfare state created bad citizens amongst the host population and immigrants. Corina meanwhile attributed her view of Muslims as criminals to her experiences in the Philippines, where she later admitted that society was openly Islamaphobic. Although prejudice against benefit claimants and Muslims is also rife in the UK, for these participants their stereotypical image of 'bad citizens' was primarily informed by their origin societies.

Naturalisation measures appear to regard prospective citizens as blank slates onto which national values can be inscribed, overlooking their varied histories and backgrounds. Social remittances from origin to host country are rarely explored, with transnational literature generally focusing on economic remittances from migrants to their origin countries (cf. Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, 2011, Mazzucato, 2011). I would therefore argue for the importance of examining the construction of citizenship in terms of the transnational transmission of values, attitudes and behaviour between societies. While transnationalism overemphasises

deterritorialisation, translocalism is prone to privileging the local level. Countertopography can be used to break down hierarchies of scale (Devasahayam et al., 2004), with the multiple scales that combine to constitute connections across borders at the forefront of analysis. It thus proves a useful tool for elucidating transnational mind-sets and the way they cross borders and play out in particular localities. It can ground abstract notions of national values in the attitudes and behaviour of individuals enacting them, bringing together different scales through exploring everyday practices. New citizens challenge traditional notions of citizenship being founded on a singular set of national norms and values, with their socialisation 'there' converging with their experiences 'here' to form in-between citizenships. As theorists of countertopography suggest, a single location can be examined as a site of different histories from multiple places (Pratt, 2008), which constitute communities of citizens living there. Thus 'community' becomes a much more complex phenomenon, one that is connected and emergent rather than static and bounded. Acknowledging the diversity making up a place is a crucial facet of the integration process, which is explored in the next section.

5.3   The integration process

Citizenship was considered a tool by the Labour government for integrating problematic diasporic groups into mainstream society. The use of 'active citizenship' to encourage behaviour change demonstrates how it is inextricably entwined with top-down government programmes, rather than being a progressive force from below (Isin, 2009). Since the return of more assimilatory policies, it is asserted that integration has become a process of one-way immigrant incorporation (Freeman, 2004). According to the 2002 White Paper, integration is indeed a "two-way street" (Home Office, 2002, p.4). This is also mentioned in the 2008 Green Paper, but alongside emphasis on speaking English, contributing to the economy and obeying laws, suggests that integration is the duty of the individual migrant. Elsewhere it is stated that "they will integrate into our society" (Home Office, 2005, p.45), turning integration into an obligation. Additionally, the role of host communities is not detailed in these documents. Placing responsibility for

integration on the migrant ignores their ongoing contribution and experiences as well as the structural and institutional barriers they face. Despite political rhetoric, research has found that new citizens are generally very well integrated (Levesley, 2008, Sveinsson, 2010, Gidley et al., 2012), suggesting that the 'problem' of integration may be overblown.

In reality, participants were differentially incorporated into different domains of society regardless of ethnic origin. There was a convergence between individual views on the meanings of integration with those of the state, with participants most commonly referring to social mixing, adapting to British culture and contributing to state and society. Whilst imbibing some of the more disciplinary, assimilationist visions promoted by the state, most participants also showed appreciation for multiculturalism, suggesting that different dimensions may produce divergent interpretations.

5.3.1 Mixing with others

Integration was primarily conceptualised by both state agents and new citizens as a process of mixing with others. This is premised on Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, which theorised that contact between groups can reduce prejudice. He cited four basic conditions: equal status; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and support of authorities, law or custom. His theory has been particularly influential in social psychology and has widespread empirical support (Pettigrew, 1998, Dovidio et al., 2003). Its influence on New Labour policy is evident in the Cantle Report, which advocated promoting "a greater knowledge of, contact between, and respect for, the various cultures that now make Great Britain such a rich and diverse nation" (Cantle, 2001, p.10). Subsequent policies were based on the idea that increased contact through physical proximity will create social cohesion. However, mixing alone is not sufficient to prevent racial conflict, particularly not when immigrants are marked as 'others' in political and public discourse (Ehrkamp, 2006).

Putnam's concept of social capital, founded on the social networks that connect individuals within society, was also instrumental in New Labour's vision of integration. Putnam (1993, 2001) differentiates between bonding social capital, based on exclusive identities and homogeneity and the more inclusive bridging social capital, bringing together diverse groups. Political rhetoric copied, with inter-group mixing considered to enhance integration, whilst ethno-cultural clustering was perceived as having a negative effect. However, social capital is value-based, with cultural or religious enclaves which were previously seen to aid integration now portrayed as threatening (Cheong et al., 2007).

The contact hypothesis and social capital formed the theoretical basis of the community cohesion agenda, which focused on integration within local communities. The Commission on Integration and Cohesion, a New Labour advisory body, for example described integration as "the process that ensures different groups of people get on well together" (2007, p.9). This highlights the evolution of the term, with the focus now on relationships between groups over and above equality issues. This echoes the ideas of urban cosmopolitan theorists, who have stressed the binding potential of local projects based on shared objectives (cf. Amin, 2002, Sandercock, 2003, Nava, 2006). Influenced by inferences of segregated communities (cf. Cantle, 2001, Phillips, 2005), naturalisation measures aimed to encourage contact between different groups. This was talked of by state agents in relation to both citizenship classes and ceremonies:

> *It was all under the umbrella of improving integration you know that's why. [It was] about integration in the sense of different communities working together which was also what we were trying to encourage with the classes.*
> *(Mary Coussey, Chair of Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration)*

> *I believe it was to try to integrate the new citizens into the local community… And also obviously wherever the ceremonies are held, the people who attend are living in that area. So I'm guessing it was a way*

of getting lots of different cultures together, trying to integrate them

you know within each other, with other citizens, you know people who

are running the ceremonies."

(Leeds registrar)

The citizenship classes and test aimed to educate people on how British society functioned through different groups living and working together. The classes additionally provided a setting for migrants to meet new people from their local area, although these were predominantly other migrants. As the Leeds registrar mentioned, the citizenship ceremony was similarly a forum for bringing diverse groups of individuals within the locality together. Other ceremony officials expressed hope that meeting new people in the ceremony would encourage new citizens to mix within wider circles, echoing New Labour's promotion of positive bridging capital (McGhee, 2003, Cheong et al., 2007). However, contact with others during the ceremonies I observed generally extended to little more than formalities. The degree to which a short-lived, compulsory event can alter patterns of socialising is highly questionable, particularly given the fact that most new citizens will have already been settled in their neighbourhood for several years.

Whilst citizenship ceremonies bring together migrants living within an area, they are rarely attended by other people from the local communities they are supposed to be mixing with. In the UK they are private events, attended only by new citizens, their guests and invitees of the council. Guests are often migrants themselves, with the welcome from the local community made by a dignitary of local standing, leaving the rest of the community largely absent. The registrar at Calderdale had attempted to rectify this to some degree by inviting local schools to participate, with the special jubilee ceremony I attended there including a performance from a school choir. However, other local authorities stated that they lacked the time and resources to make these connections, with the ceremonies remaining private affairs. It is therefore unclear how they are meant to help individuals to make links with new groups, given that the wider community is not involved in this process. The UK may be able to learn from countries with more established naturalisation

regimes, such as the US and Canada, where the involvement of local communities in the ceremonies is actively encouraged (Howard, 1998, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007).

The citizenship process was originally designed with the host population in mind, in addition to the immigrants it was primarily aimed at. This was spoken of by David Blunkett:

> *What we wanted to do was we wanted to get people to see each other in a different light. To see people coming into the country to see the country in the light of being welcomed and that they had responsibility and duty we didn't really get across enough to the population as a whole, that there is also therefore an obligation to welcome that and to build in that sense of belonging as a unifying source for integration. (David Blunkett, former Home Secretary)*

Although community cohesion policy has been criticised for targeting migrants (Burnett, 2004, Kofman, 2005, Crowley and Hickman, 2008), David Blunkett told me that he had originally hoped that naturalisation measures could have an impact on both host and migrant populations, providing a greater understanding of one another. This reflects the view advocated by contact theorists that education can be used to change attitudes (Pettigrew, 1998, Dovidio et al., 2003). Whilst the Life in the UK test and citizenship classes were designed to educate prospective citizens about the host society, the citizenship ceremonies partially aimed to provide a positive slant on immigration, in the face of increasing public hostility towards migrants. This, as David Blunkett explained, was supposed to alter public opinions to an attitude of welcoming this group of deserving migrants. However, he acknowledged that this had failed, largely due to the limited publicity the ceremonies attracted. While initially creating a media storm, in the ten years since the first citizenship ceremony media coverage had been minimal. Although some registrars felt the ceremonies should be advertised to the media, others were fearful that this would be misused to stoke current high levels of anti-immigrant

rhetoric. Nonetheless, my brief analysis of local newspapers[1] showed that when reported on citizenship ceremonies tended to be portrayed in a positive light, with personal stories often used to help readers connect with new citizens as humans.

The potential impact of the publicity of citizenship ceremonies can be considered in regard to one of my participants who featured in a local newspaper article about citizenship ceremonies. Yolanda was interviewed by the newspaper after her citizenship ceremony in Calderdale, which published an emotive story documenting her journey to citizenship. She told me about how it affected interactions within her neighbourhood:

> *When they put me on newspaper, a lot of people now say hello you*
> *know just waving to me, all my neighbour and I don't you know before*
> *they don't do that. And I went to I used to buy like plants and flowers on*
> *that corner of the road, and he said to me you're very popular! I saw*
> *you on newspaper! And they said to me well done well done you know.*
> *And they said it was a good story like what they put on newspaper.*
> *(Yolanda, economic migrant, Philippines)*

Yolanda highlighted the local recognition gained from her appearance in a newspaper, from which she received an overwhelmingly positive response. Her story exemplifies the kind of reaction David Blunkett was initially searching for from host communities. However, her experience was unique amongst my participants. The degree to which the impact of reading stories like this could expand to dissolve prejudices towards others is questionable (cf. Valentine, 2008), particularly given the limited coverage of the ceremonies. As I highlighted earlier, migrants' ability to mix with others is partially dependent on the acknowledgment they receive from others, regardless of race, ethnicity or migration status. Whilst

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[1]   My analysis involved searching for articles on the naturalisation processes in local newspapers within my study sites since 2004. I found eleven relevant articles in five newspapers. I considered the nature of the content reported on, particularly looking at their portrayal of immigration and citizenship.

the majority of participants appreciated contact with host communities, further work needs to be done to ensure that they receive a welcoming reception.

It is argued that concentrating on mixing between communities reifies ethnicity and simplifies the experiences of migrant groups (Fortier, 2008). The term 'migrant' itself hides differences such as length of residence, potentially resulting in individuals being formally labelled as 'foreign' despite acceptance as long-term residents within local communities (Griffiths et al., 2013). Migrants occupy a diverse range of intersectional positions which are impossible to categorise by ethnicity, nationality or status as an immigrant. Focusing on any one of these entrenches difference, potentially inhibiting mixing. The potential for naturalisation measures to impact on positive mixing is partially determined by discourses surrounding cultural diversity, the implications of which I explore next.

5.3.2   Integration with diversity

Countries have often been classified by their approach to immigrant integration, placed on a spectrum from assimilationist to multiculturist (Castles, 1995, Parekh, 2002, Castles and Miller, 2003). However, in reality integration discourses and policies are more complex than this, varying depending on the interpretation taken and the level at which they are implemented (Freeman, 2004). After the concept of multiculturalism lost favour politically, New Labour changed focus by launching their mantra of 'integration with diversity' (Home Office, 2002). David Blunkett explained to me why he felt this shift in terminology was appropriate:

> *We need to get into what's happening in society what we call*
> *integration with diversity. I never I was very uncomfortable with the*
> *term multiculturalism because apart from a very small number of*
> *neighbourhoods in London and possibly in uh Birmingham and Leicester*
> *actually we don't have a multicultural society in the sense that people*
> *are multicultural. We have people living alongside each other and they*
> *often do so quite well. But what we do need is we do need integration*

but we need it with that kind of diversity that Britain has been built on whether people like it or not, what Jonathan Swift called our mongrel nation.

(David Blunkett, former Home Secretary)

David Blunkett alluded to Cantle's (2001) idea of people living 'parallel lives', whereby communities were living alongside but not interacting with each other. He felt that multiculturalism was inadequate to describe this situation, but did note that this did not mean doing away with diversity. Nevertheless, his focus was on creating integration out of diversity, a vision which he explained was based on Rousseau's civic communitarian citizenship, which he believed could provide *"the glue that holds society together".* This is evident in the design of naturalisation measures, which prioritise unity over diversity, reflecting a civic republican concern with national cohesion (Heater, 2004).

Whilst the Life in the UK mainly focuses on the common history, culture, laws and institutions of the UK, there is nonetheless some recognition of its diversity. In the original guide, this was presented in the form of statistics on current ethnic and religious diversity. Although the mundane nature of the statistical information was criticised by many participants, including David Blunkett, some appreciated this reference. Aakash explained how the handbook educated him on:

how many people live in this country, how many general like different communities you know like Sikh, Muslims you know, Christian like different people… I think good to know about that you know, how many people live over here like 'cause obviously I'm a Sikh you know so that was good for me to know about how many Sikh people lives over here.

(Aakash, family migrant, India)

Aakash valued the statistics as an indicator of the diversity that characterised Britain, and evidence that there were other members of his religious community living in the country. The new Life in the UK handbook additionally features

festivals such as Diwali and Hannukah alongside 'traditional' celebrations such as Christmas and Bonfire Night. The idea of festivals and food symbolising an increasingly diverse Britain was also subscribed to by the majority of state agents. This form of visceral multiculturalism implies a rather superficial commodification of national, ethnic and religious diversity (cf. Phillips et al., 2007). Nonetheless, recreating festivals and dishes from their origin country was commonly mentioned by participants as a way of maintaining cultural practices. This suggests that it does have some currency with those whose difference is being represented in this way by others. However, it is unlikely to foster deeper understanding and acceptance of the diverse range of practices engaged in by migrants. Particular forms of difference, such as language and cultural values, are rejected in state discourses, suggesting a narrow, prescriptive vision of acceptable diversity.

While the Life in the UK test is formulated at a national scale, the decentralisation of citizenship ceremonies allows creativity and the ability to exhibit particular meanings. This is evident in citizenship ceremonies in The Netherlands, with creative local responses representing national identity based on history and the local area (Verkaaik, 2010). Innovative local autonomy is also encouraged in British citizenship ceremonies. However, the inclusion of different scales may reveal the politically contested nature of place-based narratives. There is potential for this in national and local convergences and divergences within citizenship ceremony narratives. Nonetheless, a study of mumming rituals in Bulgaria suggests that the heterogeneity and conflict present in local articulations of community allows a more inclusive and varied nationalism (Creed, 2004). This highlights the problems of romanticising communities as homogenous and harmonious, which may create further divisions and conflict. The emphasis on consensus and cohesion within British official citizenship discourses may therefore be counterproductive.

Diversity was actively embraced within the citizenship ceremonies I attended. Alongside the requirement of promoting unifying national institutions and values, the majority of ceremonies celebrated the cultural diversity which characterised

the local area and contributed to national society. This was evident in the speeches given by registrars at ceremonies in both Leeds and Calderdale:

> *It is also an opportunity to celebrate our cultural diversity. Each community enriches the cultural life of the City which is the home to a unique mix of festivals and religious celebrations, and the mission of the Council is to bring the benefits of a prosperous, vibrant and attractive city to all the people of Leeds.*
> *(Leeds speech)*

> *One of our 'traditions' has always been to look outward beyond our island shores and incorporate into our society influences from further afield. In the same way as our vocabulary expanded to include 'kudos, 'khaki'' and 'confetti', so our society can expand to welcome and involve new members of the British family.*
> *(Calderdale speech)*

The speech given at ceremonies in Leeds focused on the cultural diversity of the area, stating the positive impact it had on the city as a whole. Whilst presenting a reified view of "each community" as a static, homogenous entity, the speech was nonetheless designed to make new citizens feel that their differences were welcomed and appreciated. This was based on the council's ethos of including all of its diverse citizenry, which was similar to Bradford, where the ceremonies were constructed around the idea that *"for our authority, one of their key sort of premises is about you know integration but also being respectful of cultural differences" (Bradford registrar 1)*. Calderdale and North Yorkshire, as areas of lower ethnic diversity, tended to focus on its meaning at an individual and national level. The Calderdale speech acknowledged how Britishness had been influenced by different cultures, which is largely bypassed in national discourses (Mycock, 2009). Given the political drive for national mono-linguism, acknowledging the foreign roots of the English language is particularly poignant. These ceremonies advocated an inclusive vision of integration which incorporates influences from

elsewhere, rather than simply instructing immigrants to adopt a particular vision of host society culture.

The advent of the Coalition government heralded new rhetoric on cultural, ethnic and religious diversity. In denouncing 'state multiculturalism' in favour of 'muscular liberalism' (Cameron, 2011d), David Cameron did away with the diversity that was part of New Labour's integration strategy. However, changes in discourse at a national level appeared to have little impact on the messages promoted within the citizenship ceremonies. Interestingly, several local authorities had recently rewritten their speeches to make them more inclusive of cultural diversity. This was the case in districts of both North Yorkshire and Bradford:

> *I think the best thing we probably did is completely change the content of the ceremony… So there is now a lot of emphasis on saying obviously we know you're now making the UK your home, becoming a British citizen, but don't forget your cultures as well, embrace that, bring that into the community and interact, and educate people in the community and sort of bring it all together, there's more emphasis on that now than there was before. Which is a good thing, because we thought about you know, you will be a British citizen, this is your duties and obligations. Whereas now it's recognising… not that you are becoming one of us, it's a case of everybody's different and they all have different experiences to share, which can only benefit everybody.*
> *(North Yorkshire registrar)*

> *The registrar did however hope that everyone would contribute a bit of their own culture to the multicultural community. He hoped this would help people to live together with differences… After the ceremony, he told me that they had been sent a new format for the ceremony about 18 months ago, but that this was 'a load of Conservative garb' reflecting the mood of Cameron's Munich speech against multiculturalism, so he*

had decided to do the ceremony in his own way.
(Observational field notes, 28/11/12)

Officials in both North Yorkshire and Bradford encouraged new citizens to contribute their culture as a means of improving relations within communities. The North Yorkshire registrar talked of how they had recently changed the content of the ceremony from enforcing the obligations of British citizenship to promoting cultural difference, which contrasts with the current government's negative narratives of ethnic diversity. The Bradford registrar had meanwhile deliberately rejected the content handed down by the new administration, instead promoting his own version of multiculturalist discourse which has been shunned by successive governments. When I later interviewed him, he talked of integration as an individual choice, in opposition to the state's logic that "they will integrate" (Home Office, 2005, online). The autonomy given to local authorities to organise citizenship ceremonies enabled a subtle form of resistance, subverting intended messages and replacing them with narratives which were felt more appropriate for new citizens and the communities living around them (cf. Verkaaik, 2010). This demonstrates how rituals intended to create national citizens may instead produce local subjects, challenging state control (Appadurai, 1995).

Using a countertopographical framework enables recognition of the way in which citizenship is mutually constituted at different scales (cf. Marston, 2000, Nagar et al., 2002), considering the role of individual citizens and local actors in contesting and reformulating dominant national discourses. This demonstrates the complexities of the everyday geographies of stateness (Mountz, 2003, Painter, 2006), with the actions of front-line bureaucrats not neatly aligning with state ideologies. The positioning of local state agents fostered a sense of responsibility towards migrants as local residents which was at odds with the logic of the national state regarding them as aliens. Whilst local citizenship officials were acting in different contexts, their aim to include all residents brought them together in destabilising the exclusionary logic of national citizenship. They instead recognised the translocal existences of new citizens and the ways in which this would impact

their citizenship practices. It is thus important to analyse citizenship as a multi-layered phenomenon, investigating the ways in which it is rearticulated through grounded performances.

The open recognition and appreciation of diversity in the citizenship ceremonies appeared to have an impact on the audience. Grace attended the ceremony in Bradford commented on in the previous paragraph. The meanings taken away from it retained their significance to her even with the passing of time, demonstrating the success of the performance (cf. Alexander, 2004, Somdahl-Sands, 2008). When I interviewed her three months later, her lasting impression of the message transmitted was:

> *You are in a multicultural system now… You should bring good ideas so*
> *that we can learn from people and people can learn from us. So that it*
> *will be it's a mixture of culture here already, mixed race, mixture of*
> *cultures, different cultures get together to improve the community.*
> *(Grace, student/family migrant, Ghana)*

Grace considered the vision of integration promoted in her ceremony as multiculturalist, viewed through a lens of mixing rather than separatism. She understood this as a process of mutual learning, resulting in the incorporation of different cultures by all involved. This removes the typically immigrant-centred approach to integration, becoming something that is undertaken by whole communities. Grace went on to talk about how she practised this form of cultural sharing in her everyday life:

> *You can't force people to integrate with your culture if they feel that*
> *they are not interested. But those who are interested like my dishes you*
> *know my African dishes it's good to introduce it… I have some few*
> *friends which are also British, they like it… Even the scent you know, the*
> *flavour, the aroma, they like it yeah, because it's nice dishes. How do*
> *you prepare it, I want to come and learn. I said no problem you go to*

the shop, we buy the stuff, then you can even do it yourself. It's part of

being together, that togetherness you know.

(Grace, student/family migrant, Ghana)

Interestingly, Grace portrayed integration as something that was engaged in by British-born people wishing to learn about different cultures, as opposed to immigrants adapting to a homogenised version of British culture. She talked of how the sensory experience of cooking and eating different foods could create appreciation of difference, bringing people together through diversity, rather than conformity (cf. Datta, 2009). This everyday multiculturalism could be considered a form of what Wise (2009) terms 'quotidian transversality', involving practices such as gift and knowledge exchange and everyday kindness within neighbourhoods. whereby modes of sociality are used to build cross-cultural relations in everyday spaces and create inclusive local belonging. Promoted at a larger scale, potentially through community organisations and other local groups, this could work towards creating integration as a process of mutual adaptation.

The majority of new citizens shared similar views to Grace, believing that diversity was instrumental in integrating host and migrant populations. Participants also defined Britain in terms of its cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, with Noah (student/economic migrant, Zimbabwe) describing being British as *"having that sense of being able to coexist with people from different backgrounds yeah, for like common good"*. Living together with difference, often problematised in political discourses, was for most participants a taken-for-granted fact of everyday life. Employing a grounded perspective on multiculturalism elucidates how it can contribute to integration in practice, through cultural exchange using diversity as a resource for positive interactions. This overcomes the weaknesses of the typically statist approach to integration theory (cf. Favell, 2001), acknowledging the ways in which migrants and host society adapt to one another at the micro-scale of everyday life. This could contribute towards Delanty's (2002) idea of a postmodern communitarian citizenship which is reflexively shaped by a diverse, open

community. An everyday perspective was similarly important for exploring the multifaceted effects of labour market integration, which I consider next.

5.3.3   Integration through the labour market

Ideas of economic integration from my respondents were primarily centred on employment. This was connected to practices of citizenship in a number of ways, including the responsibility of contributing financially and avoiding claiming benefits, the ability to provide valued skills and knowledge, and the exercise of consideration and care. Employment also aided other areas of integration and belonging, increasing individual self-worth and a sense of being part of society, as well as providing a site for meeting people from a range of backgrounds. However, the narrow political focus on migrants' economic contribution tends to overlook the manifold benefits of secure employment to the individuals themselves. Additionally, emphasis on social mixing and acculturation has meant that the goal of socio-economic equality has been side-lined, potentially damaging social cohesion in areas of high deprivation (Laurence and Heath, 2008, Letki, 2008, Saggar et al., 2012).

