WELCOMING AND OTHERING

Civic immigrant education in Germany and the United Kingdom

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Abstract

Welcoming and othering- civic immigrant education in Germany and the United Kingdom
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In a time when mass-migration across borders is both ubiquitous and heatedly debated, states in Europe turn to civics courses and citizenship tests to govern immigration and integration. Thus far, researchers have criticized civic immigrant education on normative grounds or have focused their investigations on individual countries. This in-depth study compares the content and structure of civic education for adult immigrants in Germany and the United Kingdom through the analytic coding of all official textbooks and test questions, 48 hours of observations in civics courses, and 41 interviews with immigrants and teachers. Operating within the theoretical framework of othering (Mead, 1934; Said, 1978), this research unpacks i) how national and immigrant identities are depicted in official civic immigrant education materials, ii) how immigrants respond to these identity depictions, and iii) what influence the structure of the education process has on immigrants' civic learning in both countries.

Findings show that national history is emphasized in both countries, albeit from different angles, and that immigrant identity depictions are partly based on othering and stereotyped narratives, which immigrants do not unquestioningly accept. It was also found that immigrants in Germany deflect negative stereotypes onto other immigrants, while immigrants in the United Kingdom challenge British identity narratives as backward-looking. Furthermore, Germany's state-provided, compulsory civics courses are appreciated, even if the content and scope are occasionally criticised. Contrastingly, immigrants in the United Kingdom demand more support for civic education, and the absence of state-provided courses results in immigrants remaining within their pre-existing communities while preparing for the Life in the UK test. Overall, a tension between the welcoming rhetoric and the practice of othering immigrants, which exists in both the content and the structure of civic education, undermines the benefits of immigrants' civic learning in the two countries under investigation.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements *2*

Abstract *3*

Table of Contents *4*

List of Figures *8*

List of Tables *10*

List of Appendices *11*

Chapter 1 - Introduction *12*

1.1. An educational process between welcoming and othering **12**

1.1.1 Research questions 14
1.1.2 Research aims 17

1.2. Background and context of the research project **18**

1.2.1 Political and legal context in Germany 18
1.2.2 Political and legal context in the United Kingdom 21

1.3. Roadmap to the thesis **26**

Chapter 2 - Literature review *36*

2.1. Introduction **36**

2.2. The self, the other, and the construction of identities **38**

2.2.1 Identity formation and othering in philosophy and social theory 39
2.2.2 Recent applications of othering in social sciences 50
2.2.3 Stereotyping, anti-Muslim prejudice, and the contact hypothesis 53
2.2.4 Summary - Constructing identities and encountering the other 59

2.3. Citizenship and civic education **63**

2.3.1 Concepts of citizenship: civic virtues and legal status 64
2.3.2 Citizenship and civic education in schools 66
2.3.3 British and German approaches to civic education 68
2.3.4 Summary – Educating citizens and teaching collective memory 73

2.4. Immigration and integration in the age of migration **76**

2.4.1 Immigration and the governance of difference 76
2.4.2 Welcoming immigrants through civic integration 80
2.4.3 Language learning and naturalisation testing 82
2.4.4 Summary – Welcoming newcomers and integrating immigrants 86

2.5. Educational assessment 89

2.5.1 Validity, standards, purpose plurality and the power of testing 89
2.5.2 Educational assessment and civic education in schools 95
2.5.3 Adult education, educational assessments and civic education for adult immigrants 97
2.5.4 Summary – Assessing knowledge and measuring civic learning 102

2.6. Conclusion 104

Chapter 3 - Methodology and research design 109

3.1. Introduction 109

3.2. Epistemological and methodological approach 110

3.2.1 Operationalising othering through the lens of symbolic interactionism 110
3.2.2 Multiple-case study design and case selection 114

3.3. Data collection methods 117

3.3.1 Documentary data 118
3.3.2 Participant observations 122
3.3.3 Semi-structured interviews 127

3.4. Coding and data analysis 140

3.4.1 Depictions of national and immigrant identities 142
3.4.2 Responses to identity depictions 145
3.4.3 The impact of the structure of civic education on immigrants' civic learning 150