There was little recognition of economic integration within naturalisation measures. The original version of the Life in the UK handbook had a section on employment, including practical aspects and equal rights and discrimination, but this was removed from the latest edition. This reflects the broad erosion of employment rights under the Coalition government (Hepple, 2013). Some citizenship ceremonies implicitly mentioned employment in the guise of what new citizens had to offer. This was evident in one of the scripts used by Leeds, Bradford and North Yorkshire:

> *We would ask… that you give to Britain the benefit of your experience,*
> *your varied backgrounds and your aspirations. That you all, like those*
> *who have come before you, help to make Britain an even better place.*
> *You have many skills, many talents and your own particular cultural*

history. You should not forget any of these but instead use them to

broaden, enrich and enhance your new communities.

In common with much of the ceremony, the emphasis was on contribution, with the expectation that the skills and experience of migrants would be used to improve both national society and local communities. Nonetheless, this message did have resonance with some new citizens, such as Alison:

Kate: And what did you think were the main messages given by the

ceremony?

Alison: Umm for me it was that I was entering into a community that

had a lot of opportunities and produced a lot of top-class you know

people or services or products in various different sectors. You know the

Brits do a lot of things very well and bring in for me to bring in my skills

and do that and that the support services should be there to help.

(Alison, economic migrant, Canada)

Alison had initially moved to the UK on a company transfer, and had since become a freelance IT consultant. It was therefore important for her to feel that she lived in a country with employment opportunities and technological advances, and she appreciated the reinforcement the citizenship ceremony speech provided on this matter. Rather than talking of an abstract notion of citizenship responsibilities, she depicted her main contribution to British society as her professional expertise, for which in return she expected support from the relevant services. This neoliberal framing of citizenship is based purely on economics, whereby the state enables the development of the labour market in return for citizens contributing their individual skills to improve the country's overall economic fortunes.

New Labour was a strong advocate of social inclusion through labour market participation, although this excluded asylum seekers (Duvell and Jordan, 2003). The Coalition government have similarly talked of increasing access to employment and training as part of their integration strategy (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012). However, both administrations have failed to relate this

to notions of equality and social justice, instead positing labour market integration as part of a neoliberal agenda to create responsible citizens. Additionally, this has often not been matched with resources at a local level (Burnett, 2008), suggesting that the responsibility of contributing through employment falls largely on the individual citizen.

Citizenly practices through employment went beyond simply paying taxes and contributing knowledge and skills. For some, it was also linked to social citizenship, through engaging with and providing a service to local communities. A number of participants worked in the care sector, including Yolanda, who explained how her role as a healthcare assistant connected to citizenship:

> They expected us to be a good citizen. So we will do that, but we're doing it now you know. We love our job so if we can help people, we will help. Like I'm working with elderly people… so I can love them like they are my relatives, so that is the part that I can give or I can you know I can contribute for the old people.
> (Yolanda, economic migrant, Philippines)

Yolanda felt that caring for elderly people was part of her citizenly contribution. She constructed this as a citizenship of compassion, based on love and helping those in need. Citizenship as a caring practice tends to be referred to in terms of social encounters in a cosmopolitan city (cf. Conradson and Latham, 2005, Thrift, 2005, Wise, 2005). However, Yolanda's practices within the workplace suggest that a wider notion of the ethics of care should be considered within citizenship discourse. She implied that acts such as this were not recognised in naturalisation procedures instructing her to become a good citizen. The symbolic transition from non-citizen to citizen neglects forms of citizenship practised in everyday life prior to becoming an official British citizen.

Being in employment, as well as being linked to contributing to society, also benefitted an individual sense of belonging and settlement. This has been

recognised as particularly important for refugees, enhancing their self-esteem, providing opportunities for language learning and offering a way to make social contacts (Bloch, 2000b, Phillimore and Goodson, 2006). The limited ability of asylum seekers to work and access educational opportunities restricts these potentially beneficial effects. Abbas, a refugee who had worked in a number of cleaning jobs, talked about employment in relation to his feelings about becoming a British citizen:

> *It [British citizenship] make me feel more settled here and more belong*
> *to here. Yeah, yeah. Because if you're allowed to stay that mean you'd*
> *like to stay too, you can stay because more since you're working, you're*
> *earning your own money, but some places you can't have no job*
> *nothing else, I'm comfortable now to stay. Because I have my own*
> *paper I can apply any job I can do.*
> *(Abbas, refugee, Liberia)*

Having a job was very important to Abbas, and he got one at the first possible chance after acquiring refugee status. He recognised that being in employment was vital for being granted British citizenship, but also that it had aided his settlement and desire to stay. He took pride in the fact that he was self-sufficient, using it as a way of asserting his right to belong in Britain. British citizenship gave him the paperwork he needed to prove his right to work, with the prospect of getting a better job potentially contributing to further positive feelings about the country in which he now lived.

Whilst literature has often focussed on the barriers to employment for refugees such as Abbas (cf. Feeney, 2000, Phillimore and Goodson, 2006, Bloch, 2008), it has been suggested that analogous labour market experiences between new migrants have not received enough recognition (McKay, 2009). Although employment was sought by nearly all participants, the majority experienced de-skilling upon arriving in the UK, which is commonplace amongst migrants (Hickman et al., 2008, Demireva and Kesler, 2011). This cut across migrant categories, with economic

migrants, family joiners and refugees united in what could be a frustrating and demoralising experience, finding that skills and qualifications worked hard for elsewhere were not recognised by employers. Many were in positions below their level, with several qualified nurses working as healthcare assistants, and a lawyer abandoning her profession due to the extra training she would need to work in the UK. The previous Life in the UK test did however provide advice on qualifications gained abroad, and Corina explained the difference this had made to her:

> *You learn about the opportunity given you know and learn actually how to assessment qualification because the UK NARIC is international. But it's about UK you know. If you have a qualification back home, then you need to let is assess here, you don't need to study all if you don't like, as long as it is you know a qualification that is also accredited here. That's why when I took when my manager in the nursing home asked me to take an NVQ3. So I present her my qualification back home and it was assessed here in UK.*
> *(Corina, economic migrant, Philippines)*

Corina used what she had learnt about the NARIC (National Academic Recognition Information Centre) system to challenge her manager, enabling her to have her Filipino qualification assessed which prevented her from having to retake it. Participants such as Corina were able to use the Life in the UK guide to assert their rights, demonstrating how knowledge of host country laws can be a powerful force in helping immigrants avoid exploitation by standing up for what they know they are entitled to. These liberal elements of rights-based citizenship have largely been replaced in the new Life in the UK handbook by stronger ideas of neo-communitarian obligations towards the national community (cf. Etzioni, 2007). This is concerning, given its potential to educate migrants who may be unaware of specific rights, opportunities and protections.

A countertopographical framework can be used to connect migrants' individual experiences to the globalised capitalist processes of labour market flexibility and

precariousness which they are victims of (cf. Ruhs, 2006, McDowell et al., 2009, Anderson, 2010, Waite et al., 2014). Whilst lack of employment opportunities in the origin country was often a motivation for economic migrants to move, many retained a sense of vulnerability in the British labour market. This demonstrates how neoliberal globalisation with its need for cheap, flexible labour, operates across the Global North and Global South in similar ways (Francisco and Rodriguez, 2014). Contour lines can be drawn between participants' economic integration, in which they shared a common desire to work and better themselves, often matched with the realities of deskilling and unstable employment. The negative emotions and financial difficulties caused by being unable to access appropriate employment opportunities is likely to impede the integration and settlement of migrants, with studies finding that socio-economic integration is a significant predictor of other forms of integration (Aycan and Berry, 1996, Fleischmann and Dronkers, 2007). Naturalisation measures should increase emphasis on creating equal employment opportunities, rather than their current use as a tool or reward for socio-cultural integration, which is explored in the next section.

5.3.4 Tool or reward?

The inclusion of ethnic minorities has become increasingly based on qualifications such as tests and ceremonies. In the UK the original objectives of knowledge and language tests stated by the government were aiding economic, social and political integration (Home Office, 2002). However, the real motivations behind these policies can be difficult to interpret, as they could potentially be used as tools for reinforcing nationalism or alternatively facilitating participation (Bloemraad et al., 2008). With a supposed EU civic integrationist policy convergence, there has also been a wider debate about the ways in which European governments have used citizenship instrumentally to contribute towards integration (cf. Jurado, 2008, Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010, Goodman, 2010a).

Jurado (2008) has distinguished two attitudes towards citizenship within integration regimes. The assimilationist approach regards citizenship as a 'reward'

at the end of the integration process and imposes high naturalisation requirements. The multicultural model uses citizenship as a 'tool' for integration, with low requirements and an emphasis on participation. Britain has recently moved towards the reward model, exemplified by increased conditions on permanent settlement brought in towards the end of the New Labour administration, and furthered by the Coalition government. However, citizenship is arguably used as a tool in measures such as citizenship ceremonies, promoting access to local civic participation (Jurado, 2008, Peucker, 2008). This suggests the potentially positive role of the ceremonies in contrast to the frequently negative government rhetoric surrounding immigrant integration. Nonetheless, it fails to recognise that integration begins from arrival, rather than at the point of citizenship acquisition.

States providing easy access to citizenship, with civic requirements based on increasing participation, are deemed to be using it as a tool for integration (Jurado, 2008). State agents generally felt that this fitted the British model, with the aim to promote naturalisation as a route to developing a sense of belonging, inclusion and better relations with host communities. Both David Blunkett and Mary Coussey spoke of this as the initial purpose of naturalisation measures, whilst acknowledging how this had since changed:

> *The Coalition have decided that they want to discourage people from becoming naturalised citizens whereas I wanted to encourage them to. So you know you now have to be here longer, you now have to jump through more hoops. I mean the hoops that I thought were relevant was being able to speak English adequately and having studied a little about our country, whereas now you know it's seen as being well too many people if you read some of the newspapers two years ago, too many people were becoming naturalised, well that's daft!*
> *(David Blunkett, former Home Secretary)*

The technical stuff and all sort of from the point of view of the language levels because that was considered to be very important that it shouldn't be too difficult. And as I say that was the reason why we decided and the Home Office went along with it then that umm there shouldn't be any test on the historical stuff because it wasn't a test of memory it was actually an integration aide to make it easier for people to live in this country.

(Mary Coussey, Chair of Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration)

David Blunkett and Mary Coussey portrayed the initial citizenship requirements, such as language and basic knowledge about the UK, as necessary for integration without being too onerous. This reflects assertions that language and cultural knowledge can facilitate integration by providing skills, knowledge and social ties (Ager and Strang, 2008, Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010, Koopmans, 2010, Meehan, 2010). Mary Coussey talked of how the Life in the UK Advisory Group deliberately simplified the language used in the Life in the UK test to make it more accessible, whilst also designing content that would be useful to migrants in their everyday lives. David Blunkett asserted that the Coalition government had toughened the requirements in order to discourage people from applying for citizenship, undermining his original aims. This is evident in the Home Office's response to recent data showing that the UK grants almost twenty five per cent of new citizenships in the EU, stating that: "British citizenship is a privilege, not a right… this government has made the acquisition of citizenship harder and all applicants are required to pass both the new, revised Life in the UK test and have the relevant English language speaking and listening qualification" (BBC, 2014, online). Despite theorists suggesting that citizenship has increasingly become an entitlement (Turner, 1990), immigrants are a group who are clearly excluded from this. Citizenship acquisition is here talked of in a similar way to immigration, whereby high rates are considered negatively, requiring tougher standards. However, I would argue that this process began earlier, with Labour implementing a

knowledge and language requirement for Indefinite Leave to Remain and announcing proposals for earned citizenship prior to the change of government.

Despite the original stated intention of naturalisation measures as a tool for integration, new citizens tended to view being granted British citizenship as a reward for having integrated into society. This was due to most feeling that they were already doing what was required of them as a citizen. Both Isaiah and Denise talked about this:

> *Kate: What do you think was the purpose of the citizenship ceremony?*
> *Isaiah: I would think it's again gives recognition of the very fact that*
> *someone has been into your country and then has been well behaved,*
> *has abide by the rules and the stipulations and you know conditions of*
> *the country. And also has umm probably demonstrated that he's able to*
> *live and cohabit with others as well in a multicultural society as it is.*
> *Obviously evidence of having paid your tax and stuff isn't it you know*
> *that you're a good citizen.*
> *(Isaiah, economic migrant, Nigeria)*

> *I am British. I've lived here long enough, I've lived the life, I've abided by*
> *the rules, I've done what they asked. And I feel that I'm being rewarded*
> *by actually being given my citizenship.*
> *(Denise, family migrant, South Africa)*

Isaiah and Denise felt that being granted British citizenship meant that they had already proved their worth as British citizens. Isaiah saw the citizenship ceremony as a form of public recognition that they had earned their right to remain in Britain. For new citizens who have been living in the UK for decades, such as Denise, the idea of integration may seem largely irrelevant, yet they are treated as new migrants in naturalisation measures. These participants' narratives also gave insights into their interpretations of the meaning of integration. Both presented a fairly disciplinary version of having abided by societal rules and norms, while

contributing to the economy. Isaiah also talked of the ability to mix with others, whilst Denise put greater emphasis on acculturation through adhering to a 'British' way of life. Their definitions of integration largely replicated the vision of the state. However, whilst the previous government originally designed naturalisation measures as a tool to foster integration, these migrants felt that they were already integrated.

The new citizenship requirements, in the form of having to pass a more challenging version of the Life in the UK test as well as possessing a higher level of English language, have increased barriers to acquiring citizenship. Professionals that I spoke to who worked with migrants felt that citizenship would now be unattainable for many. The increased demands for naturalisation indicate a shift towards the reward model (Jurado, 2008). Interestingly though, the current government does not appear to envisage them in this way. Mark Harper, Immigration Minister at the time the changes were introduced, stated that they would "ensure that migrants are ready and able to integrate into British society" (Harper, 2013, online). This suggests that migrants are not being rewarded for their efforts, but rather are being tested on their potential to integrate. Constructed in this way, naturalisation becomes a mechanism for separating desirable migrants who can be assimilated from undesirable migrants unable or unwilling to adopt the national language and culture. Mark Harper portrayed migrants as completely separate from British society, implying that the integration process cannot even begin until they are officially recognised as British citizens.

Whilst one of the requirements of applying for British citizenship is to have resided in the country for at least five years, there is little recognition of this within naturalisation measures. The original Life in the UK handbook, although containing some practical information that was valued by participants, had sections that appeared to be directed at recent newcomers. One of the citizenship ceremony scripts used by local authorities did however acknowledge that new citizens may have lived in an area for longer:

We recognise that some of you have already lived in this country for
many years while others are more recent arrivals – whichever category
you belong to – we hope that you will find and make time to engage
with your local communities whether it is here in xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx or
elsewhere in Britain, and to take on the social and moral responsibilities
of those communities.

Although paying lip service to those who had been resident for longer, in this speech they were nonetheless categorised with more recent arrivals. In telling them that they needed to engage with their local communities, this contradicts the previous acknowledgement of longer-term residents. As the North Yorkshire dignitary observed: *"they're living within that community where they've lived for anything from two to five years. So they're already integrated there"*. However, this was not the message conveyed within the ceremonies. Residency requirements have been justified by some as a way of building up connections, creating social membership (Kostakopoulou, 2003, Hampshire, 2010). However, if they are to be upheld, recognition is needed of the ongoing citizenly contributions made by migrants during their years in the UK prior to naturalisation.

Migrants were typically portrayed as unintegrated by both the previous and current governments. This was exemplified by the Labour government's use of naturalisation measures as a tool for integration, changed by the Coalition to test the potential of migrants to assimilate. The latter shift can be viewed as a means of renationalising the population in the face of globalisation, whilst excluding those who will not conform. Both approaches fail to recognise that integration is a process that begins on or even before arrival, involving everyday navigation of society. Countertopography provides a grounded way of analysing the everyday experiences of global subjects, demonstrating how these are influenced by but also diverge from national discourses and expectations. Although government policies are targeted at particular 'problematic' groups of migrants, in reality, despite their very different backgrounds and starting points, all participants felt that they had become accustomed to the UK during their time there. Most daily activities are

based on living in place, rather than citizenship or migration status, suggesting that this may have limited bearing on citizenship as practice. Failure to acknowledge this is also a flaw of citizenship education for migrants, which I explore in the final section.

5.4 Citizenship education

5.4.1 Life in the UK

The introduction of citizenship education for schoolchildren and migrants suggests that citizenship is a competency that can be taught. For migrants, this was implemented in two ways, through the Life in the UK test and ESOL with citizenship classes, although the latter route has recently been removed. These were originally intended to have an impact on citizenship as practice, increasing new citizens' participation in society. David Blunkett explained how the educative aspect aimed to achieve this:

> *David: But in the end Kate passing the test and the ceremonies should be the logical outcome of something more fundamental, namely a desire to be engaged, to be involved, to be an active citizen, to play a part in the current in the nation.*
> *Kate: How do you think the ceremonies and the tests can encourage that kind of integration?*
> *David: Firstly because you're building up a knowledge base and your understanding helps you to be able to reach out and relate to other people and I think that's been quite successful.*
> *(David Blunkett, former Home Secretary)*

David Blunkett spoke of how citizenship measures aimed to create active citizens through building up knowledge about society. However, the assumption that cognitive learning will increase active participation is problematic (Kiwan, 2011, Orgad, 2011). Additionally, by talking of this in terms of "the nation", his idea goes

beyond purely civic participation, suggesting that migrants should also relate to national ideologies. This alludes to citizenship education as part of a renationalising process, with citizens expected to act as members of the nation.

David Blunkett believed that the understanding of Britain gained from citizenship education would make it easier for migrants to relate to the host population. However, this was met with scepticism from many participants, who commented on the fact that they were learning information not known by their British-born counterparts. This typically caused frustration, leading some to question the purpose of the Life in the UK test, including Alison and Abbas:

Why are they making they making the new citizens take this? What's the benefit, what are they trying to achieve? Especially some of the level of detail, you know how many members, how many MPs are there in the four different countries and things like that… Some of it was just a bit like listen, the average person on the street isn't going to know that, what's the rationale behind that question?
(Alison, economic migrant, Canada)

Knowing history it's good but like wouldn't help me much like every time need… Like you go meet the person in town, sometimes you can ask about what you want to do today, what you want to do tomorrow, what always you doing in the morning or what always you doing in the afternoon, something like that. But you come to him and ask him what the date about the history [laughs]! It's not the same is it?
(Abbas, refugee, Liberia)

Despite Alison and Abbas' very different backgrounds and experiences of taking the Life in the UK test, they both queried its rationale. Many other participants talked about how the majority of the population would fail the test. Indeed, when Channel 4's documentary *'Make Bradford British'* presented the Life in the UK test to over a hundred British citizens in 2012, more than ninety per cent failed (Conlan and Sabbagh, 2011). As existing British citizens did not possess this knowledge, new

citizens questioned why it was necessary for them, a similar criticism that has emerged from scholarly analyses of the test (Osler, 2009, Orgad, 2011, Brooks, 2012). Alison and Abbas highlighted content that would not be known by the general public, such as political and historical facts. Whilst Abbas had in fact found details of support services useful in his everyday life, when I showed him the new Life in the UK book, he failed to see how the large section on history could fulfil the same purpose. He talked of how little bearing this would have on his daily interactions, suggesting that possessing such knowledge was irrelevant for improving relations with others. Whilst the test was a central part of the immigrant integration agenda, it raises the question of what new citizens are expected to integrate into, given that the vision of Britain promoted by the Life in the UK test is one that is unfamiliar to many British-born citizens.

Nonetheless, certain parts of the original Life in the UK test were valued by some new citizens for providing knowledge about aspects of the country that they were unfamiliar with. This tended to be related to dealing with bureaucratic systems, rather than with other people. As Jafar and Moses explained:

> *When I read the book and the CD I feel different. I feel I know what's if I want to do anything, I know about it. And it's become easy for me to follow the system.*
> *(Jafar, family migrant, Sudan)*

> *I find it quite helpful really because when I give birth umm after that actually I finished it before my baby was born and then it made things really simple for me because even though I was living in the UK there were so many things or so many informations I didn't know where to look it up from. But having done the Life in the UK test I was like oh these are the sort of places I need to go to get all this sort of information and I knew ok right from three years my daughter can go to school or nursery free of charge blah blah blah so I suppose it did help*

me by doing the Life in the UK test yeah it opens up so many chances.

(Moses, student/economic migrant, Ghana)

Jafar had come to the UK with limited English language skills and knowledge of the way British institutions worked, and found much of the practical information in the book useful and applicable to his everyday life. Similar to Moses, he appreciated the signposting of where to get further information from. Moses had lived in the UK for longer, and having been educated at a British university, felt that he could navigate society proficiently. However, given his upbringing in a different country, he was unfamiliar with procedures for children. Coming around the time his first child was born, studying for the Life in the UK provided him with information relevant to having a family in the UK. The removal of this content from the new handbook was lamented by participants such as Jafar and Moses, for whom it had contributed to their ability to understand British society. Possessing practical knowledge is considered a prerequisite for integration (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003, Ager and Strang, 2008). The few who did value the change in focus portrayed citizenship in nationalistic, rather than pragmatic terms, believing it was the role of immigrants to conform to national culture above being able to practice citizenship on an everyday basis.

The format of the Life in the UK test, as well as some of its content, meant that it seemed unable to fulfil its stated objective of creating active citizens. The fact that it culminated in an exam resulted in many treating it as a rote learning exercise, a set of questions to be remembered simply to pass the test. This was true of Aakash, whilst Noah reflected on the implications for the process as a whole:

The main purpose was just pass the test that's it. To get indefinite stay,

that's what it was all you know… If you pass first time, you don't really

think what you just done isn't it. So that happened with me I don't

know. Can't remember anything now you know.

(Aakash, family migrant, India)

I see what it's trying to do, but I don't think it achieves it… I don't think
you can sit multiple choice question of like twenty questions or
whatever it was and go you know I know about this country now. Do
you know what I mean, I think it trivialises some of it in that respect.
(Noah, student/economic migrant, Zimbabwe)

Aakash, along with a number of other participants, viewed the Life in the UK test as a means to an end, something that had to be done to upgrade his status. As a result he retained little of the knowledge that was supposed to help him become an active citizen. Noah felt that the structuring of this stage meant that it was unable to accomplish its purpose, recognising that sitting a test does not necessarily promote a deeper understanding of Britain (cf. White, 2008, Kiwan, 2011). Along with several other participants, he suggested that an interactive approach to learning could be more beneficial, including visual materials and the chance to converse with others. As the next section explores, this kind of forum was provided in the ESOL with citizenship classes.