3.5. Ethics 155

3.5.1 Researcher positionality 155
3.5.2 Observation research 158
3.5.3 Interview research 160

3.6. Limitations of the research design and methods 163

3.7. Conclusion 166

Chapter 4 - Identity representations in civic immigrant education materials 169

4.1. Introduction 169

4.2. National identity represented by the state 171

4.2.1 Germany: Tormented past and a commitment to the rule of law 171
4.2.2 United Kingdom: Accounts of glory from the Stone Age to the present 181
4.2.3 Summary - National history as responsibility or source of pride 191

4.3. Immigrant identity represented by the state 194

4.3.1 Germany: Rules for proper coexistence 194
4.3.2 United Kingdom: Proudly multicultural and behaviourally prescriptive 199
4.3.3 Summary - Heavy histories and the treatment of diversity 205

4.4. Conclusion 207

Chapter 5 - Immigrants' experiences of identity depictions 212

5.1. Introduction 212

5.2. National identity depictions experienced by immigrants 214

5.2.1 Germany: Understanding Germany through comparisons 214
5.2.2 United Kingdom: Questioning historical accounts 222
5.2.3 Summary – Diverse backgrounds leading to diverse interpretations 228

5.3. Immigrant identity depictions experienced by immigrants 232

5.3.1 Germany: Deflecting stereotypes 232
5.3.2 United Kingdom: Calling on the state 245
5.3.3 Summary – 'They' should or 'the state' should? 250

5.4. Conclusion 254

Chapter 6 – Impacts of the structure of civic immigrant education on immigrants' civic learning 258

6.1. Introduction 258

6.2. References to the country 260

6.2.1 Availability and allocation of state-provided resources in Germany 260
6.2.2 Diverse learners with diverse needs in British civic immigrant education 269
6.2.3 Summary – Provided or demanded? 275

6.3. Group or interpersonal learning 278

6.3.1 The Orientation Course and group learning in Germany 278
6.3.2 Personal and informal learning communities in the United Kingdom 284
6.3.3 Summary – Course or community? 291

6.4. Individual learning 294

6.4.1 Evidence of learning and linguistic challenges in Germany 294
6.4.2 Room and need for individualised learning for Life in the United Kingdom 299
6.4.3 Summary – Process or outcome? 303

6.5. Conclusion 307

Chapter 7 – Discussion of findings 312

7.1. Introduction 312

7.2. Identity representations in official civic immigrant education materials 313

7.2.1 The representation of national identity by the state 314
7.2.2 The representation of immigrant identities by the state 317

7.3. Immigrants' experiences of identity representations 320
7.3.1 Immigrants experiences of national identity representations..... 321
7.3.2 Immigrants' experiences of immigrant identity representations..... 323
7.4. Impacts of the structure of civic immigrant education on immigrants' civic learning 326
7.4.1 Relating to the country 327
7.4.2 Learning with others..... 330
7.4.3 Dimensions of personal learning..... 332
7.5. Implications 337
7.5.1 Emerging issues warranting further research..... 337
7.5.2 Teaching and testing immigrants; practical implications 339
7.5.3 Civic immigrant education policies..... 341
7.6 Conclusion 344
Chapter 8 - Conclusion 347
References.....354