5.4.2 ESOL with citizenship

Another focus of education for citizenship has been language proficiency. The then Home Secretary David Blunkett (2002) emphasised the importance of language in participation, whilst Gordon Brown (2004), then Chancellor of the Exchequer, stressed its importance for employment. Linguistic and cultural assimilation programmes may aid skills, knowledge and social ties, and studies show that they are positively associated with socio-economic integration (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010, Koopmans, 2010). However, the degree to which they should be forcibly imposed is questionable. Interviews with migrants demonstrate that they also regard language as the most important factor for integration, work, access to services and socialising (Levesley, 2008, Han et al., 2010, Stewart and Mulvey, 2011, MacGregor and Bailey, 2012). This suggests that many recognise the benefits of learning the language without the imposition of rudimentary tests. Whilst the current government has further emphasised the importance of immigrants being

able to speak English, they have also cut funding for ESOL classes by forty per cent in the last five years (Paget and Stevenson, 2014), suggesting a lack of commitment to achieving this goal in practice.

The Life in the UK handbook describes how social integration should work in theory. ESOL with citizenship classes, on the other hand, aimed to provide aspiring citizens with links to the community in practice. As Mary Coussey explained:

> *It was the ESOL with citizenship we saw as having the local element very strongly in it… The citizenship classes they were very much involved with having contact with the local community and speakers from the local community.*
> *(Mary Coussey, Chair of Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration)*

Whilst the Life in the UK was designed to give a broad overview of living in Britain, ESOL classes were much more tailored to particular areas. Rather than simply reading about organisations, students were spoken to by representatives and visited them during classes. This often gave them the knowledge and confidence to return to these places should they need assistance. Visits to landmarks that were felt to define the locality were also common, such as museums, historical buildings and outdoor spaces. This gave students a chance to explore areas which they may not otherwise have visited, potentially helping to enhance affinity with local place (cf. Forrest and Kearns, 2001).

ESOL with citizenship classes partly aimed to provide a forum for deliberating the values and practices defining society. The Life in the UK Advisory Group believed that this could contribute towards integration: *"we could see the value of it umm in integration terms you know you've got people from all sorts of different backgrounds talking about the concepts"* (Mary Coussey, Chair of Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration). It was felt that language classes were an ideal setting for discussing issues related to citizenship, particularly given the mix of

people attending them. Mary Coussey explained that they had wished to extend citizenship classes to those taking the Life in the UK test, but the funding was not available. This could have provided an interactive forum for all prospective citizens to learn about and debate citizenship concepts, rather than simply reading a text, often with the sole purpose of memorising the facts to pass a test.

The usefulness of ESOL with citizenship classes in promoting citizenship debates was supported by my findings. The classes received positive feedback from the majority of participants, not attracting the same degree of scepticism as the Life in the UK test. This was often related to their interactive nature, which developed bridging capital through the potential to build relationships with different people. They also encouraged discussion between students, facilitated by their teacher. This was evident in an ESOL class I observed, and was also commented on by Salim:

> *The students were taking it in turns to discuss their family lives and how they might differ from the typical UK family. One woman from Pakistan talked of how she was married at 14, brought over to the UK and made to look after her mother-in-law's eight children and do all the housework. Recalling this story made her quite emotional and she was quickly comforted by her classmates, who as well as expressing sympathy, condemned the 'traditions' that had forced her to live 'like a slave'.*
> *(Observational field notes, 16/10/12)*

> *Talking together yeah ask question about England and Pakistan and the world... More peoples uh different countries of people coming so I learn different uh different mind of thinking*
> *(Salim, family migrant, Pakistan)*

The observed class was used not only to share the divergent experiences of people from different backgrounds, but also as a space for debating cultural values and practices. The classes tended to centre learning about the UK on comparisons with

other ways of living, valuing the multitude of norms and practices that migrants brought with them. This contrasts with the Life in the UK guide, which has been criticised for prescribing certain values as correct (Blackledge, 2009, Löwenheim and Gazit, 2009). Salim similarly implied that his classes included discussions about national and global issues, whilst recognising migrants' translocal backgrounds. He suggested that exposure to different views changed his own way of thinking. This fits with arguments that deliberation can widen individual perspectives and promote tolerance and understanding (Chambers, 2003).

The discrediting of ESOL classes as a route to citizenship may have a negative impact on the role of citizenship education in creating active citizens, removing the interactive setting to explore citizenship within a framework of diversity. A countertopographical analysis highlights the ways in which these classes are able to bring together divergent subject positions and places in one room, creating a global community of citizens within a local place. The relations between places created through these interactions has the possibility of shaping new identities (cf. Pratt and Yeoh, 2003). The discussion within the classes fosters respect for differences whilst building on commonalities between them. This combination of rational dialogue and mutual respect is arguably one of the best ways to forge solidarity across diverse opinions and needs (Rawls, 1993, Kim, 2011). It may also provide a site for recognising shared struggles based on the unequal treatment of migrants, contributing towards Katz's goal of connecting groups in common causes against global injustice. I would argue that these classes have the potential to create an emergent citizenship that is grounded in localities, which educates on national norms whilst incorporating values systems from elsewhere.

Over the past decade, there has been mounting political pressure on immigrants to the UK being able to speak English. This has played out in naturalisation requirements which have increased from having to progress a level in ESOL classes to all those wishing to apply for Indefinite Leave to Remain needing to possess an

ESOL qualification at Entry level 3[2] or higher. The decision to change the language requirement was explained by a Home Office official:

> *I think politically there's the idea that people are still coming out not necessarily speaking English. I don't know, you've probably got this feedback from registrars about people that go to ceremonies and their English isn't good. So they could technically meet the requirements by going along, sort of starting at zero, progressing to level 1, and they've met our requirement because they've done that study you know they've made the effort, but they're still turning up at a ceremony and sort of not being able to communicate effectively.*
> *(Head of Nationality at Home Office)*

This policy maker highlighted how the decision to increase language requirements was based on both a political agenda and practical evidence. She suggested that there had been a change in focus, from demonstrating a willingness to learn the language to setting a single standard considered acceptable for living in the UK. Whilst the former appeared to use language as a vehicle for participation, the new approach seems more based on enforcement and exclusion related to nationalist principles (cf. Bloemraad et al., 2008, Extra et al., 2009). This is in line with recent Conservative Party threats to restrict access to benefits for those who are unable to speak English (Walters and Beckford, 2014), therefore basing the ability to claim citizenship rights on conforming to national standards. Language-based restrictions on accessing rights will disproportionately affect existing family migrants and refugees, who are less likely to be fluent in English prior to arrival than economic migrants.

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[2] ESOL Entry level 3 is an intermediate level English language qualification, on a scale which ranges from Entry level 1 to level 2. It is the equivalent of level B1 in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) described by the Council of Europe.

Politicians have commonly portrayed migrants as unwilling to learn English; deliberately leading lives that are separate from the rest of society (Blunkett, 2002, Cameron, 2011a). However, studies have shown that the majority of migrants see learning the language of the host country as one of the most important factors for individual progression (Levesley, 2008, Han et al., 2010, Stewart and Mulvey, 2011). This was echoed by my participants, all of whom felt that being proficient in English was crucial to living in the UK. The need to pass a language test was considered perfectly reasonable by ESOL students, with Jafar and Salim supporting changes requiring a higher level:

> *You need high level English to sit for test exam. It mean that you force*
> *me to learn English and so it's even it's better for me because I need to*
> *learn English, I need to speak English.*
> *(Jafar, family migrant, Sudan)*

> *Kate: What do you think about those changes?*
> *Salim: I think it's good. Because umm it means everybody know English*
> *and he get time to know English and then it's good for while you can't*
> *do anything… Because when you come here and found a better job and*
> *speak English and can get everywhere yeah. Don't struggle.*
> *(Salim, family migrant, Pakistan)*

Neither participant resented the imposition of language testing, feeling that learning a higher level of English would be beneficial in their everyday lives. Salim talked of the struggles of navigating society without knowing the language in which systems operated. This was a common experience amongst those who had arrived with limited language skills, who particularly felt that it hampered their chances of decent employment. ESOL classes were thus embraced as a means of enhancing an individual's life. Using a countertopographical analysis, we can view this as a product of a common desire amongst migrants for upward mobility and improving their material circumstances, regardless of background (Conlon, 2013). This means adapting to the conditions required for participation in the national labour force,

most importantly language proficiency. The actions of individual migrants can thus be connected with their broader shared aspirations, which are a product of their positioning in the global capitalist order.

Participants who had taken the ESOL route to citizenship had all carried on with language classes after acquiring citizenship, suggesting that the initial approach of viewing citizenship as the beginning of a process of lifelong learning may have fulfilled its aim. However, many migrants and ESOL providers bemoaned funding cuts which had made access to free ESOL classes extremely limited. The government's demand for all migrants to learn English therefore appears paradoxical, with the willingness of individuals not matched by resources to aid their learning. I would suggest that investing in free ESOL classes for immigrants is crucial to any integration agenda, aiding incorporation into every domain of society. However, ESOL classes are not the only solution, with much knowledge about the host society acquired through everyday life.

5.4.3 Everyday learning

Although ESOL classes generally had more relevance to participants' lives than the formulaic Life in the UK test, they nonetheless take place in a formal educational setting. This overlooks the importance of lived experience in the process of learning about and integrating into a new society (Kiwan, 2011, Cherti and McNeill, 2012). Whilst literature often focuses on the institutional elements of integration, this tends to bypass the significance of everyday experiences. The state centrism of much integration theory ignores the changing relationship between migrants and the host society (Favell, 2001). Samers (1998) argues that integration is a flawed concept, presuming a homogenous host community unchanged by immigrant participation. Immigrant incorporation can instead be conceived of as a 'process of negotiation' (ibid.). I feel that while integration is a potentially valuable term, it needs to be considered in a wider sense than its recent political manifestations. I would define integration as the process of migrants and host communities adapting to one another, changing their localities, creating a constantly evolving society. It

occurs in diverse ways in different places, and is always an incomplete process. In other words, no one, not even British-born citizens, can ever be fully integrated.

For most of my participants, it was through living their everyday lives that they became acquainted with society, subtly picking up on systems of behaviour, values and institutions over time. This was explained by Tanvi and Grace:

Because we were new to this place we didn't know few manners say for example uh if you are standing in a queue. In India if you see a queue in India they will be you know stuck to each other like [laughs]! But here you leave a distance isn't it you don't go that close to a person. We didn't know this before! And then we used to see oh we have to keep a distance and things, everybody else is.
(Tanvi, economic migrant, India)

First time we came, we don't know that it is like that, we are afraid because you be careful. But later on as the years goes, you got to know that the doors are already open. We doesn't know, because you don't know much about the culture. But as you get more involved and as the years go by, became more involved and you know that no you have got the opportunity too, you can do anything you want to do in Britain.
(Grace, student/family migrant, Ghana)

Tanvi and Grace experienced adaptation to a new country in very different ways, with Tanvi drawing on her children's knowledge and that of other Indian friends, whilst Grace was predominantly socialised through her British-born husband. Nonetheless, they similarly talked of integration as a process of familiarisation, highlighting the importance of length of residence in a place. An everyday sense of national life can be constructed from shared routines, which synchronise time and space (Edensor, 2006). Many participants noted 'British' cultural traits, such as queuing, which were different from practices in their origin countries. Once observed, individuals tended to shift their behaviour in line with societal

expectations, recognising the unwritten codes of acceptable conduct in public. Grace spoke of the hesitance she felt in becoming involved in a new society where much was unknown. However, as she learnt more from socialising and immersing herself in her new country of residence, she was prepared to take the opportunities offered to her and participate more fully in society. Participative citizenship is thus not something that is immediately embraced, with migrants needing to feel comfortable in their surroundings prior to deeper engagement (Howard, 1998, Ehrkamp and Leitner, 2006).

Interestingly the importance of mundane, daily activities in creating cohesive communities has been recognised by the current government, at least rhetorically. David Cameron (2011a, online) has stated that:

> Real communities are bound by common experiences … forged by
> friendship and conversation … knitted together by all the rituals of the
> neighbourhood, from the school run to the chat down the pub. And
> these bonds can take time. So real integration takes time.

On the surface, this appears to acknowledge that new arrivals need time to adapt to their area and form attachments. However, this is in fact part of a speech which seeks to reassure host populations that the government is responding to their fears by reducing immigration. Blaming immigrants for fractured communities is only likely to reinforce this perception amongst host communities, potentially creating more hostility towards newcomers. Furthermore, the introduction of pre-entry language tests for spouses and a universal requirement to take the Life in the UK test implies that integration is a proficiency that must be tested at every possible stage. These expectations of integration disregard migrants' experiences, which are firmly rooted in everyday interactions and negotiations (Ehrkamp, 2006, Cherti and McNeill, 2012).

Greater emphasis needs to be placed on integration as a lived practice occurring over time above something that can be taught through formal education. While

testing for citizenship implies that potential citizens lack the knowledge to function effectively in society, much of this is acquired from arrival through mundane encounters with places and people. This kind of integration cannot be easily tested or legislated for. Citizenship ceremonies and the Life in the UK test typically portray new citizens as new arrivals. There should be some acknowledgement that having lived in Britain for a number of years, migrants have been undertaking a daily process of integration, rather than being blank slates upon whom particular visions of citizenship are imposed.

Geographers have highlighted the importance of examining everyday practices in understanding macro-scale processes (Pred, 1981, Harrison, 2000, Binnie et al., 2007, Ho and Hatfield, 2011). Focusing on the everyday fits well with a countertopographical analysis of translocal practices. It demonstrates how migrants' experiences, whilst informed by other places, are grounded in the localities in which they live, which they gradually make sense of through embodied interactions and routines. Citizens are produced by their social and material relations with different spaces, with everyday environments acting as sites of becoming (cf. Dixon, 2011). In examining the ways in which different places respond to migration, countertopography is able to situate migrants' experiences in their receiving context, connecting their encounters with national discourses and local geographies informing host communities' reactions. Linkages can also be drawn between individual migrant stories, using them to inform the analysis of different subjects, places and scales.

However, I would argue that countertopographical theory needs to incorporate a temporal lens in addition to its spatial focus, given its emphasis on processes, which are constantly changing over time. Here, the work of geographers is instrumental. May and Thrift (2001) argue in their concept of 'TimeSpace' that social time is experienced unevenly. I would suggest that their discussion of the social discipline of time and the instruments and texts that govern it is of particular relevance to a countertopographical agenda. This is able to explain how time is formulated differently in divergent places, yet may also connect places through

shared everyday routines. Migrants, whilst adapting to the social rhythms of their new society, may maintain some temporal patterns from their origin country, for example by moving through stages of the life course in a traditional way. However, being 'out of time' with resident communities may lead to migrants being excluded (Bastian, 2014). Furthermore, it is argued that overlooking time in studies of transnationalism sustains global capitalist interests (Cwerner, 2000, Adam, 2002). Therefore, it seems imperative that countertopography develops a nuanced analysis of time if it is to further its project of connecting disparate places and people in struggles against global capitalism.

5.5   Conclusion

I conclude by drawing out the main themes and contributions that have been the focus of this chapter. The first section considered definitions of community within citizenship discourses. I argued that the ideal of the community as a locally cohesive unit has been romanticised, with neighbourhoods also sites of discrimination and fear. I used a countertopographical framework to demonstrate how specific places react differently to globalised processes such as migration, highlighting how this creates common experiences between migrants. Countertopographical analysis was also able to explain how different migrants perceived ideals of citizenship within the UK, with 'good' and 'bad' citizens labelled according to the transnational formulation of values, a phenomenon thus far little researched.

In considering the process of integration, I contended that naturalisation measures are unable to fulfil their purpose of encouraging different groups to mix due to the lack of involvement of host communities. I also highlighted the role of labour market integration in aiding settlement, arguing for greater acknowledgement of the role it may play in fostering citizenship practices. I suggested that whilst naturalisation measures are increasingly used as a tool to identify migrants who will assimilate, this overlooks the everyday processes of integration which all migrants are engaged in from arrival. Nonetheless, while national discourses

restricted particular types of difference, ceremonies embraced diversity at a local level, viewing it as a positive tool for integration. I therefore would advocate the value of a countertopographical analysis of citizenship, enabling an examination of contested practices through a multi-scalar lens, incorporating individual, local, national and translocal levels, whilst cutting across migrant categorisations.

The final section looked at citizenship education for migrants. I maintained that the Life in the UK test was largely unable to foster citizenship as practice due to its formulaic nature and prescriptive vision of Britishness. ESOL classes on the other hand provided a setting to facilitate citizenship debates across diversity, but yet again excluded the host population. I once more argued for greater focus on the everyday, which is the predominant setting in which migrants learn about host society. Mechanisms of integration in both theory and policy tend to focus on concrete means of testing adaptation, which in reality occurs gradually through involvement in different domains of society. Countertopographical analysis enables us to draw connections between the citizenship practices of migrants as products of their everyday interactions, influenced by national discourses and translocal experiences. However, I argued that countertopographical theories need to incorporate temporality in order to understand how global processes develop in localities over time.

Chapter 6   Citizenship as feeling

6.1   Introduction

This chapter considers citizenship as a feeling. This is predicated on belonging to a community of citizens and includes national and local identifications alongside recognition (Osler and Starkey, 2005). I explore this in relation to naturalisation measures, considering how they may enhance but also limit possibilities for developing new identities and feelings of belonging. I use countertopography to draw together the experiences of participants, based on global connections between places enacted within localities, further conditioned by national ritual.

The first section examines belonging as an individual feeling of place attachment, characterised by notions of home. It highlights the desire of migrants to create a stable home, which is enacted through everyday routines and enhanced by the acquisition of citizenship. I also explore the significance of family in emotional belonging, an area that it is argued should receive greater attention in transnational scholarship (Skrbiš, 2008). I aim to demonstrate the importance of emotive family bonds in processes of migration, settlement and naturalisation, adding to existing studies on transnational family dynamics. The section ends by exploring the scales of place belonging promoted in naturalisation measures, and the degree to which new citizens can relate to these.

The next section looks at Britishness as a national identity and sense of collective belonging. It explores how gaining British citizenship can be considered an identity transition, examining the divergent ways in which this new identity is understood and balanced with other affiliations. I also investigate how the spatial and temporal aspects of collective belonging may be reinforced by citizenship. I highlight how participants used factors such as ancestry and Commonwealth citizenship to strategically reinforce their claims for belonging. However, ethnicised visions of the nation also led to new citizens excluding themselves and others from the nation on the basis of race, birthplace and cultural difference.

The final section considers citizenship ceremonies as a national ritual. It highlights how various actors are responsible for setting the scene, aiming to create an atmosphere which elicits emotional responses. I also explain how the configuration of space, combined with the use of symbolic props, imbues the ceremony with particular meanings. I finally look at the temporary community that is formed during rituals, arguing that this needs to provide enduring memories in order to create a lasting impact. The conclusion draws on my main contributions, particularly focusing on adding temporality to theories of countertopography, enhancing insights into connections between places and subject positions.

6.2 A place to call home

Personal belonging, or 'place-belongingness' (Antonsich, 2010) is a subjective feeling based on place and identity. It has been explored by geographers such as Tuan (1974), with his concept of 'topophilia' (love of place) and Relph (1976), who considered place attachment to connect people with their environment emotionally, fulfilling a human need. However, personal belonging has predominantly been examined in fields such as social psychology, with geography more often focusing on collectivities. This chapter combines both approaches in considering the formation of local, national and translocal belongings.

Place-belonging is linked to feelings of being 'at home' (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006). According to Ralph and Staeheli (2011) 'home' is both a lived and desired place, based on objects and people rather than fixed locations. It is also connected to notions of safety and security. However, home can become a site of exclusion as well as belonging. This is evident Walters's (2004) concept of 'domopolitics', whereby security measures surrounding immigration are linked to protecting the national home. Whilst home is often romanticised as a positive entity, this overlooks the difficulties migrants may face in their new home, something which I explored through learning about participants' everyday lives.

6.2.1 Making a home

Defining Britain as 'my home' by participants was a process that took place over time, aided by employment, social networks and the amenities and atmosphere of the locality. Familiarity was brought about by repeatedly going through the motions of daily life within the same place, highlighting the significance of everyday routines in creating a sense of belonging (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, Flint and Robinson, 2008). It has been argued that the synchronicity of time in shared routines is essential to reproducing national communities (Edensor, 2006, Bastian, 2014), and the experiences of participants demonstrate how national temporalities gradually filter into migrants' everyday lives, grounding them in place. The length of time spent in Britain meant that, as Juliette put it: "*I don't feel strange to the place*". However, when I pressed her further on this, it was evident that it was acquiring British citizenship that brought a sense of finality to this process:

> *I mean you're having your visa or even permanent remain, you don't*
> *feel you belong to the place. It's something that maybe in some sense*
> *something silly but you feel ok, I'm living here, that's it. But now you*
> *know after this you feel more oh this is my home.*
> *(Juliette, student/family migrant, Mexico)*

Juliette highlighted how receiving British citizenship as an official status can impact citizenship as a feeling. She spoke of the difference this created between 'living in' a place and 'belonging to' a home, suggesting that being granted membership can create a sense of ownership over place (Schein, 2009). Many others shared the sentiment that being at home in Britain was not wholly realised until they were granted citizenship. This seemed to be connected to being 'in place' at the present moment, as opposed to a 'stranger' in a country where they simply resided. This may partly be influenced by 'domopolitics' (Walters, 2004), with national immigration discourse based on defending 'our home' from outsiders potentially limiting migrants' ability to feel at home whilst still classified as 'other'.

The process of home-making was also based on future-oriented thoughts, with participants often coming to the realisation that Britain was the place where they were likely to spend the rest of their lives. As Tanvi and Daniel explained, citizenship for them marked this as a concrete decision:

Citizenship has as I said to you has given us a sense of feeling like this is our home now. Previously it was always like you know whether we are staying here we are going back, it was always like that dilemma in mind.
(Tanvi, economic migrant, India)

I suppose I do yeah knowing that I now have let's say have adopted Britain as my home country so to speak, I do feel perhaps a sense of loyalty, I no longer just feel like a South African living in the UK, I now feel that I am living in the UK, you know I am now this is my place of domicile as it were.
(Daniel, economic migrant, South Africa)

Participants such as Tanvi and Daniel felt that citizenship denoted the permanence of their stay in the UK. Whilst in practical terms little had changed, it fundamentally altered the way they considered their relationship with a place in which they had been a 'foreigner' to somewhere they could call 'home'. For Tanvi, the relief of having a sense of settlement both now and in the future was considerable, almost as if the state granting her family citizenship had made that decision for them. This demonstrates the importance of having a stable, fixed home; often downplayed in transnational theory, which has a tendency to overlook the constraints of living in-between borders (Salih, 2001, Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). Discussions of migrant belongings being simultaneously formed through 'routes' and 'roots', or mobility and attachment, provide a useful counterpoint to this oversight (Gilroy, 1994, Clifford, 1997, Fortier, 2000).

It may be helpful to think of belonging in terms of translocation, where multiple affiliations are based on relational, intersectional and located identities (Anthias, 2006). This captures more clearly the intricacy of migrant belongings and is able to account for ethnic and religious identities co-existing with membership of territorial communities. This approach removes the nation-centrism of transnationalism, recognising the diversity of migrant attachments and the significance of emotions in shaping these. Emotions played an important role in Daniel's active decision to 'adopt' Britain as his country, in turn fostering a sense of loyalty towards it, which was one of the aims of naturalisation measures. Both participants talked about their feelings in relation to the citizenship ceremony, suggesting that it was able to reinforce the sentiment of being at home in Britain.