Word count: 88,561 words

List of Figures

Figure 1. Key terms for this research project 16
Figure 2. UK Independence Party (UKIP) poster used during the campaign for the referendum on British membership in the EU in 2016 21
Figure 3. Ven diagram depicting the theoretical framework of this study and the three areas of academic literature by which it is informed 37
Figure 4. Theories of identity formation categorised based on the basis of the nature of the interactions with others (antagonistic or neutral) and the level at which these interactions take place (individual or group). 40
Figure 5. Adaptation of the symbolic interactionist lens to this research project showing the two levels of symbolic interactionism described by Denzin (2017)- symbolic and behavioural-, the three ways in which the levels interact, the three research questions, and the associated data sources 112
Figure 6. Multiple-case study procedure applied to this research project (adapted from Yin, 2014, p. 60) 115
Figure 7. Analytic coding process 141
Figure 8. Illustrations from 100 Stunden Deutschland representing the German welfare state including ethnic and religious minority individuals (Butler et al., 2017, p. 27) 173
Figure 9. Picture collage with the heading “All this is Germany” from the textbook Zur Orientierung 174
Figure 10. Life in the United Kingdom: A Guide for New Residents 182
Figure 11. Picture exercise from Orientierungskurs on election fraud 195
Figure 12. Pictures at the beginning of Module 3 from the book 100 Stunden Deutschland 195
Figure 13. Text box on Sake Dean Mahomet, a Bengali-born immigrant to England, who opened the first curry house in England in 1810. Page 42 of the Life in the United Kingdom book. 200
Figure 14. Outside the Jewish Museum in Berlin to which both excursions included in observation research were done 218
Figure 15. Course attendance over the duration of Orientation Course sessions (excursions not included) 263

Figure 16. Immigrants engaging in a group exercise during the Orientation Course 279

List of Tables

Table 1. Dimensions of citizenship and corresponding elements of citizenship education.....65
Table 2. Multiple purposes or uses of educational assessment and their users (adapted from Newton, 2007, p. 163-164). 92
Table 3. Documentary data sources for the two case study countries.....120
Table 4. Country of origin, age, and gender of course participants interviewed in Germany....133
Table 5. Overview of teacher interview partners in Germany.....135
Table 6. Country of origin, age, gender, and sampling technique of immigrants interviewed in the UK.....137
Table 7. Gender, age, teaching institution and teaching experience of teachers interviewed in the UK.....139
Table 8. Data sources, analytical codes, and examples of coded data addressing research question 1 143
Table 9. Data sources, analytical codes and examples of coded data addressing research question 2 146
Table 10. Data sources, analytical codes and examples of coded data addressing research question 3 151
Table 11. Overview of question types, their frequency among the 408 practice questions, and example for each question type.....188
Table 12. Overview of the data sources, codes, and the frequency of their application.....207
Table 13. Overview of the 39 applications of the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" to observation data collected in Germany 234
Table 14. Overview of the 49 applications of the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" to immigrant interview data collected in Germany.....239
Table 15. Overview of the data sourses, codes, and the frequency of their application 254
Table 16. Overview of the data sources, codes, and the frequency of their application.....307

List of Appendices

Appendix A- Data collection methods

A1. Passages from textbooks and test items (in German and English)

A2. Observation tool (adapted from Le Compte et al. (1993))

A3. Immigrant interview schedule (in English)

A4. Teacher interview schedule (in English)

A5. CUREC application, information sheet, consent form (in English)

Appendix B- Data analysis

B1. Sample interview transcript (in English)

Appendix C- Ethical issues

C1. Reflective journal observations (in German)

C2. Reflections in observation conduct

C3. Reflective journal interviews (in English)

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1. An educational process between welcoming and othering

The Age of Migration (Castles et al., 2014), in which the movement of people across borders is prevalent, has seen an increase in encounters between people, whose families have called a place their home for generations, and newcomers, whose cultural, linguistic, and religious roots lie elsewhere. In recent years, geopolitical and social developments have led European politics to be dominated by debates about immigration and integration. Such political debates have been fuelled by the so-called refugee crisis, which has seen an estimated 2.6 million people enter Europe irregularly between 2016 and 2018 (European Parliament, 2020). In another ongoing development, the British vote to leave the European Union (EU), also known as Brexit, gave rise to discussions about one of Europe's core principles, the freedom of movement of EU citizens to live and work in other countries of the union. Recent newspaper headlines raise awareness of rising anti-immigration[1] and nationalist sentiments[2] across the continent. In an article from November 2019 the British newspaper *The Guardian* for example called immigration "the most toxic issue in British politics" in the last two decades.[3]