Whilst active agency formed a part of home-making, it also occurred subconsciously. Plenty of participants had never intended to settle in Britain, but by gradually becoming accustomed to the place and building up their lives there, had realised this was where they would stay. The foundations of this were often based on small acts of relating to others at a local level, as Pasha found:

> *The only people that I found that it was really helpful for me that make*
> *life here comfortable or feel my country or my home uh people that I*
> *met in children's centre with my daughter yeah and health visitors.*
> *These people really like you know they make me feel like family and*
> *make me feel like better that I have people here I know who are*
> *friendly.*
> *(Pasha, family migrant, Egypt)*

The people that Pasha had met through her daughters provided her with reassurance, comfort and a sense of wellbeing, important factors contributing to feeling at home (Buonfino and Thomson, 2007, Alexander, 2008). Comfort has been linked to 'ontological security', referring to trust built up through daily routines (Noble, 2005), demonstrating the importance of emotional security in addition to possessing a secure legal status. Developing social connections has

been posited as one of the most important factors for creating a sense of belonging (Forrest and Kearns, 2001), although this tends to attract less attention in the literature. For many participants, it was acts of everyday neighbourliness, combined with more meaningful relationships, which provided the building blocks for making a home. This attests to the importance of utilising prosaic geographies in studies of migration, integration and belonging (cf. Hannerz, 1992, Conradson and Latham, 2005, Clayton, 2009, Cook et al., 2011, Ho and Hatfield, 2011). As Pasha inferred, these local interactions could be scaled up to national level, generating the feeling that Britain was "my country" (cf. Forrest and Kearns, 2001, Hipp and Perrin, 2006, Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007). It was thus personal relationships, rather than imagined bonds with other members of a national community, that were more salient in fostering a sense of belonging. Members of both the previous and current governments have contended that feelings of belonging are essential to cohesion (Blunkett, 2004, Cameron, 2011d). However, their focus on national identity as a vehicle for cohesion may not necessarily be effective, with feeling settled in Britain more often predicated on local engagement and holding a secure status than an abstract idea of the nation.

Whilst many new citizens had established a home in Britain, none felt that they would ever renounce their origin country as home. Even those declaring Britain as their new home consistently used phrases such as *"back home"*, *"my country"*, *"home country"* and *"going home"*. Participants had different senses of temporality when talking of their origin country as 'home'. Those who had left their country with little reason to return, mainly but not exclusively as refugees, reflected on it with a sense of nostalgia, a home that was confined to memories of the past. Abbas talked of how he would always miss the village in which he grew up:

> *Where you're born, and when you grow up, always you miss there, how*
> *horrible, how everything happen, even you can miss that place… In my*
> *place still I don't think anything been happening there, anything been*
> *done there still. Because it's a poor area, it's a like village, it had been*

demolished, it's not easy to build it again.

(Abbas, refugee, Liberia)

Abbas was a particularly interesting case as his village had been destroyed in a civil war. This could be considered an 'extreme geographies of home' (cf. Brickell, 2012), with displacement meaning that his home was lost to him both spatially and temporally. However, despite its lack of physicality, it remained psychologically important, demonstrating the ways in which home is both material and imagined (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). As Brah (1996) points out, the 'homing desire' experienced by migrants does not necessarily equate with a desire to return to their 'homeland'. Indeed, Abbas had developed similar feelings about Leeds, his current home, which he attributed to having lived there long enough to develop attachments. Belonging as an individual emotional attachment is often overlooked in studies, which tend to prioritise its collective nature (Ho, 2009, Antonsich, 2010, Wood and Waite, 2011). Given its prominent role in conditioning place attachment, I would argue that the emotive concept of home is crucial to any research examining belonging.

Some participants experienced stronger bonds with their origin country, tugs which caused emotional turmoil and initially made devoting their loyalties to Britain extremely difficult (cf. Leitner and Ehrkamp, 2006). Migration and the acquisition of citizenship can cause ruptures in identity, complicating classic migration narratives of moving from struggle to success (Byrne, 2014). As Denise (family migrant, South Africa) explained, it took decades before she decided "*England is my home, I need to get British citizen, because that way I am home*". She linked this to coming to terms with the present time and place, combined with her future aspirations: "*South Africa was my home, England is my home, England is my future*". This demonstrates how the temporalities of migration are based on creating futures (Griffiths et al., 2013), which for Denise were now firmly embedded in Britain. Whilst acquiring British citizenship provided her with some resolution, a confirmation that England was indeed now her home, she nonetheless felt that "*it's a sad thing because at the end of the day, I've swapped allegiance*". This

illustrates how the emotions associated with home are connected to citizenship (Ho, 2009), with Denise feeling the need to adjust her referent of home to fit with her new status, marking a shift in loyalties. Nonetheless, the trade-off between affirming a new place as home and loosening attachments to the origin country as home was a difficult decision to make, highlighting the emotional labour of translocal living (cf. Salih, 2001, Ralph and Staeheli, 2011).

For certain participants, home was culturally pre-defined and therefore unchangeable. The differences between the 'British' definition and their own notion of what constituted home were expressed by Paul and Olisa:

> *Paul: In this place people tend to where you are born or where you live*
> *for most of the time, people claim that is where they are from.*
> *Kate: Yeah, that's right.*
> *Paul: But in our own culture that is not the situation. You are even I can*
> *live in London for hundred years but as long as my dad comes from*
> *Leeds… I'm from Leeds.*
> *(Paul, economic migrant, Nigeria)*

Unlike many participants, who as time passed were more likely to describe Britain as their home, Paul explained that his culture dictated his father's birthplace as his home. Therefore, despite developing attachments to Britain, he could never identify himself as 'from here'. Nonetheless, Paul's wife, Olisa, explained that it still felt: "*like a second home to us*". This highlights an important distinction between defining a place of residence as 'home' and the ability to 'feel at home' there (Brah, 1996). A similar sentiment was echoed by several other participants still regarding their origin country as their primary home, yet seeing Britain as the home where they lived out their everyday lives. It is therefore important to acknowledge that while naturalisation procedures may help to confirm Britain as new citizens' home, a broader notion of affiliations encompassing ancestry, birthplace, residency and locations near and far is more likely to enable migrants to feel entitled to maintain their world of multiple attachments. Whilst home was conceptualised in

different ways by participants, they held in common the desire to feel at home in their new place of residence, while maintaining ties with their homeland.

Countertopography can connect migrants in their translocal experience of home, recognising the various factors that tie them to places across borders. Their multiple understandings of home are brought about by international mobility – whether forced or chosen – yet grounded in a desire for rootedness. Staeheli and Nagel's (2006) 'topography of home' provides an ideal model, depicting home as a physical location of emotional belonging; a site of differential inclusion; and a multi-scalar, pluri-local phenomenon. This accounts for participants' narratives of home as both lived and emotive, although as Abbas' account highlights, not necessarily located in a currently existing place. It also acknowledges negative experiences of home as a site of exclusion and recognises how affiliations at different levels may be reconfigured over time. The next section will explore family as a significant feature of everyday attachment.

6.2.2   Familial ties

Despite much attention, political and cultural memberships are not necessarily the most important forms of belonging. Research has found that it is often family belonging that ties migrants to their origin or host country (Hussain and Bagguley, 2005, Ho, 2009). Social support networks create a sense of place and well-being, which may foster attachment despite dissatisfaction with an area. This highlights the significance of the 'personal community' based on local networks of family and friends, as opposed to 'imagined communities', or the attempt to align cultural, national and political belonging, which are frequently naturalised in political discourse (Alexander et al., 2007).

Previous research has found that family plays a pivotal role in migration (Kofman, 2004, Cooke, 2008). This was confirmed by my findings, in which family was frequently a key motivation for migrating or settling in the UK, either to marry a partner or to join parents or children. Just as the decision to migrate was often

taken as a family, sometimes for the benefit of particular family members above others, so too was the acquisition of citizenship. This was particularly true of parents with British-born children, for whom it was considered practically as well as symbolically beneficial to have British citizenship. Naturalisation measures gave little recognition to the impact of family on migration practices, although they did operate in some cases to strengthen family bonds. Countertopography enables a grounded perspective on the social relationships that tie people to places, which are not recognised in ideologies of nationalism or localism (Katz, 2004). It also elucidates the ways in which disparate locations are connected through intimate bonds, transmitted through the translocal networks that define migrants' global sense of place. The importance of family conditioned the experiences of all new citizens, providing the single most significant connection both within and across borders.

Academics have highlighted the different experiences of first generation immigrants and the 1.5 generation, defined as those that migrated as children (Zhou, 1997, Bartley and Spoonley, 2008). This was talked about by most participants who had migrated with children, who noted that integration was a much easier process for them. They predominantly attributed this to schools, which provided a setting for their children to interact with British children and learn about Britain. The material in the Life in the UK test and ESOL classes played an interesting role in helping parents to relate to their children, by educating them on similar topics to those their children were being taught at school. Pasha and Tanvi talked about this in relation to conversations they had had with their children:

> At least with like the bonfire day I know how it's done. When my
> daughter come from school and tell me about anything like nose day, I
> never knew about the Red Nose Day yeah. But now I know about it you
> know. Because not being born in England, I didn't hear about it in my
> life before this. But at least now when my daughter ask me I will not say

what? Ask your dad about this. But yeah it's really important to know

these things.

(Pasha, family migrant, Egypt)

They know so much about everything like you know we don't know

anything. But they keep telling you know mummy this was Queen

Victoria has done this and Queen Elizabeth has done that and she has

brother, she has sister. Whatever about their history, how many

brothers and how many sisters they had and who was King Henry the

Eight and what happened. You know lots of things they talk about! So

they come to know automatically from their schools. But because we

are umm we came from a different background isn't it. So we don't

know much so this book helped definitely. Yeah gave additional

knowledge about Britain.

(Tanvi, economic migrant, India)

The motivation to learn more about the UK for these parents came from a personal desire to relate better to their children, rather than a perceived need to be educated for British citizenship. Pasha claimed she had little interest in learning about British history, but was prepared to do so if it helped her to engage with her daughters' education. Tanvi similarly used knowledge learnt from the Life in the UK guide to connect with her children. She highlighted generational differences in migration, with her children, having lived most of their lives in Britain, considered more 'British' than she ever felt she would be. As previous research has highlighted, this can be a source of tension within families (Zhou, 1997). However, by educating herself on British history, she hoped to lessen the perceived gap between them. Tanvi's narrative also demonstrated the way in which her children had been treated differently from her. Although still immigrants, it was presumed that they would acquire the relevant knowledge for living in Britain through the education system, in the same way as British-born citizens. Adult migrants, having been educated in another country, are assumed to need supplementary education to compensate for this. These uneven requirements divide families based on age

but may also bring them together, providing common ground for interaction. Research on intergenerational integration tends to focus on individual acculturation, but as my study shows, structural interventions can also influence relationships within immigrant families.

Citizenship ceremonies were also able to provide a sense of togetherness for families. Whole families often naturalised at the same time, appreciating the ceremony as a moment to celebrate their achievement together. Whilst it is not compulsory for children, many parents took them out of school to attend, feeling that it was an important occasion to mark as a family. For those with family members who were British citizens, getting British citizenship similarly provided them with a sense of unity. Alison and Pasha both described how becoming a British citizen affected connections with their British-born families:

> *I feel the thing is it's nice for me now that you know I'm British with my*
> *husband."*
> *(Alison, economic migrant, Canada)*

> *I was really happy to apply for it. I really was happy to be with my*
> *children, my husband, all of us the same.*
> *(Pasha, family migrant, Egypt)*

Status was an important marker of identity in this regard, with both Pasha and Alison now feeling that they shared the same national identity as their families. Strengthening family ties through holding the same status was more significant to many than establishing bonds with other members of an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983). Connections between the two were captured metaphorically by some ceremony officials, who used it to describe the British nation, portraying close bonds and obligations between its members. One dignitary used his speech to "*welcome you as my new brothers and sisters*". However, the intimacy implied by this term is perhaps lost when referring to a large, anonymous community bound only by citizenship status. 'Family' for most new citizens referred to

individuals or groups, whether blood-related or not, that they shared an emotional closeness with, which had a real impact on their lives. This does not neatly conform with an abstract notion of a 'British family' of over sixty million people, the vast majority of whom will never be known.

Participants had also frequently established connections with British-born people who had often helped them since their arrival in Britain. These were commonly referred to as an 'adopted' or 'British' family, distinguished from their 'real' family, but fulfilling many of the same functions. They had usually provided ongoing support and advice, aiding settlement and orientation in a new country. This was particularly important for refugees, who often had no family in Britain and relied heavily on these people during the asylum appeals process, when they would otherwise have been destitute. Nonetheless, although not mentioned by my participants, the vulnerability of asylum seekers may lead to exploitative transactional relationships with host families (Waite et al., 2014). The majority of migrants had family in their origin countries whom they infrequently saw, and as a result often turned to 'adopted' family for support. The need to find a family as a replacement for one left behind demonstrates the importance of replicating the feelings held from these close relationships, which contributed towards a sense of belonging.

Family was also what tied most new citizens to their origin countries, constituting the main reason for return visits, whether actual or desired. Many participants also sent gifts and remittances back to their families, motivated by a combination of emotional attachment and a sense of obligation. Whilst most had made return visits to family in the origin country during their time in the UK, for refugees acquiring citizenship was often the first chance to return. The significance of this was expressed by several participants:

> Kate: Why did you apply for citizenship?
> Fiyori: I need a you know passport for visit my family. Just that.
> (Fiyori, refugee, Eritrea)

My aunt is sick for long time, sick for long time, I wanted to go and see

her sometime but no chance to go, because I don't have any passport to

go with.

(Abbas, refugee, Liberia)

For Fiyori, one of the main reasons for applying for citizenship was the prospect of being able to return to her country to see her family. Abbas had similar plans, and in fact had a three month visit to see his family in Guinea shortly after being granted citizenship. Having married his wife on his last trip there, she had since given birth to his son, who was now three years old. He had been unable to obtain a visa for them to live in the UK, and he met his son for the first time on this visit. After proudly showing me a photograph it was clear to see the impact this had had on him. Although this may have been branded by some state agents as 'citizenship of convenience', it was based on deep personal relationships rather than merely the wish to travel. However, whilst settlement with family is acknowledged in some ceremony speeches, the ability of citizenship to enable family reunions abroad is not. Once again, the focus remains on rootedness rather than mobility, ignoring some of the main motivations behind citizenship acquisition.

Although granting citizenship is a national affair, the limited attention given to significance of family bonds in patterns of migration, settlement and return is something that should be addressed. Literature on transnational belonging tends to focus on referents such as landscapes, sacred spaces and everyday practices, often overlooking the role of emotional ties to family (Skrbiš, 2008). For most participants, it was their 'personal community' of family and friends that defined home above and beyond an 'imagined community' (cf. Alexander et al., 2007). Family connections are not prioritised in citizenship and immigration policies, which often result in the separation of families. This has been of particular concern since the introduction of English language testing for family migration visas[3] and an

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[3] Since November 2010 non-EEA migrants entering the UK on a spouse/civil partner visa have had to provide an English language test certificate proving that they

income requirement for those sponsoring a spouse[4], restricting the entry of those who do not meet this criteria (Goodman, 2011, APPG on Migration, 2013). This had affected several of my participants, who were unable to bring their current or future spouses to the UK as a result of the new legislation. The denial of family as a prime facet of belonging may undermine the effectiveness of naturalisation measures. This is part of a wider attempt to foster local and national rather than personal connections, the implications of which are explored next.

6.2.3 Multi-scalar attachments

Belonging operates on a variety of scales. The local level, often considered the most important scale of territorial identity, has recently attracted renewed interest. Several reports have suggested that localities are the most appropriate level to foster belonging, emphasising the role of local authorities in promoting cross-cultural contact and building local civic pride and citizenship (Buonfino and Thomson, 2007, Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007, Rogers and Muir, 2007). Potentially citizenship ceremonies could encourage local belonging alongside national membership. The connection between these scales was alluded to by Gordon Brown (2004), who claimed that community participation could extend belonging to a national level. However, quite how participation at a local level can create national affiliations is unclear, particularly given the exclusionary nature of much government discourse surrounding national belonging, which may conflict with membership of local communities. Additionally, local areas are not necessarily sites of inclusive belonging. Rutter et al.'s (2007) study of refugees found a 'discongruity of belonging', with Britishness based on the freedom and security accorded by the UK rather than local integration and belonging. This was

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meet level A1 of the Common European Framework of Reference, unless they are a national of an English speaking country or have an academic qualification studied in English.

[4] Since July 2012 a person wishing to sponsor non-EEA family members entering the UK must have an annual income of at least £18,600 for a partner, plus £3,800 for the first child and £2,400 for each additional child.

predominantly due to workplace and neighbourhood discrimination. The combined influence of context and social positionality on belonging at local and national scales is an important geographical concern which is often overlooked; it was central to my multi-sited study with participants from diverse backgrounds.

While different levels of belonging were recognised in citizenship measures, these adopted a narrow perspective, tending to be based within the framework of national space. Citizenship ceremonies welcomed new citizens on behalf of both local and national communities, although most state agents felt that as British citizenship was being conferred the primary focus should be at the national level. However, none provided a set vision of what it meant to be 'British'. This was accounted for in a particularly interesting way in the Calderdale registrar speech, which stated that "*no one can accurately define what it is to be British... many would say is it something you know when you see it.*" Whilst acknowledging that there is not a single definition of Britishness enables fluid forms of national belonging, being expected to be able to recognise this elusive identity when it is presented is both confusing and slightly contradictory. The inability to define the nature of belonging at different scales was widespread in the ceremonies, potentially encouraging new citizens to make their own interpretations but also perhaps inhibiting their ability to relate to the spaces of belonging being promoted.

The dignitary's speech was usually the forum for talking about the local area, which varied in scale from county to city or town, largely depending at which level the administrative body organising the ceremony was based. As González (2006) has shown, the interconnection of different scales in a globalised capitalist system has been exploited by local authorities, who have used scalar narratives in their place marketing of city-regions . Positive narratives of place were based on the natural landscape, history, architecture, culture, residents and local amenities and services. Bradford was described as "*brilliant Bradford*", North Yorkshire as "*England's most beautiful county*", whilst West Yorkshire was simply "*the greatest county in the greatest country in the world*". Phrased in this way, places were pitted favourably against others, encouraging identification with them above anywhere else. Whilst

using boundaries in this way can create a sense of belonging, it also constructs divisions between areas (Forrest and Kearns, 2001).

The emphasis placed on different scales varied depending on who was speaking at the ceremonies, and it was unclear whether new citizens were expected to primarily identify with neighbourhoods as sites of lived citizenship, the relatively new place marketing concept of the 'city-region', the nation as a whole or some rather artificial constructs of Yorkshire divided into its administrative regions. The potential conflict in loyalties was expressed by a dignitary for North Yorkshire:

> *I try and put that over the fact that they are becoming part of North*
> *Yorkshire, which is you know the most beautiful county in England,*
> *obviously I don't say in Wales being Welsh! So I think that bit, the thing I*
> *had given to me by [another dignitary] said it's one of the most*
> *beautiful counties in the country, so I changed it to one of the most*
> *beautiful counties in England.*
> *(North Yorkshire dignitary)*

By adjusting the scales of reference, this dignitary was able to avoid betraying his primary allegiance, which lay with another country. Lack of credibility in promoting the particularity of areas was also present in another dignitary's speech, which stated that "*West Yorkshire and especially [Leeds/Bradford] have a long tradition of welcoming people from all parts of the world and embracing them into the community.*" Although using Leeds and Bradford interchangeably in this speech alludes to the fact that they are both diverse, labelling them both as 'especially' welcoming detracts from the place specificity aimed for in many of the speeches. Furthermore, marking out West or North Yorkshire as sites of attachment appears a little contrived, given that these have been defined for administrative purposes and are subject to regular boundary changes. However, officials do not need to believe in the message themselves in order for it to be accepted by the audience (Verkaaik, 2010), with the success of the performance based on the degree to which it is considered authentic (Uzelac, 2010).

Many new citizens in fact found that narratives presented in the citizenship ceremony confirmed or even enhanced their own experiences and impressions of the locality. Both Grace and Moses made reference to official speeches when talking about the area that they lived in:

> *He makes a few points uh about the community, what to look for, at least what is in the community make it interesting, the museum and the old bit, the statues and things. How made what is made of this Keighley district actually, what interesting things you can have a small trip and see go round. Me I know the museum already. I've been there, I go to big park, I went to some few interesting places in Keighley here… I need to know something about my community to take an interest.*
> *(Grace, student/family migrant, Ghana)*

> *It made me realise the level of or the quality education North Yorkshire has, because I didn't realise they are one of the best schools in North Yorkshire. Umm and then umm in fact the citizenship test and everything made me realise that North Yorkshire is quite a good place to live.*
> *(Moses, student/economic migrant, Ghana)*

Here, becoming attached to the area is portrayed as an ongoing process of learning about what it has to offer. Grace had actively educated herself on the past and present landscapes of Keighley. This knowledge served as a foundation for her appreciation of the place, which was reconfirmed in the citizenship ceremony. This demonstrates the active role residents of an area play in creating their own sense of belonging through lived experience (Mee, 2009). Whilst Moses felt proficient in navigating his way through British society, he found that the citizenship ceremony and test were still able to add to his knowledge of the local area and the education system more widely. Whether or not the schools in North Yorkshire actually are some of the best in the country was irrelevant, as it was a message that was

wholeheartedly accepted by Moses. This demonstrates the potential of citizenship measures to enhance place attachment at a variety of scales.

It is worth noting that those mentioning positive references to place made during the ceremony had already built up similar impressions themselves. Having often lived in the vicinity for a number of years, participants had formed opinions of it through their own experiences, and these were unlikely to be radically altered by a single narrative. Those with more negative opinions of their area tended not to mention the description given in the ceremony, which would have contradicted their own views. The focus of citizenship ceremonies on the positive aspects of particular places masks their exclusionary potential, with landscapes marking the boundaries of belonging, which immigrants are located outside of (Trudeau, 2006, Schein, 2009). A critical geographies of home acknowledges that 'home' may create ambiguous feelings and exclusions, counterbalancing a romanticised vision associating it with belonging and rootedness (Blunt and Dowling, 2006, Brickell, 2012).

Participants often related the ceremony narrative to the scale of attachment that was most meaningful for them. Whilst academics frequently talk of the differential mobility of migrants across national borders, there is little recognition of this occurring at a localised level. For highly educated, wealthier migrants their sense of local belonging often encompassed the whole of Yorkshire, which they had been able to explore and build a complete picture of. Less educated, poorer migrants sometimes had difficulty visualising 'Yorkshire' as an entity, having a smaller spatial radar which generally only extended to their neighbourhood or particular areas within the town or city in which they lived. Therefore speeches in the ceremonies encompassing scales from street to transnational level are more likely to successfully chime with a diverse group of migrants. Applying countertopography to theories of belonging helps to recognise the mutual constitution of scales (Marston, 2000, Nagar et al., 2002), creating a more nuanced vision of multi-scalar attachments. It provides a framework for exploring variations in the mobility of bodies between places, accounting for multiple senses of spatial belonging. It is

also able to account for immobility (cf. Mountz, 2011), with the movement of less privileged migrants after arrival in the host country variably constrained by limited transnational resources, national legislation and personal factors. Migrants' different senses of belonging are thus related to their positioning in the global capitalist order, affecting their status, wealth, mobility and treatment in host and origin countries. The next section explores how ideas of national belonging are articulated in relation to different spaces and scales.

6.3   Becoming British

Belonging is connected to membership of a political community, generally associated with a national state. Citizenship is the most common structure conferring formal political membership. This is a supposedly straightforward form of belonging based on rights and duties. However, it is often predicated on deeper criteria uniting citizens, such as common territory or national identity, creating an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983). Belonging is particularly important to communitarian citizenship, which is founded on membership of a community. It highlights the dimension of citizenship as a feeling and a relational process of identification, based on 'belonging with' (Schein, 2009). This requires recognition by others within the political community. Citizenship thus acts as a marker of belonging, with hierarchical membership reproducing national identity (Anthias, 2006, Gilmartin, 2008). However, others have argued that citizenship has increasingly become decoupled from national identity (Isin and Wood, 1999). Studies have found that civic political belonging may be held whilst retaining cultural membership of a minority (Brettell, 2006, Nordberg, 2006). Nevertheless, the extent to which this is legitimated by the host society may be questionable. Integration expectations structure modes of identity and belonging, enabling or restricting certain affiliations.

Belonging at a national scale is related to the emotional associations of national community membership. It is traditionally based on a combination of birth,

ancestry and residence. Whilst it is possible to establish an identification from only residence, with 'elective belonging' (Pollini, 2005) from citizenship, this often does not override ancestry and residence even with long-term settlement (Bond, 2006). National belonging is defined by the politics of belonging, with boundaries set by the state. This includes classifying groups as 'good citizens/migrants' in opposition to 'bad citizens/migrants', which affects the treatment of individuals in practice (Duvell and Jordan, 2003, Anderson, 2012). These negative categorisations may be incorporated into the identities of stigmatised groups (Mennell, 1994). Nonetheless, notions of citizenship and 'Britishness' are likely to vary greatly amongst both citizens and non-citizens. Furthermore, citizenship and belonging are fundamentally different concepts, and it is possible to develop everyday belonging without formal citizenship status, whilst citizenship does not necessarily represent undivided loyalty to a particular state. Theories based on the national element of citizenship and belonging are often abstract, over-generalised and simplified. My research explores the practical consequences for those who are most exposed to its doctrines.

6.3.1   Balancing 'Britishness' with other loyalties

One of the initial aims of the new citizenship measures was to encourage immigrants to positively identify with Britain. This has been taken further with the publication of the new Life in the UK test, described by Home Secretary Theresa May as a "patriotic guide" to Britain (Travis, 2012, online), in which new citizens are expected to know about the history and culture that have made the country great. Here there seems to be a subtle difference between being able to identify with the UK and a more fixed version of Britishness. Mary Coussey, part of the team who designed the original Life in the UK test, explained this distinction:

> *We used to argue this is not about Britishness, this is about living in*
> *Britain. And we were against anything that appeared to be a test of*
> *whether of Britishness. Not that anybody could define what it was*

anyway!… This seems to be more about some abstract notion of Britishness… I think it's umm it's changed its focus.
(Mary Coussey, Chair of Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration)

British identity according to Mary Coussey's account should be something that is based on lived experience, rather than a particular vision that cannot be clearly defined or related to. She felt that the new test had abandoned this in favour of an "abstract" concept of national identity, which betrayed its original purpose. This demonstrates the politically constructed nature of citizenship, which has shifted from a civic republican version of active citizenship advocated by advisors of New Labour to the vision of historical nationalism promoted by the Conservatives. Whilst many theorists have considered citizenship as a process of expansion through political struggle (cf. Mouffe, 1992, Staeheli and Cope, 1994, Ellison, 1997), it may also be restricted by states imposing their own top-down version on subjects.

One of the most noticeable differences between the two Life in the UK handbooks is the section on British history. In the 2007 edition, 'The making of the United Kingdom' is a short chapter which is not tested on, as it is regarded as "only one interpretation" (Home Office, 2007, p.7). The lengthy chapter 'A long and illustrious history' in the 2013 edition is portrayed as factual, and forms part of the test. Despite the inference from the new Life in the UK test that appreciating national history is part of being British, very few participants referred to history when talking about their sense of British identity. Divergent visions of Britishness included those based on rights, responsibilities and opportunities; adopting a particular culture or way of life; and a feeling of attachment to the national place or people. Although studying for the Life in the UK test in some cases furthered knowledge about what was considered 'British', it did not appear to directly influence identification with these aspects. This tended to be built up over time and was dependent on individual perceptions combined with informal mechanisms of socialisation.

Although most participants recognised a change in feeling over time towards Britain, many felt unable to call themselves British until they had been granted citizenship. The citizenship ceremony was particularly important here, as it was able to clearly demarcate the transition from one nationality to another, which was felt even by those acquiring dual citizenship. This was mentioned by Tanvi and Leandre, both highly skilled economic migrants:

I mean umm having a ceremony was definitely a good thing because you felt great on that day that ok I'm going to be something special! You know you were another national which wasn't bad but because of this ceremony it has given a different umm sort of feeling that yeah you are going to be great now on [laughs]! That you are going to be British.
(Tanvi, economic migrant, India)

Kate: How did you feel swearing or affirming the allegiance?
Leandre: Oh very proud to be honest. Before I was a bit, it's a strange thing really because in a way I've always thought of myself as South African. You don't you know you're not very nationalist or anything like that but you just think of yourself in a different way. And at that moment I realised that actually by doing this I've now become British as well. So it meant a lot more to me at the moment than I thought it would do beforehand because you know you can think about this as theoretically in your mind about what's going to happen but then afterwards it actually happens.
(Leandre, student/economic migrant, South Africa)

Both participants highlighted the difference that the citizenship ceremony made to their personal feelings of belonging, positing it as the time of becoming British. As Leandre expressed in relation to her South African identity, the ritual was able to illuminate what would usually be taken for granted, in this case her national affiliations. Her account highlights the performative 'doing' of identity (cf. Wood, 2012), which only becomes real as it is enacted in the ceremony, in this case

through swearing an oath. The ceremony not only heightened the sense of being British, but also, as Tanvi explained, created positive feelings about this new identity. Whilst it has been suggested that national affiliations are less important to mobile elites (Bauman, 1998, Sklair, 2001, Calhoun, 2003), these narratives from highly skilled transnational migrants refute this claim. Leandre felt unable to rationalise her multiple senses of national belonging, but this did not diminish their strength. Although initially sceptical about the ceremony, when present in the moment it elicited unexpected feelings of patriotism.

Other more privileged migrants expressed similar sentiments to those mentioned above. Daniel (economic migrant, South Africa), when interviewed a week before his ceremony, confessed that he felt *"no real emotion"* towards the event. Yet when I interviewed him after the ceremony, he claimed to have felt *"a little tremor of excitement or appreciation"* on being granted citizenship. This demonstrates how symbols and traditions may be instrumentalised to make nationalism seem common-sense (cf. Hobsbawm, 1983, Elgenius, 2011), producing emotions powerful enough to convert cynics. Whilst targeted at groups of migrants considered problematic by the state, citizenship measures are clearly able to affect those they were not initially intended for. By setting aside a particular time and place to confer British citizenship onto immigrants, new citizens were able to consider their identity transition complete.

For participants with little regard for their origin country, often due to maltreatment, gaining British citizenship led to a relatively straightforward transition from one national identity to another. This was particularly true of refugees, although some family and economic migrants also felt that identifying themselves with their origin country had little to offer. This process of identity formation was both relational and situational. Fiyori spoke of her British citizenship in relation to Eritrea:

> *That's why happy me [laughs]! If I go my country also, if you're asking*

me I'm not now, I'm not Eritrean I'm British! Yeah I'm happy!
(Fiyori, refugee, Eritrea)

For those rejecting their former nationality, disassociating themselves from it was part of defining their British identity. This feeling was heightened in particular contexts, such as imagined or actual return visits to their origin country, in which they would be officially classified as British and queue up as a national of a foreign country. Returning to a country that had been left behind would often accentuate gradual changes to the self, resulting in a heightened sense of British identity. However, this did occasionally work the other way round, with immigrants feeling the need to conform to the origin country lifestyle upon return. Analysed through the lens of countertopography, this demonstrates how identities are (re)configured through associations between places, rather than mobility (Pratt and Yeoh, 2003). In this case, developing a new national identity was shaped by past and present relationships with the country of origin. Although participants had global connections, these were firmly embedded within local contexts, with particular landscapes influencing national sentiments. Their complex identifications can be captured in the notion of 'translocational positionality' (Anthias, 2008), with shifting social and material relations, rather than set categories, defining self-images. Conceptualising identity in this way contributes towards Katz's goal of breaking down categorisations which create artificial divisions between groups. Countertopography can thus extend the remit of critiques of intersectionality by rebuilding connections between similar social positionings caused by particular globalised processes such as transnational migration.

Whilst all new citizens identified with Britain in one sense or another, for most this was combined with a degree of attachment to the country from which they had come. This was displayed visually in many of the homes I visited in the form of flags, photographs and memorabilia from both origin and host countries, attesting to the significance of everyday domestic items in representing multiple identities (Tolia-Kelly, 2006). Some citizenship ceremonies also acknowledged this by reading out the countries of origin of participants. In a ceremony in London I attended

marking the ten year anniversary of the first British citizenship ceremony, there were even cupcakes iced with national flags. Strength of affiliation varied between participants, depending on a range of factors including reasons for migration and social, cultural and economic ties to the origin country. Some identified with both on an equivalent level, such as Corina and Daniel:

I am excited to be a British, I am proud to be a British as well. Just like I
am proud to be a Filipino, I am proud to be a British as well!
(Corina, economic migrant, Philippines)

In becoming British I don't feel that I've turned my back on South Africa,
it wasn't that I don't like the country I've left umm I haven't lost any
loyalty. I'm one of those guys when it comes to sports competitions, I'm
not a sports fanatic so therefore for me it's not a case of one team's got
to win. So if South Africa play England in cricket, I don't really have
divided loyalties, I normally just enjoy the match.
(Daniel, economic migrant, South Africa)

Many participants felt emotional connections to both origin and host country, which were expressed as complimentary rather than contradictory. The reference to loyalty demonstrated through sporting competitions here is particularly interesting given former Conservative MP Norman Tebbit's 'cricket test' analogy, in which he argued that ethnic minorities that are truly 'British' should support the national team. However, as Daniel highlighted, sport can be enjoyed without degenerating into questions of national allegiance, and he felt no strong preference towards either country. Migrants such as Corina maintained substantial transnational practices, such as owning property and spending time in the Philippines, helping to maintain practical and emotional affiliations there. However, this degree of involvement was not achievable for everyone, with constraints from travel documents, finances and lack of social networks.

Emotive connections were the easiest to maintain whilst residing in another country, whereby the origin country became immortalised in an individual's identity. In some cases this differentiated attachments to origin countries from those to Britain. Pasha and Alison explained how whilst being British citizens, they still identified primarily with where they had come from:

> *I feel like I'm British and everything but only like if I need something you know I have rights to ask for it because I'm British. But the feeling feeling that no I'm Egyptian. Or maybe I'm half-half I don't know.*
> *(Pasha, family migrant, Egypt)*

> *It's quite important to me as part of my identity to keep the Canadian one. So I wouldn't have taken British if I couldn't keep this… It's just strange, it's something you know it's a part of me and I want to keep it.*
> *(Alison, economic migrant, Canada)*

Participants such as Pasha tended to view their attachment to Britain through the lens of legal rights and responsibilities, whilst retaining the 'feeling' of being Egyptian. Alison's narrative likewise shows the emotive power of homeland identities. Similar to Leandre, she recognised her strong sense of Canadian identity as slightly illogical, but this did not lessen its significance. Although she could be considered part of a transnational global elite, Alison remained firmly attached to the national community in which she had been socialised. It was this emotional bond that resulted in her keeping her Canadian nationality, exemplifying how citizenship status can become contingent on feelings. Countertopography provides a tool for drawing together disparate subject positions, highlighting the concurrence of distinct situations which are caused by the same process, in this case international migration. Despite very different backgrounds, Alison a highly skilled, Western economic migrant and Pasha a family migrant dependent on her husband, they expressed similar views on citizenship and identity. Belonging was for them based on 'simultaneity of attachment' (cf. Waite and Cook, 2010), combining citizenship in the host society with emotional affiliation to their

homeland (cf. Mavroudi, 2008). However, this division is not as straightforward as implied, with the majority of new citizens expressing degrees of emotional and practical attachment to host and origin country.

Lack of loyalty to Britain was one of the political concerns that led to the introduction of new citizenship measures emphasising British identity, which have remained salient in political discourse (Blunkett, 2001, Cameron, 2011d, Perraudin, 2014). However, I would argue that political concerns of ethnic minorities not feeling British may be overblown, with all of my participants identifying with Britain at some level, albeit in divergent ways. Immigrants' relations with other countries are not necessarily a threat to societal stability, with highly skilled migrants favoured by the government nonetheless articulating similar sentiments to less desired immigrants. The necessity of allowing dual citizenship is highlighted by the fact that some participants felt it essential in the maintenance of their identity, and may not have opted for British citizenship otherwise. According to van Gennep (1960), initiation rites involve renunciation. Citizenship ceremonies in the US are based on the logic of national belonging, ritually erasing the histories and difference of migrants (Coutin, 2003).I would argue that British ceremonies need to take into account multiple affiliations in elements such as the oath of allegiance, which currently signifies pledging loyalty to a single country. Forcing a homogenised version of Britishness on immigrants may backfire, alienating those who are prevented from forming their own interpretations on the meanings of being British, which are combined with attachments to other places.

The minority who showed little appreciation of the citizenship ceremony also tended to be those who felt that citizenship had had limited impact on their identities. Often this was due to already feeling British, an identity that had been expressed through 'citizenship acts' (Isin and Nielsen, 2008) that were not based on legal status. Belonging as an emotional affiliation can be linked to performativity, with emotional identifications built up through the repetition of social practices(Wood and Waite, 2011). Belonging is thus a process of becoming rather than simply being. The emotional dimensions of belonging are also enacted on a

larger scale, with the emotions associated with home producing a sense of citizenship in terms of rights and responsibilities (Ho, 2009). Simon and Jafar conveyed this clearly:

Kate: And you were saying you applied for citizenship to make travel easier with a British passport. Are there any other reasons you applied for it?

Simon: Well no because I'm umm my wife is British so I wouldn't be going back to Burma at all, because I live here, I've got my work here, I have a house here, my life is here... Because I am as I was saying to you I haven't got many Burmese friends either, I'm more British anyway!

(Simon, student/economic migrant, Burma)

Kate: And how have things changed since you've got citizenship?

Jafar: Changed? Nothing [laughs]! I'm British before that [laughs]! So no change. As far as I live here it means that I'm British, even if I have not got it.

(Jafar, family migrant, Sudan)

Being British was for Simon and Jafar based on a combination of residency, employment, family and social contacts, something which had been built up over time and was unchanged by British citizenship. The symbolism of a mystical transformation portrayed in the ceremonies was lost on new citizens such as these, who constructed their identities through lived experience. Participant accounts of national identity provide an interesting dilemma on the process of 'becoming', as to whether it is achieved in the short space of the citizenship ceremony or over a longer period of time. Perhaps the distinction here is between the mundane everyday taken-for-granted changes too gradual to notice and a particular moment in time providing an awareness of what the self has already become. The sense of British identity expressed by participants therefore combines becoming as an ongoing, dynamic process (Grosz, 2005) with becoming through the 'doing' of an official performance (Smith, 2000). The citizenship ceremony provides a space not

only for uniting divergent subjectivities, but also for connecting the mundane and spectacular, solidifying the transformation of identity. The acquisition of citizenship thus provides a clear indicator of how identity can be conceptualised as both a threshold and a transition (cf. Fortier, 2000). However, identity was also contingent on collective belonging and recognition, providing a deeper sense of affiliation with Britain.

6.3.2   Collective belonging

Closely linked to the idea of becoming through identity formation is the notion of group belonging. Whilst identity is often related to personal articulations and strategies, belonging also has a collective element associated with inclusion, exclusion and participation (Anthias, 2008). The collective nature of belonging has informed ideas of communitarian citizenship (Etzioni, 1995, Dahlgren, 2006). There was major emphasis on this when introducing reforms to the citizenship process, as David Blunkett expressed:

> *The logic was that we would want to reinforce a sense of belonging,*
> *sense of identity and citizenship, as a positive as opposed to a negative*
> *reaction to get people to feel that they could work together and live*
> *together and that there wouldn't be a down side which would end up*
> *with a divided community.*
> *(David Blunkett, former Home Secretary)*

For the New Labour government at the time, a shared sense of belonging to Britain was a crucial paving stone for local cohesion, and citizenship was a way of inculcating it into migrants. David Blunkett believed that this could promote a communitarian vision of citizenship as a form of togetherness with other citizens. State agents meanwhile claimed that new citizens needed to feel recognised, included and involved to fully believe they belonged, implicitly highlighting the role of host communities, who have been largely absent from political discourse. Linking belonging to inclusion and involvement necessitates some degree of

integration prior to these feelings emerging, suggesting that these concepts are interdependent rather than one preceding the other.

Belonging was generally conceptualised as being 'part of' something. For many, citizenship was the final step in becoming part of the British population, showing how membership can create 'belonging with' (Schein, 2009). This form of belonging was heavily emphasised in citizenship ceremonies. A Bradford registrar talked about how this operated:

> *It definitely heightens their sense of belonging. I mean I think this is what you see when umm you know they see the picture of the Queen and everything else and they get their certificate. It's like you know they're holding onto their certificate because it is something very special, but it does mean you know it really confirms that they do belong to this community… So I think that's why the ceremony is really important because I think it definitely enhances the sense of belonging. You wouldn't get that heightened sense of belonging without it I don't think.*
> *(Bradford registrar 1)*

The Bradford registrar emphasised the significance of the citizenship ceremony for enhancing new citizens' sense of belonging, which she felt would not have been achieved otherwise. She conceptualised belonging in relation to a national community, suggesting communitarian bonds that run deeper than simply being a passport holder of a particular country. Certain elements of the ceremony were considered particularly important for symbolising this belonging, from receiving the certificate to signs of the nation such as the Queen. The meanings attached to these symbols can generate emotions which may have greater impact than the content of the ceremony itself (Moore and Myerhoff, 1977, Somdahl-Sands, 2008). Whilst the majority of new citizens expressed positive sentiments in relation to these symbols, connecting them to being British, they were not wholly uncontested. Daniel (economic migrant, South Africa), for example, was

uncomfortable with the fact that the oath of allegiance was "*asking you to swear almost a blind loyalty*" to the monarchy, an institution which for him commanded little respect. Although citizenship ceremonies are considered an act of consent to the regime (Honig, 1998), it is evident that some new citizens will go through the process without subscribing to its ideologies.

Feelings of belonging to Britain did seem to be heightened by the citizenship ceremony, which provided an avenue for conferring official membership on new citizens. This marked some degree of finality and freedom for participants. Similar to Byrne (2014), I found that the recognition of each individual being part of society imparted in these ceremonies was particularly important to new citizens. Given the stringent, disbelieving nature of British bureaucracy previously encountered, this was often the first official act of recognition they had experienced. Acquiring British citizenship was specifically able to enhance a vision of belonging that was based on a personal sense of time and being 'in place'. Whilst countertopography examines linkages between places, it has less to say about time. This is despite the fact that spatialities are defined by temporality, with the meanings of different places formulated in reference to past, present and future processes. The connection between citizenship and belonging in place and time was voiced by Nehanda:

> *If I say a citizen, that means it's somebody who is staying in the country, who belongs to that particular place. Like what I was in Zimbabwe, I was a Zimbabwean citizen, that means I was staying in that country… Now I'm newly born here again, to be a British citizen, like Harry [her grandson in the room]. I'm now like Harry, reborn again, Harry is older than me, because I was born on the twentieth of September [date of citizenship ceremony], he was born two years ago [laughs]!*
> *(Nehanda, family migrant, Zimbabwe)*

Here, citizenship represented permanence and the intention to stay. It also signified the transition from being 'from there' to being 'from here', bringing together a time-space of belonging that for the first time in many years coincided

with the current place of domicile. This demonstrates the significance of 'space-time geographies' (cf. Massey, 1992) in identity (re)formulation. Nehanda referred to this as being reborn, signifying a full transition into a brand new identity. Her narrative portrays the transformation from outsider to citizen as a "quasi-mystical experience" (Coutin, 2003, p.516), prioritising the symbolic nature of citizenship above its practical implications. It suggests that immigrants can be wholly reincorporated into society as citizens, but that this involves a complete erasure of previous national identities.

Nonetheless, this symbolic transition had the ability to end the state of limbo many migrants felt that they were in, as whilst having emotional ties to both origin and host country, they did not fully belong in either. As highlighted in previous chapters, whilst liminality is commonly attributed to asylum seekers and undocumented migrants (cf. Menjívar, 2006, Sargent and Larchanché-Kim, 2006, Sigona, 2012, Bloch, 2014), my study proposes that it is a feeling shared by many migrants. Using countertopography enables us to examine the specificities of exclusion, grounding more generalised accounts in the analysis of individual people and places (Mountz, 2011). Drawing connections between subject positions exposes how state processes of renationalisation place migrants in exclusionary time-spaces, regardless of social positioning prior to migration. This presents a significant contribution to the understanding of common experiences of migration in emotive terms, demonstrating how the identities of migrants are characterised by spatio-temporal ruptures, which may only be resolved by achieving full recognition.

Others felt that belonging was more related to ways of fitting in with the past, present and future of the country. This represented a collective, communitarian vision of citizenship, with a community of value constituting the main site of belonging. This was often based on following norms and values and personally contributing to the greater good of the whole country. It was also connected to the people making up the national community, who were talked about by Kess:

I feel like what I feel when I was in Ethiopia. I feel like what my people, they need to be like that. My people. I feel that feeling now. Honestly and then I really feel that. I really really feel like this is my home. Everything needs to be protect. Everything needs to be this way, the good way, and hate the bad things and accept the good things and follow the good things. Like good things be happen in this country.
(Kess, refugee, Ethiopia)

Kess noted equivalent sentiments with her past attachment to Ethiopia and her present sense of belonging to Britain. Notions of 'shared time' are central to community formation, which is founded on the idea of communal pasts and futures (Bastian, 2014). Feeling personal affiliations with the people living in Britain as "my people" motivated Kess' desire to invest her future in the country by upholding what she felt were the virtuous elements of British society. Good citizenship was therefore motivated by bonds of solidarity and reciprocity with others in the imagined community. This demonstrates how a sense of belonging can contribute towards citizenship practices for communal benefit. Whilst the majority of new citizens connected their sense of belonging with a national future, some drew on linkages with the past. This was most evident in the case of Commonwealth migrants, whose narratives I explore next.