While recent large-scale flows of refugees and the Brexit referendum shape the current nature of debates about immigration and integration, the potential for conflict that arises from the encounters of different cultural and national groups has long been acknowledged. In *Orientalism* (1978) Edward Said argues that Western identity is in fact constructed based on the notion that

[1] E.g. https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/insights/28008/the-popular-backlash-against-global-migration-is-making-the-problem-worse (accessed 10/11/2019)
[2] E.g. https://time.com/5395444/europe-far-right-italy-salvini-sweden-france-germany/ (accessed 10/11/2019)
[3] https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/nov/15/how-immigration-became-britains-most-toxic-political-issue (retrieved 14/11/2019)

the West is distinctly different from and superior to the Orient. Said adapts the theory of othering, which was originally proposed by George H. Mead (1934) as a process of individual self-realisation through the contact with other individuals, to the context of international and intercultural encounters. Said thus illustrates that group identities and the representation of these identities can be based on subjective cultural hierarchies.

Recent empirical research has claimed that policies which require adult immigrants to undergo civics courses and tests when they want to settle in a new country are based on othering (e.g. Meer, 2014). The texts of such policies in Germany and the United Kingdom, the two countries this study focuses on, allude to the notion that immigrants are an other, requiring civic education, which will "provide starting points for an individual (re-)evaluation and positioning" (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2017, p. 13). This need for immigrants to re-evaluate their position suggests a substantial difference between newcomers and the societies into which they are to be integrated. Notwithstanding such statements, politicians have also argued that civic education is a welcome to adult immigrants. Civic courses and citizenship tests are lauded as "helping migrants to find their feet and enabling members of the existing population to welcome them into their communities" (Home Office, 2002, p.22). The tension between the political rhetoric of welcoming and the requirement for immigrants to undergo a civic education process that constructs them as an other, gives this study its name.

1.1.1 Research questions

By investigating civic education for adult immigrants in Germany and the United Kingdom, this study looks at the educational components of immigrants' journeys to residency or citizenship. In both countries, immigrants have to learn about politics, history, culture, and society as well as having to pass summative civics tests called *Life in Germany test* and *Life in the UK test* respectively. Passing these tests are necessary requirements in order to receive welfare benefits (in Germany) or to obtain the legal status of permanent resident or citizen (in both countries). The significant legal, social, and economic consequences make the Life in Germany and Life in the UK tests some of the most high-stakes tests that immigrants might ever face (Loring, 2013).

Beyond current political debates about immigration and integration and the theory of othering, this study is informed by three academic research areas that are relevant to civic education for adult immigrants. Firstly, challenges that have arisen in recent years in light of more diverse populations have been explored in academic literature on citizenship education in schools (e.g. Ajegbo, 2007; Burns, 2014). Secondly, academics investigating immigration and integration policies have identified a "restrictive turn" (Wallace Goodman & Wright, 2015) across Europe, which has led to immigrants having to complete increasingly strict citizenship tests and civic education procedures. Some scholars argue, that governments use citizenship tests in attempts to regulate immigrants' behaviours and attitudes even in their private lives (Joppke, 2010). Thirdly, in the context of citizenship tests, educational assessment research is also highly relevant. Tests have a constructive power to create hard measures of what is considered right and wrong, and, in

the case of citizenship education, what qualifies as suitable and unsuitable for citizens (Rutkowski & Engel, 2010).

Inspired by current political debates and informed by theoretical and empirical literature about the construction and representation of the national self and the immigrant other, as well as academic literature on citizenship education, integration, and educational assessment, this study explores the role civic education for adult immigrants plays in the governance of difference and sets out to investigate the following research questions:

Research Question 1:

How are national and immigrant identities represented in the civic immigrant education processes in Germany and the United Kingdom?

Research Question 2:

How do adult immigrants undergoing the civic education process in Germany and the United Kingdom experience and respond to the depictions of national and immigrant identities by the state?

Research Question 3:

What impact does the structure of the civic immigrant education process have on adult immigrants' civic learning in the two countries?