6.3.3 Colonial belonging

Both Labour and Conservative politicians have emphasised the importance of including British history in integration measures for new citizens (Brown, 2004, Grieve, 2010). However, the use of colonial history can lead to implicit racialisation and exclusions (Smith, 2003). The Life in the UK test and citizenship ceremonies adopt particular official narratives of Britain's past, excluding other accounts, which may alienate new citizens. The full brutality of imperialism and the slave trade is overlooked in naturalisation measures, and was rarely mentioned by participants. Instead, migrants from former British colonies sometimes used their membership of the Commonwealth as a way of including themselves amongst the British people

(cf. Binaisa, 2013). The legacy of colonialism was present in many countries, with education, political and legal systems styled on the British model still operating in similar ways. Jafar and Noah explained the impact this had had on their origin countries:

> *It's same because we're colonised, we were colonised by Britain for*
> *many hundred year, it's same, it's same law. Because we're until we're*
> *ruled by Britain until 1885. And then again from uh 1890 until 19 yeah*
> *up to 1956. And uh it's still a lot of rules are there from British law.*
> *(Jafar, family migrant, Sudan)*

> *I mean if you knew like maybe a bit of history on Zimbabwe, the cultures*
> *on that, you'll actually find the education system is actually derived*
> *from here so things are kind of similar. So the text books I read in school*
> *were more or less the same text books that you read. And the TV shows*
> *that I used to watch when I grew up were more or less the same*
> *cartoons that you watched when you grew up, I mean if you were like*
> *the same age. So, in that sense it kind of makes it easier when you come*
> *over here.*
> *(Noah, student/economic migrant, Zimbabwe)*

The perpetuation of British laws, education and culture, along with the English language, helped those from Commonwealth countries to adjust to a new country, as many felt they were living a British way of life in their origin countries. Both participants were talking about the legacy of colonialism in relation to the knowledge needed for the Life in the UK test. It made them better prepared, with many having already received substantial education about the UK. Noah claimed that he did not even need to revise for the test to pass it, as the knowledge to him was common sense. This actually put his competencies beyond those of many British-born citizens, who would struggle to pass the test without preparation.

The Commonwealth also operated on a more symbolic level as a marker of inclusion. This seemed particularly important for some African participants, who felt that in being part of the Commonwealth they were subjects of the United Kingdom before they had even arrived in the country (cf. Binaisa, 2013). Several participants talked about how their country had under colonialism been ruled by Britain, meaning that "*we're a little bit of them*" (Isaiah, economic migrant, Nigeria). For participants such as Isaiah, British citizenship denoted "*recognising you as a person and also as a subject of the Commonwealth as well which you are entitled to have should you wish to*". It was therefore perceived as an entitlement based on already being a Commonwealth citizen, rather than a privilege to be earned. Not only did this group conceptualise citizenship as being based on jus soli, rather than jus sanguinis, but some felt that residing in a former British colony was enough to classify themselves as 'British'. This inclusive version of citizenship resonates with the legal definition before the Immigration Act 1971, which ended the automatic right to abode of Commonwealth migrants. It also introduced the concept of partiality, restricting primary immigration to the UK to people who had a parent who was a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies on account of having been born in the UK. The 1981 British Nationality Act further restricted these rights, changing their status from the all-inclusive 'British subjects' to a separate category of 'Commonwealth citizens'. In revoking the guaranteed entitlement of Commonwealth migrants to British citizenship, the state attempted to reduce ties which held it responsible for people from other countries, insulating itself in the face of globalisation.

Those who had come from Commonwealth countries tended to emphasise shared ground between their country and Britain. Although all new citizens made reference to the Queen, for some her status as Head of the Commonwealth was particularly poignant, where she acted as a figurehead connecting them to Britain and all it stood for. This form of 'banal Britishness' (Mycock, 2009) was lived out in the origin country long before migration. Whilst the vision of citizenship and belonging provided by some Commonwealth citizens was inclusive in ethnic and

racial terms, it nonetheless retained certain cultural elements. Paul, for example, reflected on the cultural similarities he saw between Nigeria and Britain:

> *I wouldn't say there's a culture shock of staying here, of being British*
> *because in the first place Nigeria is a country that was colonised by*
> *Britain. So almost the way of life there most of the time is the way*
> *people do things here. So we don't have that cultural shock as a matter*
> *of fact of being British.*
> *(Paul, economic migrant, Nigeria)*

By talking of the lack of "culture shock" on arriving in a new country, Paul was able to position himself above other immigrants who were not fortunate enough to come from a country that was already partially "British". He alluded to the importance of fitting in with "the way of life", where he felt he had a natural advantage due to his background. Therefore the British culture which still exists in former colonies is perpetuated when migrants from those countries arrive in Britain, where they feel it is necessary to practice and expand on what they have already learnt. Whilst some were blasé about the Life in the UK test, feeling they already possessed the knowledge required, others were keen to learn more about their *"mother country"*, to ensure that they fully belonged there. However, naturalisation measures provide no acknowledgement of the impact that colonialism has had on Britishness (Asari et al., 2008, Mycock, 2009). Instead they implicitly suggest that Commonwealth citizens, amongst others, do not identify with 'British values', categorising them simply as 'immigrants' rather than recognising their entitlements as 'citizens'.

Whilst countertopography theorists more often examine contemporary connections between places forged by global capitalism, historical contour lines can here be drawn between countries which were subject to imperial rule. Linkages with the British Empire are maintained through the Commonwealth, used strategically by migrants to position themselves as part of a wider British network. Yet these claims are systematically denied by the British state, which in its fight to

maintain national sovereignty has not only reacted against the current pressures of globalisation, but also severed connections with its global imperial past. 'Contour lines' can be drawn between this and a vastly different struggle for indigenous land claims in Canada, with the Canadian state symbolically erasing past colonial relations and reducing Native citizenship rights to neoliberal consumerism (Rossiter and Wood, 2005). This demonstrates how power to define the past may be used as a tool to exclude minority groups, whose histories do not feature in the official version of the national story (cf. Bastian, 2014). This may contribute towards feelings of non-belonging for those whose claims for recognition are not acknowledged, which is explored next.

6.3.4 Self-exclusion from Britishness

Social belonging is based on the relationship between personal identity and collective solidarity. This involves group recognition of membership, which is constructed through the politics of belonging, naturalising communities and their boundaries of inclusion/exclusion. It is established and maintained through both institutional and everyday representations, which may become mutually reinforcing (Andreouli and Howarth, 2013). The practice of boundary making signifies the difference between identity and belonging, with belonging predicated on feeling part of a community rather than simply identifying with it (Anthias, 2006). Belonging is marked by particular groups being 'in place' or 'out of place' and it is argued that those feeling out of place cannot be considered full citizens (Painter and Philo, 1995). Top-down efforts to foster a sense of belonging may be undermined by wider societal factors such as negative populist rhetoric and discrimination.

Despite utilising different strategies to increase their sense of belonging to Britain, many new citizens felt that they would never be truly British. This was related to authenticity, an essence of Britishness based on attributes other than simply holding a British passport. It was expressed both subtly, by talking about *"Brits"* as a bounded group not including oneself, or more overtly as "*I am not an English*

person" (Corina, economic migrant, Philippines). Being born in Britain was considered a better claim to belonging than having lived there (cf. Bond, 2006). This reflects the views of the wider British public, with the latest British Social Attitudes survey showing that three quarters believe that to be 'truly British' you have to have been born in Britain (Park et al., 2014). Britishness was also frequently considered an ethno-cultural identity, based primarily on jus sanguinis. This gave some colonial subjects, such as white South Africans, a stronger claim for being British through ancestry. However, Denise felt that even though both her parents were British citizens, this did not justify her claim for citizenship:

> *I could've just got it through my dad. But I don't feel umm he's not lived*
> *in this country so therefore. He's lived in this country, he emigrated to*
> *South Africa, Rhodesia actually, when they were five and six. And my*
> *mum was born in Rhodesia, so they were both British. But I don't think*
> *that I could've got it through them by birth, because they've never*
> *contributed anything to this country.*
> *(Denise, family migrant, South Africa)*

Denise therefore conceptualised British citizenship as based on both jus sanguinis and jus soli, the latter ensuring contribution to society. However, in other instances she strategically deployed her whiteness to prove that she was both more integrated and more deserving than other migrants. The minority of other 'white' participants in my sample similarly felt that their skin colour enabled them to 'fit in', with Leandre (student/economic migrant, South Africa) stating that "*I don't feel like I stand out, because I probably don't*."

Whiteness was used as a tool even by those who would not typically be considered 'white', such as Salim (family migrant, Pakistan). His wife claimed that "*he's blended in quite well with the Brits. He doesn't look like he's from Pakistan, he looks like he's from Britain*". Physical appearance is thus a way of concealing difference, with having 'white' skin allowing migrants to blend in with 'true Brits'. This could be considered as 'passing', whereby racial boundaries are circumvented and identities

strategically formulated to access the privileges associated with whiteness (Delaney, 2002, Khanna and Johnson, 2010). Migrants thus accentuate certain characteristics to position themselves within a spectrum of conformity to an ethnic conception of Britishness (Andreouli and Howarth, 2013), using this to bolster their acceptance within society.

For those migrants not considered 'white', phenotypical differences were a factor in excluding themselves from Britishness. This was the case even for migrants who felt that they were otherwise well integrated, such as Moses:

> *I'm a British citizen by document yeah but with other people it still puts some sort of umm what's the word for it boundary as well. You know because although you are a British citizen you are not by birth anyway. Racially you are not British as well. So to other people yeah you are just British citizen by document.*
> *(Moses, student/economic migrant, Ghana)*

Here, Moses used the fact that he was not born in Britain combined with his skin colour to argue that other people would only consider him "British citizen by document". This highlights how important the feeling, as well as practice, of recognition is, since Moses perceived that others viewed him in an exclusionary light. This may partially have accounted for his pragmatic approach to citizenship. State agents often attempted to promote a version of belonging to Britain regardless of culture and race, with the West Yorkshire dignitary stating that "*they may look different, they may behave different, but they're still part of the family*". Whilst using the ceremony to help new citizens feel like they belonged, by highlighting differences in the appearance and behaviour of new members compared to its original composition, this dignitary simultaneously excluded them from becoming authentically British. The process of differentiating between 'us' and 'them' is a deep set phenomenon perpetuated by everyday societal norms and practices (Edensor, 2002), internalised by participants, and unlikely to be dissipated

solely through a citizenship ceremony telling new citizens that they are counted amongst the British.

Constructing Britishness around race, ethnicity and culture was also a way of judging others, usually in a negative fashion. Despite being immigrants themselves, some had become part of populist hype surrounding immigration, concerned that "*foreigners*" were ruling the country at the expense of the "*original British people*" moving away. The extent to which these interpretations were based on fleeting everyday observations was evident in my conversation with Paul and Olisa:

> *Olisa: I had a little shock when I came here! I went to Sheffield, the*
> *place where I rented a house that is a room for two weeks. Ah, you*
> *come out, you say am I actually in the UK? It was all foreigners [laughs]!*
> *Paul: The whole place all full of foreigners. So, whereabouts are we?*
> *Where are we, are we in Dubai?*
> *Olisa: [laughs] I thought I was in Pakistan!*
> *Paul: Oi oi oi [laughs]!*
> *Olisa: So when I got Leicestershire I said oh now I have arrived because*
> *everybody around me is British, they all smile morning morning morning*
> *I said oh I've arrived!*
> *(Paul and Olisa, economic migrants, Nigeria)*

Participants' experience of multicultural Britain was often a visceral one, incorporating sights, sounds and smells from other parts of the world (cf. Haldrup et al., 2006, Simonsen, 2008, Datta, 2009). Regardless of citizenship status, even British-born ethnic minorities who were visibly different thus became labelled as 'foreign'. Paul and Olisa ascribed this foreignness to Pakistanis, a group who have become increasingly stigmatised in Britain. The drive to aspire to become 'British', accentuated by measures such as the Life in the UK test and citizenship ceremonies, can adversely affect new citizens' attitudes towards others who do not conform to expectations. New British citizens may therefore adopt prejudices

innate to British society, accentuating divisions between minority groups considered acceptable and those who are not.

Deploying a countertopographical analysis demonstrates how the state reaction against the infiltration of globalised diversity can be echoed even by those who are part of this diversity, who are unable to relate to the variety of global places defining their own locality. It also demonstrates how positionality is relationally produced and maintained through everyday practices (Heley and Jones, 2012), in this case through everyday encounters with difference. Becoming part of a national community resulted in reinforcing the exclusionary boundaries which maintain its integrity. Whilst typically portrayed as the victims of marginalisation, migrants-cum-citizens can also act as agents perpetuating this exclusion. This, combined with their status as foreign-born citizens, situates them in a unique position, somewhere in between insiders and outsiders. These barriers are reinscribed in rituals marking out the boundaries of Britishness, the operation of which will be explored in the final section.

6.4 National ritual

Civic rituals are often used to (re)create nationalism. As Foster (1991) indicates, a key goal of nationalism is to produce citizens who contribute towards a taken-for-granted national culture. According to Hobsbawm (1983), this is achieved through 'invented traditions', ritualistic practices imbuing particular norms and behaviours, which are linked with the past. The fact that such practices may be 'invented' suggests that they are strategically formulated to serve particular purposes, whilst to the observer they appear as a time-honoured 'tradition'. In the case of national citizenship, rituals such as citizenship ceremonies are able to represent citizenship as an ancient tradition, masking its modern form. These celebratory rituals can be considered a means of nation-building and encouraging support for the socio-political order, operating by connecting political discourses and public culture (Bendix, 1992, Smith, 2003, Elgenius, 2011). Rehearsed, ordered performances conveying majesty, stability and shared purpose both heighten and legitimate the

nation (Edensor, 2002). They illustrate how nationalism may become normalised in practices. However, as Bendix (1992) points out, the top-down 'nationalisation of the masses' approach employed by many ritual theorists ignores individual experiences, which is the focus of my research.

Some academics have highlighted how rituals may be used as an instrument of hegemonic social control through constructing popular consciousness and naturalising ideologies, patterning the way individuals interpret social life (Moore and Myerhoff, 1977, Kong and Yeoh, 1997). This has been described as a 'mobilization of bias', defining the nature of the political system whilst erasing alternatives (Lukes, 1975). Successful performances are arguably able to hide the social power behind them (Alexander, 2004). This is achieved through combining hyper-visibility, by presenting the dominant order as incontestable, and inspiring awe, with power made invisible by constructing it as common-sense (Rai, 2010). It is argued that through festivity serious interpretations of discourses are undermined, which provides the best mechanism to prevent criticism of a message (Blehr, 1999). Most secular rituals are presented as celebrations, and perhaps their success is owing to this. This section explores citizenship ceremonies as celebratory nationalising rituals, demonstrating how messages are symbolically communicated and interpreted.

6.4.1 Setting the scene

The citizenship ceremony was envisioned as an important occasion, distinct from everyday life (cf. Rai, 2010). Participants expressed that it was an event that should feel special every time, despite being a routine function carried out by the register office. Following on from New Labour's drive to increase the profile of citizenship, those involved with the ceremonies at a local level felt that granting citizenship should not simply "*come out with the Cornflake packet*" (West Yorkshire dignitary). This demonstrates the imperative of creating sensational spaces to generate emotional politics (Marcus, 2002). Many new citizens shared this sentiment, with acquiring British citizenship "*a big thing*" which should be officially celebrated, in

some cases also followed by private celebrations. Emphasising the significance of the ceremony therefore contributes towards renewing the magnitude of citizenship. Nonetheless, citizenship ceremonies had become routinised in many regards, with local authorities lacking time and resources to organise unique events. However, the repetition of national ceremonies also ensures discipline and structure, with the rules and relationships between performances minimising contestation from audiences (Howe, 2000, Edensor, 2002).

There was almost unanimous agreement amongst new citizens that the citizenship ceremony was a beneficial addition to the naturalisation process. All apart from three of my participants told me that it was a better approach than simply getting a certificate through the post. This was partly related to increasing their understanding of citizenship, but also to receiving official recognition of their achievement at becoming British citizens. The feelings this created were an important part of the experience, as was expressed by Yolanda and Isaiah:

> *[It is better] to have it rather than just to give you the certificate. It's important you know you've got a certain date that you will get that. Your certificate, you have the ceremony and they give you something you know like the memory coin. And like appreciating you. Look like that day is very great great day for you because you are a British. And I'm very happy that time, cannot explain how happy I am. I just know I'm very excited on that day and I'm very very happy. Because I'm the one receiving the certificate.*
> *(Yolanda, economic migrant, Philippines)*

> *I think it's a lot far far better, far more honoured. And far more symbolic you know, doing the ceremony than actually just sending the papers through… There's more to it than the paperwork you know.*
> *(Isaiah, economic migrant, Nigeria)*

The happiness that Yolanda felt on the day of her citizenship ceremony was an experience shared by many participants, and one that was unlikely to have been created from receiving a certificate in the post. Emotional experiences such as these are an important part of identity formation (Duffy, 2005). The ceremony also had implications for the ways in which citizenship and belonging were understood. Yolanda and Isaiah interpreted the main message as not simply one of tolerance, but of appreciation of the efforts they had made to become British citizens. As Isaiah inferred, the ceremony also reinforced a thicker notion of citizenship, going beyond the papers which confirm citizenship status and facilitate pragmatic citizenship. Citizenship ceremonies fulfil a particular emotional role, with feelings generated during the event harnessed to specific affects. The ritualisation of experience targets emotions, aiming to create self-improvement and subjectification (Damsholt, 2008).The lengthy, stringent naturalisation process, combined with the ceremony as the pinnacle of this, often did work to convince new citizens of the value of citizenship.

Creating the right atmosphere for the occasion is a crucial part of conveying messages within a ritual (Tambiah, 1985, Handelman, 1998). This is contributed to by all the actors present, including the citizenship registrars, dignitaries and new citizens, and is also influenced by the staging and design of the event. Registrars and dignitaries felt that part of their role was to create a relaxed atmosphere to put new citizens at ease, turning what may have been a nerve-wracking event into an enjoyable one. The individual personalities and conduct of these officials were important in creating a friendly reception for the new citizens, representing their wider welcome into British society. They therefore adopted a 'personal front', whereby the appearance or conduct of the performer provides meaning despite their potential cynicism towards the act. (cf. Goffman, 1959). Verkaaik (2010), for example discovered that the formality of citizenship ceremonies in The Netherlands, which present a sincere message about national identity, was at odds with the ridicule expressed by bureaucrats outside of the ceremony. The degree to which this was successfully achieved varied between ceremonies, and affected new

citizens' reception of the event. Juliette expressed dissatisfaction at the attitude of the registrars conducting her ceremony:

> *I don't remember the name of the person who was representing the Queen… I think probably he was the only one take it seriously… For me it's something very special… it's something like they should talk to you a little bit more deeper. Say you know this is a very important moment of your life. They said that but it was like [shrugs].*
> *(Juliette, student/family migrant, Mexico)*

For Juliette, who regarded citizenship as something deeply significant and personal, the delivery of the ceremony failed to match her emotions. Although she was in a minority with her feeling that officials at the ceremony were not taking the occasion seriously enough, this clearly had the ability to impact on many more new citizens. As she highlighted, it was not the messages themselves that were unconvincing, but rather the fact that they were not conveyed with conviction. If performances are not considered authentic by the audience, this can hamper the transformative potential of ceremonies (Uzelac, 2010).

The illustriousness of the occasion was added to by the presence of a dignitary, particularly with those of high status such as members of the royal family. Leeds and Bradford had both held ceremonies which were attended by Princess Anne, which officials felt were particularly well received by new citizens. Dignitaries were more commonly local mayors, councillors, lieutenants or sheriffs. The significance of the presence of the dignitary was alluded to by both state agents and new citizens. In Isaiah's eyes, it was the dignitary that made the ceremony:

> *The lieutenant yeah that of Yorkshire regiment or something. He came and it was quite umm he kind of graced the occasion showing how important the ceremony was and we did appreciate that, it was quite an important ceremony.*
> *(Isaiah, economic migrant, Nigeria)*

As Isaiah suggested, the presence of a dignitary of high status represented the significance of the citizenship ceremony. This was particularly mentioned in relation to lieutenants and sheriffs, who were portrayed as representing the Queen, with the royal family considered to symbolise the majestic nature of Britishness. These dignitaries were also able to link national and local scales, connecting their welcome from the Queen with their standing at county level. Whilst the dignitaries' speeches were also important, it was often simply their presence that was felt most strongly by new citizens, suggesting that symbolism was more significant than content (cf. Moore and Myerhoff, 1977).

Many new citizens expected the ceremony to be a very formal occasion, with pomp and ceremony considered in itself a very British tradition. This demonstrates how the citizenship ceremony as an 'invented tradition' draws on cultural references linking it to time-honoured ideas of Britishness (cf. Hobsbawm, 1983). Tanvi compared ceremonies attended by her friends in London with her own event in Calderdale, suggesting that certain features could alter the experience:

> *Some of my friends from London they had told a lot about it… I think*
> *what was different was our hall was our room was very small so it*
> *wasn't a hall sort of it was sort of room really. What we expected was*
> *like because they had said to us that uh you know it is sort of a formal*
> *and very big ceremony you feel great about it you know… Maybe the*
> *person who is coming to there maybe even more you know dressed*
> *differently and you know talking a lot about his experiences so*
> *something like that. And then there finally it seems they had a*
> *professional photographer who was taking photographs… So all these*
> *things I think made it a little bit more special to them.*
> *(Tanvi, economic migrant, India)*

Tanvi talked of how a bigger, more formal ceremony could change the atmosphere of the occasion, contributing to its 'special' feeling. Although still enjoying the ceremony, it did not live up to her expectations, and she felt that a grander event

would have heightened her positive emotions. These comparisons highlight the regional variation between citizenship ceremonies, with local authorities with less new citizens generally organising smaller ceremonies in local register offices.

The staging and design of an event have been considered by some as more important than the performance itself, with the latter arguably structured and constrained by the former (Handelman, 1998). Goffman (1959) has described this as the 'scenery of expression', with layout, decoration and objects providing props and context for acts. These affect bodily communication and movement, as well as the ways in which performance is understood. Tanvi had her ceremony in Halifax Register Office, where they are conducted in a small, fairly functional room. The experiences of participants who went to ceremonies in Leeds and Bradford, which were often held in grand town halls, differed from those in more rural locations. Noah, who attended a ceremony in Leeds Civic Hall, spoke of how important the venue was in conveying the right atmosphere:

> Noah: *We found it quite majestic actually, you kind of walk inside and you're like wow, it's really quite grand.*
> Kate: *Do you think it made a difference to the ceremony itself?*
> Noah: *Yes. It's not the kind of thing I think you should do in like a pokey little hall. It needs to be like in a proper venue like that. And being a civic hall as well, it's kind of, well that's what it's for, it's for ceremonies really.*
> (Noah, student/economic migrant, Zimbabwe)

Noah was initially fairly sceptical about attending a citizenship ceremony, particularly after his experience of the Life in the UK test, which he considered mundane and unfit for purpose. The fact that it exceeded expectations was partly due to the atmosphere created in the ceremony, the formality of which he felt was fitting for such an occasion. The seriousness conveyed by the ceremony prompted him to reflect on the weight of the decision he had made to become a British citizen, something that the routine nature of the naturalisation process prior to this

had been unable to achieve. Noah's ceremony was successfully able to separate sacred from mundane, linking the momentous nature of the occasion with the significance of citizenship. The venue played a part in this, with its ability to inspire a sense of majesty and awe symbolising the indisputable power of the state (cf. Rai, 2010). The importance of the setting of rituals is explored further in the next section.

6.4.2   Space and symbolism

Geography is imperative to the study of ritual and performances. The significance of context was recognised a far back as Durkheim (1965), who suggested that rites are often ambiguous and general, adapted to particular settings. The effect of spatio-temporal settings on the operation of rituals has often been emphasised and it has been considered that both the meanings and enactment of a performance are dependent on this factor (Dewsbury, 2000, Somdahl-Sands, 2008). Highlighting the significance of context draws attention to the specific spaces, places and landscapes where performances are situated. Space has been considered to both be created by and used as an instrument in performances (Gregson and Rose, 2000, Thrift, 2003). The symbolic cultural landscape may be used to reaffirm common citizen identity, through collective place-based memories and representations (Somdahl-Sands, 2008). It is argued that geography can contribute to performance studies by examining the identity of places and communities where performances take place (Rogers, 2012). This section explores embodied experiences of the places in which citizenship ceremonies are enacted.

Performances use space instrumentally to achieve particular ends (Gregson and Rose, 2000, Thrift, 2003). Some have drawn attention to the role of the built landscape in appropriating historical symbolic capital and reinscribing meanings (Kong and Yeoh, 1997). This is evident in the Lord Goldsmith Citizenship Review, which recommends enhancing the symbolic nature of citizenship ceremonies by using venues that are "iconic symbols of Britishness" (Rimmer, 2008, p.10). Suggestions include Edinburgh Castle, the House of Commons and Wembley

Stadium, all of which have significant national historical, political or cultural meaning attached to them. Whilst the venue in which the ceremony was held was not the foremost point of reference for participants, it nonetheless contributed to their experience of the event. In some cases it even had a role to play in affirming a new identity, which was articulated by Bintu:

It's a good place to have the ceremony. When you enter inside the building, when you see the place, you will see yourself and say, yes I'm British. You will say yourself straight say yes I'm in England, I'm British. (Bintu, family migrant, Sierra Leone)

In Bintu's case, it was the citizenship ceremony itself that confirmed the fact that she had become British. It is evident that the venue contributed towards this feeling, which she was able to associate with her new British identity. Her ceremony took place in Bradford City Hall, which I described in my field notes as:

A grand and somewhat imposing building in the city centre… Getting to the Banqueting Hall involved climbing wide stone stairs with ornately decorated ceilings and stained glass windows. The corridor leading to the hall featured a shrine to Queen Elizabeth and cabinets full of inscribed silver trophies and plates. The hall itself was similarly grand, with carved stone frescoes and a large tapestry with the Bradford coat of arms and the words 'Progress, Industry, Humanity'. (Observational field notes, 24/09/12)

Holding ceremonies in grand buildings such as this can be used to create feelings of wonder amongst the audience, drawing on historical symbolism to reinscribe meanings (Kong and Yeoh, 1997). New citizens were directed to a particular entrance of the City Hall, where they passed by national symbols of royalty, conveying richness and splendour. The hall in which the ceremony was held was similarly majestic, alluding to Bradford's greatness by displaying its coat of arms and motto alongside the additional grandeur. This venue was symbolic of local and

national glory, conforming to the aim of the ceremony to inspire belonging at both these scales. However, as she was already a resident of Bradford, Bintu associated this more with becoming British. Entering into this building made her pause for thought, during which she appreciated the importance of what the occasion signified.

The configuration of space within the ceremony room also added to the momentous nature of the event. Public rituals are often combined with elements of spectacle, employing visual display and theatrics to inspire a sense of wonder (Beeman, 1993, Kong and Yeoh, 1997). Every local authority was instructed to display a portrait of the Queen and a Union Jack flag within the room. These symbols were provided to clarify the meaning of the ceremony by providing well known visual and oral cues (cf. Turner, 1969, Coutin, 2003). The portrait of the Queen imparted a reminder of the figurehead to whom allegiance was being sworn, acting as a symbol of enduring national values (cf. Cannadine, 1983), whilst the flag was seen as a unifying force of national achievement and pride that could be recognised by everyone. State agents considered the presence of these symbols crucial, feeling they should be universally accepted by those seeking British citizenship. This takes citizenship beyond a purely legal status, making it inseparable from concepts of the nation. These symbols were embraced by some citizens as a sign of their membership of Britain, with Yolanda and Leandre talking of the feelings this elicited:

> *I really cry you know when you see the Queen there, photos of the Queen and the flag that you know. I'm having certificate that I will live now here forever, like that, it's lovely. So you cannot explain the feeling, everything together, you want to cry, you want to smile because you're happy.*
> *(Yolanda, economic migrant, Philippines)*

> *You feel a bit more like when we were singing God Save the Queen you know it's my queen now as well, rather than theirs. So I do feel a bit*

more part of but I still do the same things, whether they're expected of

me or not I just do them.

(Leandre, student/economic migrant, South Africa)

Objects representing Britain became the 'scenery of expression' within the ceremony, providing participants with context for their actions (cf. Goffman, 1959). These also influenced the ways in which the performance was understood (cf. Thrift, 2003, Duffy, 2005). As Leandre expressed, the sense of ownership of national symbols equated with becoming a British citizen was further able to dissolve the boundary between 'us' and 'them'. For citizens engaging with national cues during the ceremony, it intensified their emotional experience. This could be considered in the light of Thrift's (2003, 2004) work on affect, where emotions created through actions have political impact. Open displays of emotion were actively encouraged by those conducting the ceremony, who felt that it was an important sign of fully appreciating a new citizenship status. This challenges ideas that rituals are designed to separate private feelings from commitment to public morality (Tambiah, 1985), with citizenship ceremonies operating on the principle that personal emotions are fundamental to developing a sense of loyalty to state and society. However, Leandre acknowledged that these feelings would not affect her practices of good citizenship, which she was engaging in prior to officially becoming a British citizen.

Displays of emotions were entwined with national ideologies. Not fully engaging with nationalist sentiment was considered by some as a failure of new citizens to truly express their Britishness. Moses, who was generally underwhelmed by the ceremony, nonetheless felt that singing the national anthem was part of becoming British:

Well I sang it anyway, I was just umm I've been singing the national

anthem since I joined the army anyway so well if you want to be part of

the nation then yeah you might as well just be part wholly.

(Moses, student/economic migrant, Ghana)

Despite generally regarding citizenship in fairly pragmatic terms, enabling an easier life for himself and his family, Moses here envisioned citizenship as belonging to the nation, an opinion perhaps enhanced by the content of the ceremony. Meizel (2006) highlights the function of music in civil religion, suggesting that in US citizenship ceremonies, the song 'God Bless the USA' is part of process of making Americans. The playing of the British national anthem appears to serve a similar purpose. Representations of the national could be considered part of the ritualised appropriation of symbolic resources, used to construct incontestable ideologies (cf. Kong and Yeoh, 1997), in this case related to national belonging. However, unlike other new citizens, singing the national anthem was for Moses part of a daily routine of banal nationalism enacted through the army, therefore detracting from its impact as part of a special, one-off occasion.

Dress was another important visual aspect of the ceremony, marking out the body itself as a site of performance and spectacle (cf. Kong and Yeoh, 1997, Rose, 1999). Given the formal nature of the occasion, abiding by the societal norm of dressing smartly was considered essential by most new citizens. Wearing the appropriate clothing created both the right feeling and impression, marking the value given not only to the event but citizenship as a whole. Individuals turning up in jeans were branded as not recognising the significance of the conference of a new citizenship status, and indeed during my observations of the ceremonies I noted that the more casually dressed tended to arrive late without guests and leave at the earliest possible chance. This could be viewed as a subtle act of resistance, expressing dissent by challenging unwritten expectations. Some went beyond simply choosing a smart outfit and used their clothing as a symbolic gesture. Corina explained this to me when we talked about her choice of dress for the ceremony:

> *Yeah white dress because I said I'm going to marry the pledge [laughs]! For British ceremony so it's my purification, white is purity so that's my intention is to wear white, I intended to wear white. Because some of my colleagues were asking me what are you wearing Corina, they were curious about it. I said I'm wearing white because I'm going to marry*

the UK [laughs]! Because white is purity is so I said ok you want to be
white you have to follow the laws. So I said you want to be British then
British really is white people so I wanted to wear white [laughs]!
(Corina, economic migrant, Philippines)

For Corina wearing white represented some key elements of what British citizenship meant to her; the importance of being a perfect citizen, and the seriousness of a commitment akin to marriage. Describing the ceremony as her purification suggests a sacred process in which she was cleansed of former affiliations, which were replaced by her allegiance to Britain. Nonetheless, she simultaneously excluded herself from ever being counted as a British person, by conceding that being British requires a particular skin colour. Her white dress could be considered a disguise and a way of fitting in, masking her feeling that she was not authentically British.

Dignitaries meanwhile frequently dressed in the traditional attire marking their office. The High Sheriff of West Yorkshire wore a velvet court dress with lace trimmings, tights and buckled shoes. The deputy lieutenants often dressed in military regalia, complete with hat, medals and sword, and mayors wore robes and a chain. This was considered important to mark out their status, as well as adding to the significance of the occasion. This feeling resonated with many new citizens, who felt privileged that a person of stature had not only attended their ceremony but moreover been willing to chat and pose for photographs with them. Their dress was also considered to symbolise British history, an ongoing part of popular culture. The West Yorkshire dignitary talked of this when explaining why he wore his military uniform to ceremonies:

People see it as making their day special. Umm and they walk in and
gosh you know there's this person looking like something from Downton
Abbey! And umm it makes them feel special which is great, it's part of
it, it's their day. It's not our day, it's their day. So I mean if they wanted

us to dress like Father Christmas I mean fine [laughs]!
(West Yorkshire dignitary)

Dress thus plays an important part in the performance of a particular vision of national traditions, a version of Britishness which resonates with that portrayed in popular media culture, such as the period television series *'Downton Abbey'*. In this quote the dignitary spoke on behalf of the new citizens, suggesting that elements of the ceremony such as the officials' dress can be actively chosen by them. Whilst new citizens were generally appreciative of the dignitary and their associated traditions, labelling the ceremony as "their day" masks the fact that the ceremony is a compulsory event, displaying pre-existing ideologies into which those attending have no input; a device of state to govern its citizens.

A countertopographical analysis reveals these mechanisms as a way of minimising the global connections of new citizens, promoting a top-down construction of national and local belonging. This is related to political anxieties that holding affiliations elsewhere will compromise loyalty to the nation, despite evidence suggesting otherwise (cf. Kivisto, 2003, Vertovec, 2007). It is only by reinserting other scales and places into the analysis of citizenship that this rhetoric can be challenged (cf. Nelson, 2004). The ceremonies can be connected to other ritualised processes in different localities and countries, which whilst operating in divergent contexts, similarly draw on symbolic resources to achieve analogous ends. This aims is to provide long-term linkages with a national/local place, constructed through communities of new and existing citizens, which is explored further in the final section.

6.4.3 Temporary communities with lasting memories

Time, as well as space, is central to the study of ritual. However, there is a dearth of literature looking at time in relation to political community (Bastian, 2014), which has been a feature of my study. Temporality links ritual to traditions, which connect the past with the present to create a future vision (Bakhtin, 1968). It has

been suggested that visions of the future of the nation are constructed on an idea of the ever-lasting present (Cheah, 1999). The sense of enduring time provided by the present is also significant in identity formation (Jenkins, 2002). A focus on 'the moment' highlights the temporary nature of performances. Whilst it is suggested that they can create a community bound by emotions, shared experience and participation, this unity may be temporary, only lasting the length of the event (Moore and Myerhoff, 1977, Fischer-Lichte, 2005). Similarly the narratives and emotions which are accepted during the time of the performance could be contested in different times and places (Kong and Yeoh, 1997, Blehr, 1999). Ritual events potentially simplify transitions, with citizenship ceremonies marking the moment of acceptance despite a lengthy residence period.

Although constructions of national identity in civic ceremonies are significant, it has been argued that the synchronicity of time in shared routines is essential to reproduce national communities (Edensor, 2006, Bastian, 2014). Temporal differences in patterns of living may thus be used to exclude 'others' (Griffiths et al., 2013). This demonstrates the mundane nature of power, with daily rhythms orchestrated by institutions as a form of control, in addition to more visible displays of authority in civic ceremonies. It was thus important in my study to consider everyday performances of identity alongside official representations. What ritual events can provide are long-term memories for negotiating an existing sense of belonging (Uzelac, 2010). This suggests a reconfiguration of identity rather than the transformation implied by many ritual theorists. I therefore expected any changes resulting from citizenship ceremonies to be subtle, building on participants' past experiences and desires for the future.

One of the purposes of rituals is to create a community bound by emotions, shared experience and participation (Somdahl-Sands, 2008). The citizenship ceremony aimed to create a community of new citizens, by extension tying them to an existing national community. This was partly achieved through the configuration of space. In the majority of ceremonies, new citizens were assigned designated seating at the front of the room, while guests were seated at the back. This process

of separation has been considered in the light of van Gennep's (1960) theorisation of rites of passage, whereby initiates are separated from society before going through a transition and being reincorporated (Damsholt, 2008, Fassin and Mazouz, 2009). On a more practical level, it also served to promote contact between new citizens. This was normally based on small signs of appreciating one another's presence, such as smiles and applause, rather than conversing at length and forming lasting connections. There was great relief that the oath and pledge were taken together, providing "*support in unity*" (Daniel, economic migrant, South Africa), whilst solidifying community formation through the speech act. For many new citizens, feeling a sense of affinity with people sharing in the experience was an important part of the ceremony.

Citizenship ceremonies tended to include new citizens from a variety of backgrounds. This was particularly the case in Leeds, where registrars frequently read out between fifteen and twenty different nationalities, and North Yorkshire, where the number of nationalities was often close to the number of new citizens. Participants generally appreciated the diversity of the group within their ceremony, leading them to reflect on the different experiences they may have had. Some new citizens commented on the backgrounds of others, referring to the impact divergent migration pathways may have had on people's reception of the ceremony. However, for citizenship officials, the ceremony was a tool for creating unity out of diversity. As a Bradford registrar expressed:

> *One of the deputy lieutenants says well you come into the room you*
> *know a citizen of this country and then when you leave the room you*
> *have become a British citizen. And that's sort of you know a very*
> *wonderful thing I think. And yeah I mean yeah it is a milestone it marks*
> *the passage.*
> *(Bradford registrar 1)*

Acquiring a new citizenship status was thus portrayed as a complete change of identity, a rite of passage dissolving difference and confining ties to origin countries

to the past. This overlooks the connections maintained with homelands, both formally through dual citizenship, and informally through social networks and transnational practices. Whilst new citizens did feel united by the event itself, this was within a framework of diversity, which recognised the different identities held by other participants. The attribution of a new status, rather than being regarded as an absolute identity transition, should be recognised as a shift in a part of a national identity, which is held alongside other identities at multiple scales.

The individual characters of spectators are significant in performance, with the heterogeneity of an audience leading to a diverse reception (Rose, 1999, Alexander, 2004). This was particularly important in the experiences of my participants, who came from extremely varied backgrounds. However, the audience do not simply absorb performances, but participate through their perceptions and reactions. This form of active spectatorship creates the ability to reinscribe meanings and contest representations. Citizenship ceremonies have been considered a process of "two-way communication" (Hagelund and Reegård, 2011, p.743), highlighting the significance of the relationship between the national context, performers and active involvement of audience. However, whilst they are supposed to be a display of national cultural values, there may be divergences between state integration discourses and migrant experiences.

Due to the diversity of audiences, the community created within ceremonies did not always take the intended form. Not all participants were able to relate to particular elements of the ceremony at the level expected. Alison explained how, along with her fellow new citizens, she was unable to sing the national anthem:

> Alison: It came to singing the national anthem and umm none of us knew it and oddly enough I wasn't expecting, I guess I didn't think about it, that we would have to sing it.
> Kate: Did you get given the words?
> Alison: No [laughs]!
> Kate: Oh no!

Alison: And we were umm I mean we knew you know the main bit and

then we're all kind of looking at each other and kind of joking saying oh

this is terrible perhaps we should've researched it.
(Alison, economic migrant, Canada)

Alison's story highlights how national symbolism can be lost on immigrants, who may not be familiar with its meanings (Merelman, 1988). Although the audience in this ceremony understood the connotations of the national anthem, they were unable to fully participate in its execution. In this case, new citizens shared a moment of feeling un-British, reinforcing their status as a group of outsiders rather than members of the nation. This demonstrates how a performance may become 'fused', failing to establish the intended connection between audience emotions and cultural symbols (Alexander, 2004).

Employing countertopography, we can theorise the transitory community of new citizens formed during citizenship ceremonies as a single site where diverse individuals with connections to multiple places are brought together for a moment in time. The ceremonies use specific historical geographies in an attempt to ground global subjects in national and local space. Words and actions create a performance in which new citizens become a single unit, masking their very different lives. In grouping them in this way, they are simultaneously separated from both British-born citizens and non-citizen migrants, demonstrating how the 'divide and rule' strategy more commonly associated with global capitalist forces may be adopted by the state. Nevertheless, the community created during the ceremonies appeared to be a temporary formation. Upon leaving the event and returning to everyday life, no relationships were maintained with members of this community, other than memories of the shared experience. The impact of being part of this short-lived community was based on the degree to which the feelings it elicited were remembered beyond the occasion itself.

Despite notions of gaining British citizenship being a 'life changing day', there was doubt by some over whether a single event could have a lasting impact on new

citizens. It is contended that successful performances must make connections with the everyday lives of individuals (Somdahl-Sands, 2008), a potential challenge for ceremonies which are deliberately set apart from normal routine. Advocates of citizenship ceremonies such as Mark Rimmer felt that more needed to be done to reinforce its influence over time:

> *I think the difficulty with ceremonies is it's a one off event. I mean it's like your university graduation, it's a ceremony that gives you a rite of passage from one place to another mentally. And very important at that particular moment in time. But actually you then tend to forget about it unless those messages are reinforced… Now I think unless we get to a stage where we can constantly reinforce your citizenship pledge you know over years, and that maybe is where that citizenship day came in… I don't think we're going to make that connection, to make it more of an integrating process. I think at the time it's probably quite a useful tool for feeling loved and wanted and integrated. But as time goes by that would erode.*
> *(Mark Rimmer, National Local Government Spokesperson for Citizenship Ceremonies)*

Whilst recognising the significance of citizenship being marked as a 'rite of passage' (cf. Gennep, 1960), Mark Rimmer felt that without a designated time to remember the day of becoming a British citizen, with its associated feelings and commitments, the positive effects on integration and belonging could be lost. His suggestion of a national citizenship day implied that this official remembrance needs to involve physical movements and speech acts to recreate the success of the one-off ritual. This supports the idea of integration as a process, rather than something that can be instilled in single acts such as the citizenship ceremony or test.

Nonetheless, when speaking to new citizens several months after their ceremonies, most of them could remember the event clearly, with some feeling that the

magnitude of the occasion made it something they would never forget. Both Abbas and Aakash talked of how memorable the citizenship ceremony was for them:

That day, I can't forget that day, third of November 2012. Like my
birthday, I can't forget that day, I've got it next to my birthday, any time
you call me, ask me my birthday, I will tell you this day too. Any time
you call me, when you ask me that day, I will tell you straight away.
Yeah. I can mark that day now.
(Abbas, refugee, Liberia)

It's just you know memorable isn't it? You have do you know this picture
oh you see I have been to a ceremony you know. Make you feel happy
you know you've done something isn't it.
(Aakash, family migrant, India)

For participants such as Abbas, having a date on which he was officially granted citizenship was enough to cement a memory of the occasion, a crucial part of the functioning of rituals (Alexander, 2004, Somdahl-Sands, 2008). Physical evidence of the day, in the form of photographs, videos and a gift, acted as an aide for remembering as well as a way of sharing the occasion with others, potentially spreading some of the symbolic and practical messages conveyed within the ceremony to a wider audience. Many new citizens that I visited had these mementos displayed in their homes, and they were often keen to show them to me, talking about them both as a representation of the day but also as a mark of achievement. They had additionally distributed them via internet sites such as Facebook, becoming part of the transnational circulation of culture and values. These material objects acted as a constant reminder of the moment, providing some of the reinforcement that Mark Rimmer was searching for. This demonstrates the corporeality of rituals, which in this case could be used as a prop to re-perform the ceremony for both themselves and others, reigniting the meanings and emotions experienced at the time. The lasting memories from such events have the potential to provide a framework for negotiating an existing sense of belonging

(Uzelac, 2010). They may also have a long-term impact on new citizens' visions of citizenship, and the country that granted it to them.

Whilst Katz (2001) believes that space is the most crucial element in maintaining and challenging power relations, this section has demonstrated the significance of time. Analysed through a countertopographical lens, we can see how the enactment of a national performance can unite diverse global subjects in a single moment. This moment is used by the state as both a display of power and an attempt to create a consensus on the meanings of national citizenship amongst its newest citizens. However, its success in reconfiguring individual relations to place is dependent on the endurance of its emotional affects over time, alluding to the importance of continuity in identity formation (Jenkins, 2002). Additionally, it must be able to provide lasting connections with the everyday lives of individuals. This once again shows the importance of bringing temporality into theories of countertopography, enabling further contour lines to be drawn between global processes occurring in local places.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at citizenship as a feeling, examining the ways in which naturalisation measures influence notions of place-belonging, national identity and collective membership. This concluding section will summarise my main findings, highlighting theoretical and empirical contributions.

Despite the celebration of migrants' simultaneity of belonging by many transnational theorists, my research demonstrates a common desire for a fixed, secure home. Home was a referent for the sense of place-belonging developed in Britain through everyday routines, the permanence of which was confirmed by becoming a British citizen. Whilst connections to a homeland were maintained by all, these tended to be primarily emotive, with Britain considered the material space of home. The pivotal role of emotive family bonds in defining transnational

homes was explored, and I argued that more attention should be paid to this alongside place-based attachments. Home as a multi-scalar concept was alluded to in citizenship measures, but this tended to be narrowly defined. Countertopography can link the multiple places within and across borders that make up new citizens' ideas of home, acknowledging how global connections are brought together in local places. I would suggest that Staeheli and Nagel's (2006) topography of home provides an ideal model for further exploring migrants' homes, acknowledging their pluri-local and multi-scalar nature.

Citizenship as a feeling was entwined with notions of Britishness. As a national identity, this was seen as a process of becoming British, both through everyday life and in the moment of citizenship acquisition. Identity, rather than being in perpetual motion, could thus also be symbolically fixed in a particular event. I would argue that theories of identity as an ongoing process of becoming need to be combined with ritual theories of identity transition occurring within the moment of a performance in order to fully understand the conditioning of national subjects' attachments. While many studies examine one or the other, few examine connections between the two. Different senses of time were also important in establishing recognition through collective belonging. Being a member of the national community was based on determining Britain as a present and future time-space of belonging through gaining citizenship. This was able to end the liminality felt by many participants, challenging studies which confine this experience to migrants with precarious statuses. I contended that temporality should be brought into countertopography, with connections between places dependent on certain times. I drew a historical countertopography of the British Empire, highlighting how this has affected current perceptions of belonging to Britain. However, the complexities of inclusion/exclusion are revealed in the fact that despite official inclusion as British citizens, a predominantly ethno-cultural conception of Britishness left many feeling excluded.

Finally, I considered the power of ritual in creating new British citizens and conveying state authority. Performing a special event worked to enhance the

significance of citizenship for most participants. This was achieved by creating the right atmosphere, through visual and oral symbolism and the configuration of space. This elicited an emotional response even from those who were initially sceptical, providing a shared moment of reflection within a community of new citizens. Whilst diverse subjects are united for the duration of the event, the success of the ceremony lies in its ability to create memories which are strong enough to influence citizenship as a feeling and practice. Drawing contour lines between places, from an individual to a global scale, is thus dependent on time, which should be incorporated into countertopographical analyses.