Chapter 2 (Literature review) and Chapter 3 (Methodology and research design) provide more detailed definitions of the research questions and the key terms used therein. However, Figure 1 briefly clarifies some important terms that are then discussed in more detail in later chapters.

Civic immigrant education: civic courses that adult immigrants have to participate in and the final tests that they need to pass in order to receive benefits (in Germany) or to obtain residency or citizenship status (in Germany and the United Kingdom).

Identity depictions:

- the portrayal of what is foundational to the German or British national identity within the civic immigrant education materials
- the portrayal of immigrants as separate from national identity within the civic immigrant education materials

Structure: The design of the German civic immigrant education process, which requires immigrants wanting to take the Life in Germany test to participate in a civics course. Immigrants in the United Kingdom on the other hand prepare for the Life in the UK test independently and register for the test at their own discretion.

Immigrants' civic learning: How and what immigrants learn through the civic immigrant education process, here defined as consisting of i) the relationship to the state as entity behind the process and the country, ii) other learners and teachers involved in the civic immigrant education process, and iii) cognitive, active, and affective dimensions of personal learning.

Figure 1. Key terms for this research project

1.1.2 Research aims

Despite it touching the lives of thousands of people every year, there is a lack of educational research on civic education for adult immigrants. Notwithstanding the highly political nature of debates about immigration, civic immigrant education does not have to be an issue primarily considered by political scientists. The fields of civic or citizenship education and educational assessment are research fields that can offer substantive insights into the question of how immigrants are taught and assessed as new members of society.

Three main aims underpin this study; firstly, this research aims to add to the small body of knowledge about civic education for adult immigrants by bringing insights from educational research to bear. Secondly, the use of comparative methods allows for the identification of the strength and challenges stemming from the content, mainly national and immigrant identity depictions, and structure of civic immigrant education in the two countries. Thirdly, immigrants' experiences and perspectives are given attention through the use of observation and interview research.

1.2. Background and context of the research project

Germany as well as the United Kingdom have in recent years experienced sweeping socio-political developments that have put the civic immigrant education processes to the test. The "refugee crisis" in Germany and the decision for the United Kingdom to leave the European Union have brought issues of national identity, migration, and immigration to the fore.

1.2.1 Political and legal context in Germany

The "refugee crisis" of summer 2015, during which more than a million refugees came to Germany[4], made immigration and integration topics of constant debate in German politics, the media, and wider society. Chancellor Angela Merkel's refugee policy has alternatively earned her praise as "Mother Merkel", in reference to Mother Teresa[5], and the accusation that she "broke the EU".[6] Yet, the question of how to deal with large-scale immigration to Germany predates the year 2015. From the 1950s to 1970s so called guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*), mainly from Southern Europe and Turkey, were invited to provide the necessary labour force for Germany's post-war economy. Most of these so-called guests decided to stay and to bring their families with them (Coy et al., 2016). After the end of the Cold War, a wave of Russian Germans (*Russlanddeutsche*) were welcomed to resettle in Germany. It was largely in response to these two periods of migration that a mandatory integration course for immigrants was first introduced in 2005 (Brown, 2016).

4 https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-34131911 (10/11/2019)
5 https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/refugee-policy-of-chancellor-merkel-divides-europe-a-1053603.html (accessed 10/11/2019)
6 https://www.politico.eu/article/germany-broke-the-eu-migration-crisis-refugees/ (accessed 10/11/2019)

Germany's compulsory immigrant education programme was introduced in 2005 and consists of a language component and the subsequent civics component called Orientation Course (*Orientierungskurs*). The Life in Germany (*Leben in Deutschland*) test is to be taken at the end of the Orientation Course and has existed since 2008. The test serves the double function of residency and naturalisation test (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2017). A group of educational experts under the supervision of the Federal Office of Migration and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* (BAMF)) was responsible for test development. The educational researchers, who designed the Life in Germany test worked at the Institute for Educational Quality Improvement (IQB) at the Humboldt University in Berlin (Greve et al. 2009). The IQB is also responsible for the annually administered federal comparative tests in high schools and the implementation of nationwide educational standards.[7]