Chapter 7   Conclusion

This thesis has explored the role of citizenship ceremonies and tests in promoting integration and belonging, based on primary research with new citizens and state agents and my observations of the naturalisation process. I have examined citizenship as a status, practice and feeling (cf. Osler and Starkey, 2005), demonstrating how these are inextricably entwined. The final chapter draws some conclusions, using my analytical framework of countertopography to bring my main findings together. I highlight my contributions to academic literature and policy debates throughout, also suggesting areas for future research.

The first section considers how I used countertopography to illuminate connections between diverse migrants, challenging the tendency in migration studies to categorise migrant typologies. The second section looks at the geographies of citizenship ceremonies and tests, showing how countertopography enabled me to conduct a grounded analysis which connected multiple scales and places to the everyday lives of participants.

7.1   Connecting social locations

Countertopography aims to draw connections between groups who are united in struggles forged from the uneven effects of global capitalism (Katz, 2001). However, few academics have specified how these alliances may be forged in practice. Additionally, given the wide range of topics and types of analysis it has been applied to, it runs the risk of becoming so broad that it loses meaning and direction. I therefore felt that it was important to employ countertopography for a specific purpose, using it to connect subject positions by examining their entanglement in processes operating across a range of place and scales. This

extends countertopographical theory into an area which has thus far been little explored.

Following on from Conlon (2013), I have used this theory to elucidate the shared experiences of migrants from a diverse range of backgrounds. Whilst migration studies commonly categorises migrants based on migration status, nationality, ethnicity, gender, age and a range of other characteristics, my research has demonstrated many commonalities that cut across traditional identity markers. I highlighted how 'translocational positionality' (Anthias, 2008) is particularly useful for describing migrant belongings, accounting for the social and material relations which combine to produce their social location. This also enabled me to explore similarities and divergences between migrants and examine the reasons behind these. I would suggest that a countertopographical perspective could be fruitfully added to migration studies, breaking down typologies of migration. While it has generally been used to explore the lives of particular marginalised groups, I would argue that this in itself creates categorisations and overlooks the fluidity of inclusion/exclusion. My study advances its application by connecting individuals with varying levels of advantage/disadvantage solely through the processes that bind them, namely migration and naturalisation.

The first contour line drawn between participants in chapter four was their positioning as 'immigrants' as a binary opposite to being 'British'. Negative portrayals of immigration by politicians, the media and the public affected even elite migrants, with many feeling that acquiring citizenship might enhance recognition. Yet after gaining citizenship, many still excluded themselves from being 'truly' British, with birthplace and ethnicity featuring prominently in visions of national identity. Although naturalisation measures do not actively promote an ethnicised concept of national identity, they do construct a rather narrow interpretation. The new Life in the UK test defines Britain by its history and culture, whilst the citizenship ceremonies use patriotic and royalist images as symbols of allegiance. Participants related more to becoming part of the country's future than identifying with its past, suggesting that emphasis on heritage and history may be

exclusionary. I would therefore argue that naturalisation measures have an important role to play in redefining British citizenship more inclusively, promoting the contribution of new citizens towards Britain's shared future.

My findings refute post-national theories on the demise of the state, demonstrating how national policing of the boundaries of citizenship restricts both local opportunities and international mobility. Many participants applied for citizenship on the basis that it opened up prospects which were becoming increasingly difficult to obtain as non-nationals, including better access to travel, employment and education. Pragmatic motivations for citizenship acquisition tended to be dismissed by state agents, who felt these compromised the deeper meanings of citizenship. However, this overlooks the links between possessing a secure status and feelings of belonging (cf. Antonsich, 2010). Participants shared aspirations to better themselves, often through employment, yet these ambitions were frequently hampered by deskilling and precarious contracts. I used countertopography to connect negative experiences as victims of the global capitalist labour market, manifested in local areas. Given that economic integration has been found a significant predicator of other forms of integration (Aycan and Berry, 1996, Fleischmann and Dronkers, 2007), I believe that this could make an important addition to the citizenship process, which currently focuses on socio-cultural adaptation.

Whilst the concept of liminality has previously been applied to migrant groups with insecure statuses (cf. Menjívar, 2006, Sargent and Larchanché-Kim, 2006, Sigona, 2012, Bloch, 2014), my research has widened this lens to include other migrant typologies. Migrants' lives remained governed by immigration politics even after receiving Indefinite Leave to Remain, placing them in a permanent state of in-between-ness. Practically, participants found it difficult to plan for the future, particularly when their immigration status restricted opportunities available to them. Psychologically, some felt that they did not belong completely in either host or origin society, creating a fragmented sense of identity. Although a few participants regarded themselves as British citizens by default, having repeatedly

performed mundane acts of citizenship since arrival, others felt unable to fully participate in society until they had been officially recognised as British citizens. Thus the acquisition of status had important ramifications for future feelings and practices of citizenship. The citizenship ceremony marked a ritualised transition, followed by full incorporation into a society which they now felt coincided with their time-space of belonging.

Although countertopography is well placed to analyse the spatial dimensions of citizenship, it has less to say about the significance of time. Given its emancipatory aim of connecting groups in shared struggles against global capitalism, I believe it is imperative that the theory is able to account for changes in processes over time. Future studies developing countertopography could add a cohesive theory of temporality to this perspective. I have used the work of geographers including Massey (1992, 1993) and May and Thrift (2001) to develop an account of the ways in which time operates in conjunction with space to produce localised connections and global inequalities.

My study highlights how citizenship goes beyond a purely legal relationship, also creating emotional bonds between citizen and state, an area which remains underexplored in citizenship literature (Ho, 2009). I used Fortier's (2013) concept of the 'politics of desire' to demonstrate how naturalisation measures are used to separate 'desirable' from 'undesirable' migrants. As procedures for applying for citizenship become more difficult, migrants' desire for official recognition is likely to increase, reaffirming the state's desirability. The citizenship ceremonies provide an arena where new citizens are expected to display this sentiment, with the appropriate dress, behaviour and expressions proving appreciation for being granted citizenship. Whilst refugees perhaps have the most to gain from British citizenship, their accounts of the state were particularly interesting. Despite recounting desperate situations as asylum seekers due to the government withdrawing support, the gratitude they felt towards the state for granting them citizenship seemed to create distance from these experiences. For them, as well as some other migrants, the celebration of their achievements in the form of a

citizenship ceremony appeared to mask the image of an uncaring state, demonstrating the ability of rituals to hide the social power behind them (cf. Alexander, 2004). While ritual studies often examine identity transformation, I would argue that the erasure of negative experiences is a function that merits further exploration.

Indeed, another similarity between participants was widespread appreciation of the citizenship ceremony. This ritual event operated to sanctify state authority and create consensus amongst new citizens, which was concealed by the celebratory atmosphere. Nonetheless, it also acted as an important site of recognition and belonging. Contrary to MacGregor and Bailey's (2012) findings, the ceremony did appear to fulfil its purpose of enhancing the significance of citizenship, with new citizens and even state agents claiming that it prompted them to reflect on its meanings. The emotions generated by the symbolism, design and performance of the event affected even those who were initially sceptical of the process. Countertopography enabled me to theorise citizenship ceremonies as a site where global subjects were brought together in a single place, connected through the process of the state reasserting its authority by creating national citizens. The formation of a temporary community of new citizens appeared to have a lasting impact on those who attended, with participants reliving their emotive memories of the experience several months after the ceremony. Whilst studies of ritual tend to rely on observations of a single event, I would argue that this needs to be combined with empirical insights into everyday performances to judge the enduring effects of such occasions.

Although transnational theorists often celebrate the simultaneity of belonging across places experienced by migrants (cf. Faist, 2000, Kastoryano, 2000, Levitt and Schiller, 2004), my research indicates the practical and emotional difficulties of living between places. Participants often desired a stable, fixed home, which for some was created by citizenship, marking their intention to settle in one place. While translocal affiliations remained significant, the country of origin was generally reflected on nostalgically, while Britain was considered the country of

their lived present and future. However, it was the 'personal community' (Alexander et al., 2007) of the family that was the single most important entity that united participants in decisions about settlement, citizenship acquisition and return visits. Following Skrbiš' call (2008), I contend that literature on transnational citizenship should pay greater attention to the significant role of family bonds in migrant belongings. I found countertopography useful for synthesising the multi-scalar, locally situated connections that contributed towards participants' sense of belonging. I argued that Staeheli and Nagel's (2006) 'topography of home' is an ideal framework for future explorations of the home-making practices of migrants, acknowledging emotive and material factors that create different senses of home. The contribution of countertopography to theorising different scales, places and spaces is explored next.

7.2   Geographies of citizenship ceremonies and tests

This thesis has presented the first academic study of the geographies of citizenship ceremonies and tests, demonstrating how place, space and scale are crucial to their operation. Countertopography, as a geographical concept, has been a fundamental part of this analysis, enabling me to connect migrant positionalities through the common process of becoming citizens. The shared experiences highlighted in my thesis are related to wider global, national and local developments. They are partly a result of the global capitalist forces that facilitated the rise of international migration – the increased ability to move across borders, the need for flexible labour in advanced societies, the development of regional and global conflicts – that produce migrant subjectivity. However, I also highlighted the importance of national politics, a scale that is either overlooked in countertopographical analysis or alternatively viewed as a vehicle for promoting neoliberal globalisation (Martin, 2005, Rossiter and Wood, 2005, Dixon, 2011). States have in fact incorporated elements of globalisation whilst simultaneously reacting against it, strengthening border controls as part of symbolic renationalisation.

Participants were at the forefront of state control from arriving in the country and throughout the journey to citizenship, with the government dictating whether they had fulfilled the criteria to be accepted firstly as immigrants and then as citizens. This structured their expectations of integration, with many feeling that naturalisation measures were justified as necessary for 'outsiders', thus perpetuating the idea of the 'immigrant other'. Whereas literature often cites citizenship as an emancipatory force for minorities (cf. Marston and Staeheli, 1994, Isin and Nielsen, 2008), my study demonstrates the power of state governmentality in creating a consensus around exclusionary citizenship discourses. Whilst intended to reassure host populations, it may even be incorporated and reinforced by the new citizens themselves.

My analysis of the naturalisation process elucidated the ways in which citizenship is mutually constituted from bodily to global scale, with each site having the potential to reinforce but also resist dominant discourses. This is evident in the structuring of citizenship ceremonies, which are subject to a degree of local autonomy. Citizenship registrars often formed their own interpretations of the key messages of the ceremonies, frequently embracing diversity and encouraging cultural exchange as a form of integration. This multiculturalist narrative was well received by new citizens, some of whom related it to mundane experiences of mixing with people from different backgrounds. It also challenged the increasingly negative rhetoric on immigration at a national level, which is reflected in the assimilatory tone of the new Life in the UK test. This further endorses Verkaaik's (2010) findings that citizenship ceremonies may be used as a site of subtle resistance by local bureaucrats. It is therefore evident that when researching citizenship, simply examining official government policy is inadequate to understand its practical implementation. Constructing a 'topography of citizenship' (Nelson, 2004) enables us to draw connections between globalised processes, national policy and local actions, examining how they play out in the everyday lives of citizens.

Place dynamics were an important factor in the everyday inclusion/exclusion of new citizens. Whilst for some, interactions with neighbours created a sense of

comfort and ontological security, others encountered indifference and racism. Negative interactions were particularly prevalent in localities which were unfamiliar with diversity or those that had historical tensions between different ethnic groups, challenging the simplistic urban/rural binary. However, similar to Byrne's (2014) findings, there was little recognition of this in the citizenship ceremonies I attended, which focused on the region's long history of welcoming migrants. Despite purporting to deliver a welcome from the local community, the private nature of the ceremonies provided little opportunity for interacting with members of host communities. I would suggest that Britain could learn from countries such as Canada and the US, which encourage local community groups to become involved in hosting citizenship ceremonies, promoting integration and inclusion as a two-way process. Although several local councils have taken the initiative to include the host population by inviting local school children or arts groups to participate in the ceremonies, lack of human or financial resources have made this less viable. Nonetheless, by passing over some of the organisation of ceremonies to community groups, as is suggested in the guidance for Canadian citizenship ceremonies, councils could potentially free up human resources while making the ceremonies feel like more of a welcome from local communities. .
Countertopography provides a tool for examining how local areas react differently to processes of globalisation, in this case immigration. It enables us to ground the idea of 'community' in actual places, potentially challenging its portrayal as a positive, cohesive entity.

I also employed countertopographical analysis to demonstrate how naturalisation measures are used by the state to attempt to transform global agents into national citizens, symbolically erasing spatio-temporal ties across borders. However, in reality migrants retain affiliations to their origin country, with the majority of my participants maintaining social networks, cultural practices and even material investments. Translocal connections were an important factor in determining citizenship status, with some opting for dual citizenship as a reflection of possessing two national identities. However, supporting the findings of other studies (Leitner and Ehrkamp, 2006, Vertovec, 2007), I discovered that this did not

impede participation in British society, rather participants felt able to relate to citizenship in both countries as equivalent. Therefore, I would suggest that naturalisation measures need to accept that new citizens' loyalties will remain partially anchored in other places, acknowledging that this can be balanced with British citizenship. Relationships with other countries affected ideas of citizenship behaviour, with 'good' and 'bad' citizens judged according to transnational values systems, which I argued is a form of remittance which needs further academic exploration. Additionally, those who had moved from repressive regimes particularly valued the rights and freedoms afforded to them by British citizenship. I contend that, contrary to the suggestions of others (O'Donnell, 2007, Sales, 2009), a vision of citizenship founded on democratic values could be more inclusive and mindful of the treatment of migrants.

Although I rejected the concept of post-national citizenship as idealistic early on in the thesis, there were some forms of supra-national membership that emerged as significant in my study. The first was European citizenship; dismissed by some as lacking the ability to build a collective identity (Vieten, 2006, Bellamy, 2008), it was nonetheless important at a pragmatic level. The freedom of movement accrued from having a European passport was valued by participants with very different socio-economic statuses, suggesting that 'flexible citizenship' is not just the domain of elite migrants (cf. Werbner, 2002). However, with an increasingly negative political climate in the UK towards the European Union, the citizenship ceremony and test ignore the fact that new British citizens are simultaneously becoming European citizens. Naturalisation measures similarly disregard Britain's colonial past. Nevertheless, for participants from former colonies, Commonwealth citizenship was a way of asserting their right to belong in the 'mother country'. Whilst countertopography tends to focus on the recent effects of capitalist globalisation, this provides an example of a historical topography which continues to link places and people today. Failure to acknowledge these claims for belonging may result in feelings of exclusion, potentially undermining the strong sense of citizenship naturalisation measures are attempting to inculcate. I would therefore suggest that it is imperative that academic and political debates recognise the

complex web of local, national, transborder and supra-national memberships that create multiple senses of citizenship and belonging.

In chapter five, I argued that ESOL classes have a greater integrative potential than the Life in the UK test. This is because of their ability to connect different spaces of citizenship and make them relevant to the lives of students. The classes used discussion and debate to incorporate a diverse range of translocal values, with prospective citizens creating their own shared vision of citizenship. Furthermore, the classes covered everyday issues which were important to them, and were seen as necessary to improve their English language abilities. I felt that this bottom-up approach was more successful than the top-down prescriptive vision of national citizenship that was defined by the Life in the UK test. The test was less popular amongst those who took it, with some regarding it as purely instrumental, while others questioned its ability to encourage active citizenship. Although some of the everyday information from the old Life in the UK handbook was utilised, there was scepticism about the relevance of the historical knowledge in the new test. It was evident that this would not help migrants to relate to British-born citizens, many of whom would not know it themselves. This supports the proposition that it is not justifiable to impose additional requirements for citizenship on immigrants (Osler, 2009, Adamson et al., 2011, Orgad, 2011). The abolition of ESOL as a route to citizenship combined with the introduction of a more difficult Life in the UK test is likely to disproportionately affect the most vulnerable migrants, excluding them from full membership and potentially even the right to remain in the UK.

In this thesis, I have shown how investigating the making of citizens is a valuable way of exploring citizenship as government policy and everyday practice. I have contributed to the dearth of literature on this topic, using countertopography to provide a geographical analysis of the scales, places and social positions which are combined in the naturalisation process. Whilst many studies have investigated procedural aspects of naturalisation, I have demonstrated the value of consulting new citizens themselves on the citizenship ceremonies and tests. Although this research has specifically examined British citizenship, I highlighted similar themes

emerging in other countries, suggesting that my findings might be applicable elsewhere. This approach could be extended to comparative research between countries, analysing the particularities of citizenship policies which aim to structure the integration and belonging of migrants. Studying multi-layered citizenship is imperative in a globalised world, to help us understand its continuing significance in structuring translocal lives, governing national populations and defining everyday opportunities for citizens.

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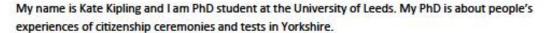
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Appendix A: Research information flyer

British citizenship ceremonies and tests

Are you in the process of becoming a British citizen?

If so, I want to talk to you!

What is my research about?

My name is Kate Kipling and I am PhD student at the University of Leeds. My PhD is about people's experiences of citizenship ceremonies and tests in Yorkshire.

Why do I want to talk to you?

I am interested in talking to you as someone who is going through the citizenship process. Very little research on citizenship has looked at the views of migrants becoming new citizens. I think that it is important that people listen to your thoughts on becoming a British citizen.

I would like to understand more about:

- Your life since coming to Britain.
- Your experiences and opinions of the citizenship process, especially the tests and ceremonies.
- Your hopes for your future in Britain.

What will the research involve?

If you decide to take part I will come to your home at a time that is convenient for you.

I will visit you three times, once before your citizenship ceremony, once shortly afterwards and once three months after that. We will chat for about an hour each time.

I will also ask you to bring photographs of your life in Britain and of your citizenship ceremony for us to discuss. I hope that you will enjoy having the chance to tell me your story.

Contact me...

Do you want to take part in my research project?

Do you have any questions?

Contact me:

Email: geo5kk@leeds.ac.uk

Text or telephone call: 07958 613925

Appendix B: Interview guide – new citizens

Interview 1

Migration journey

- ➢ Origin country
- ➢ Reason for move
- ➢ Details of journey
- ➢ Any other countries?
- ➢ Why Britain?
- ➢ Status

Origin country

- ➢ Description – positive/negative aspects
- ➢ Family and friends
- ➢ Visits
- ➢ Involvement
- ➢ Changes
- ➢ Maintaining customs

Current situation

- ➢ Time in Britain and current area
- ➢ Current and previous places of residence
- ➢ Reasons for moving
- ➢ Housing situation
- ➢ Jobs
- ➢ Qualifications

(Possibly talk about social contact and work)

Interview 2

Citizenship ceremony

Tell me about your citizenship ceremony…

<u>Before/after event</u>

➢ Preparations

➢ Dress

➢ Guests

➢ Celebrations

<u>Event</u>

➢ Venue

➢ Way it was carried out

➢ Oath and pledge

➢ Messages – national and local

➢ Meeting other new citizens

<u>Reflections</u>

➢ Feelings

➢ Significant parts

➢ Purposes – intended/achieved

➢ Impact on life

➢ Overall views

➢ What you would change

Citizenship test/classes

Tell me about your experience of the test/classes…

<u>Process</u>

➢ Preparation

➢ Support materials – books, practice questions/sessions

➢ Social interactions

➢ Examination

➢ Changed understanding – local/national

<u>Reflections</u>

- ➤ Feelings

- ➤ Purposes – intended/achieved

- ➤ Impact on life

- ➤ Overall views

- ➤ Language requirement

- ➤ What you would change

Citizenship

- ➤ Dual?

- ➤ Reasons

- ➤ Overall process

- ➤ Meaning

- ➤ Expected impact on life

Interview 3

Life in Britain

Tell me about your life in Britain so far…

- Details of time here
- Significant events
- Positive/difficult times
- Changes

Britishness

- Describe Britain
- Important features and places
- Define being British
- What does being British mean to you?
- Effects of citizenship ceremonies/classes/tests

Local area

- Describe Yorkshire, your town/city, neighbourhood
- Important places
- Settling in process
- Fitting in
- Other residents
- Participation – community groups, volunteering etc.
- How has your life changed?
- Effects of citizenship ceremonies/classes/tests

Home

- What does it mean to you?
- Describe your home life
- Important features
- Different feelings/practices than other places

Social contact

- Friends
- Spaces
- Ethnic/British-born

Work and education

- Labour market experiences – work and relationships
- Education opportunities
- Use of skills and qualifications
- Future hopes/goals

Citizenship ceremony and test

Memories, feelings and significance – potentially look through photos again as prompts

- Changes to Life in UK test

Changes from citizenship

- Have you applied for passport?
- Passport interview

Practical

- Work
- Education
- Travel
- Participation in locality/politics
- Social contacts

Symbolic

- Belonging
- Settlement
- Recognition
- Inclusion

Has gaining citizenship lived up to your hopes and expectations?

Future life

- Expectations
- Hopes and ambitions

Appendix C: Participant consent form

British citizenship ceremonies and tests

Kate Kipling

1   I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.   ☐

2   I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.   ☐

3   I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential.
I give permission for the researcher to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.   ☐

4   I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research   ☐

5   I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform the researcher should my contact details change.   ☐

Any queries please contact Kate Kipling (email geo5kk@leeds.ac.uk or phone 07958 613925)

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Name of researcher   Date   Signature

Appendix D: Participant information leaflet

Contact details:

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British citizenship ceremonies and tests

PASSPORT

Information for participants

What is my research about?

My name is Kate Kipling and I am a PhD student at the University of Leeds. My PhD is about people's experiences of citizenship ceremonies and tests in Yorkshire. This research is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

Why do I want to talk to you?

I am interested in talking to you as someone who is going through the citizenship process. Very little research on citizenship has looked at the views of migrants becoming new citizens. I think that it is important that people listen to your thoughts on becoming a British citizen. This research could inform policy on citizenship ceremonies and tests, potentially improving the experiences of future new citizens.

I would like to understand more about:

- Your life since coming to Britain.

- Your experiences and opinions of the citizenship process, especially the tests and ceremonies.

- Your hopes for your future in Britain.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you may withdraw from the research at any time.

You do not have to answer any questions you feel uncomfortable with, and you can ask me to stop recording at any time. If any issues arise that you find particularly difficult, I can provide you with the details of relevant support services after the interview.

What will the research involve?

If you decide to take part I will come to your home at a time that is convenient for you. After our first conversation, I may ask to visit you again. This would involve two more interviews, one shortly after your citizenship ceremony and one three months after that.

We will chat for about an hour each time. Although I will be asking you some questions, the interview will be informal and you are more than welcome to bring up anything that you feel we have not covered. With your permission, I would like to record our conversation.

I will also ask you to bring photographs of your life in Britain and of your citizenship ceremony for us to discuss. I hope that you will enjoy having the chance to tell me your story.

What will happen to the information?

The information you provide will be used in my final PhD report, and possibly in academic publications. It will not be shared with any other participants.

In order to protect your confidentiality I will be changing your name and any others mentioned throughout the interview, as well as any personal details.

I may wish to use some of your photographs in my final report. If you agree to this, I will take all possible steps to make sure you or others cannot be identified by these pictures, including blanking out faces.