Over the last 15 years the Orientation Course has grown in scope to a total of 100 teaching units of 45 minutes each that cover the Modules i) Politics (officially called "Life in a democracy"), ii) History ("History and responsibility"), and iii) Culture and Society ("Humans and society"). In addition to catering to people wanting to acquire German citizenship or a permanent residency permit, the course was opened in 2017 for immigrants that had come to Germany prior to the introduction of compulsory civic education and are thought by the Office for Aliens (*Ausländerbehörde*) to be insufficiently integrated.[8] In 2017, the year during which observation research was conducted in Germany, 893.102 immigrants sat the Life in Germany test with a pass rate of 90,1% (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2018, p. 15).

7 https://www.iqb.hu-berlin.de (accessed 10/11/2019)
8 This was introduced in 2017 under § 44a.1. 3 of the German Residence Act.

A declared goal of the Orientation Course is to foster the integration of immigrants into German society. The Life in Germany test is supposed to assess whether immigrants know enough about Germany to successfully integrate. In the Meseberger Declaration on Integration, a government declaration from May 2016, integration is defined as a bilateral process, the success of which requires efforts from host society as well as from immigrants:

> Integration is an offer, but also a duty for [immigrants'] efforts. Integration can only succeed as a bilateral process. It requires the domestic populations' willingness to receive, but also the willingness of immigrants to respect the people, society, and the rules of the host country and to actively seek integration (Bundesregierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 2016, p. 1).

The Orientation Course is based on a federal curriculum, which embraces the idea of integration as a bilateral process and establishes immigrants' "duty to participate" (*Mitwirkungspflicht*) in their own integration. The federal curriculum outlines that the Orientation Course should enable immigrants to:

> analyse situations in daily life, contentious issues, and potentially conflictual decision situations from a variety of perspectives and thus to provide starting points for an individual (re-)evaluation and positioning (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2017, p. 13).

The curriculum calls for "the reflections on the mutual expectations of immigrants and the receiving society" with "clarity about scopes and limits of behaviour in daily life". Civic immigrant education aims to allow immigrants to "orient themselves and to understand their own presence in German society" (p. 38).

Both documents – the Meseberger Declaration on Integration and the federal curriculum for the Orientation Course - clarify that to the German state, integration is a process in which

immigrants are required to learn about Germany, actively engage with German society, and to be open to changing their beliefs and behaviour based on what they learn. Civic immigrant education in Germany is conceptualised as a process by which immigrants can be welcomed into Germany society through an educational journey.

1.2.2 Political and legal context in the United Kingdom

Similarly to Germany, immigration and integration are topics of immense political significance in the United Kingdom at the moment. Figure 2 shows a poster used by the UK Independence Party (UKIP) during the campaign for the referendum on British membership in the EU. UKIP claimed that leaving the EU would allow Britain to regain control of her borders.



Figure 2. UK Independence Party (UKIP) poster used during the campaign for the referendum on British membership in the EU in 2016

In the British context, it is however primarily immigrants from the EU and former colonies that have fuelled debates about how many immigrants should be allowed into the United Kingdom

and what should be expected of them.[9] While EU immigrants could previously live and work in the United Kingdom without any restrictions or visa requirements, this state of affairs is under revision since the 2016 referendum for Britain to leave the EU. Together with affairs like the Windrush scandal involving the unlawful detention and sometimes deportation of immigrants, who had come to the United Kingdom from the Caribbean[10], or reports about cheating on immigrants' language tests[11], Brexit has ensured that questions of British national and immigrant identities retain a notorious presence in the Britain of today.

The idea of using a civics test before granting British citizenship to immigrants pre-dates current political developments and was introduced in a Home Office White Paper entitled *Secure Borders, Safe Haven- Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain* in February 2002 (Home Office, 2002). In the White Paper the British government states that "migration is an inevitable reality" and that:

> If managed properly, migration can bring considerable benefits to the UK, including improvements in economic growth and productivity, as well as cultural enrichment and diversity. 'Managing' migration means having an orderly, organised, and enforceable system of entry. It also means managing post-entry integration and inclusion in the economy and society, helping migrants to find their feet, and enabling members of the existing population to welcome them into their communities (p.22).

The White Paper highlights that the task at hand is to ensure that migration and diversity continue to be beneficial for Britain. Furthermore, it outlines that the proper management of integration is an important step to economic and social prosperity. The White Paper also laments

9 E.g. https://theconversation.com/what-eu-migration-has-done-for-the-uk-103461 (21/11/2019)
10 https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-43944988 (21/11/2019)
11 E.g. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2019/05/23/thousands-people-accused-cheating-english-language-tests-win/ (21/11/2019)

that "some applicants for naturalisation do not have much practical knowledge about British life or language, possibly leaving them vulnerable and ill-equipped to take an active role in society" (p. 32). This lack of knowledge would lead to social exclusion and could give rise to polarization between communities. In the White Paper citizenship education for adult immigrants is framed as an opportunity for immigrants to acquire the necessary skills for integration into British society and as an effort to improve social cohesion in a multi-ethnic Britain.

The testing of sufficient knowledge about Life in the United Kingdom became a legal obligation with the 2002 *Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act* (Government of the United Kingdom, 2002)**.** With this Act a naturalisation requirement of "sufficient knowledge of life in the United Kingdom" was added to the 1981 *British Nationality Act* that already listed an English language requirement for naturalisation (Government of the United Kingdom, 1981). The Life in the UK test has been in use since November 2005. A year later the British government decided that passing the Life in the UK test would also be required for an indefinite leave to remain (permanent residency) starting from April 2007 (Government of the United Kingdom, 2006).

Information about the Life in the United Kingdom process is not readily available (Wray, 2013) and needs to be uncovered in online archives or through requested. According to a Home Office response to a Freedom of Information Act in 2010 the following three bodies were consulted in the design of the Life in the UK test and learning materials (Home Office, 2010). Firstly, the former *Life in the United Kingdom Advisory Group* that designed the Life in the United Kingdom textbook and had also developed the General Certificate for Secondary Education (GCSE) National Curriculum for Citizenship. Secondly, the former *Advisory Board on*

Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI), which was established specifically to advise on the introduction of the test. Both advisory bodies were comprised of experts in citizenship training, immigration and integration, community development, and English language testing. The advisory bodies conducted focus group meetings as a part of their deliberation processes. The third entity that was involved in the process was Ufi (formerly the University for Industry), who developed the test questions based on the contents of the book *Life in the United Kingdom*. Ufi was a British government programme launched in 2000 to offer online vocational training programmes.[12] Following financial difficulties and significant restructuring, Ufi was transformed into the Ufi Charitable Trust in 2010.

Since their introduction in 2005, the Life in the United Kingdom book and test have undergone two revisions; one in 2007 and one in 2013, and cover the values and principles of the UK, her history, and modern society, as well as the UK's political and legal system. In 2017, just over 123,000 foreign nationals naturalised in the United Kingdom (Blinder, 2018), almost all of which would have taken the Life in the UK test.[13] No current statistics for test pass rates are available. In 2010 however, the BBC cited Home Office statistics according to which 70.9% of test takers had passed the Life in the UK test in the past year.[14]

Speaking about the changes to the most recent version of the Life in the UK test in 2013, the then Minister for Immigration Mark Harper stated that it has "British culture and history at the very

12 https://www.ufi.co.uk/strategy (accessed 2/11/2018)
13 Applicants can for example be exempted from taking the test due to disabilities. No data on how many people sat the Life in the UK test last year is available.
14 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/8707152.stm (accessed 2/11/2018)

heart of its revised curriculum". Furthermore, he explained that "mundane" information was removed with the new test focusing on British values and principles "instead of telling people how to claim benefits it encourages participation in British life." (Home Office, 2013a). This statement highlights the political nature of debates about the content of citizenship tests in the United Kingdom, which is continued to date. Current Home Secretary Sajid Javid called the Life in the UK test a bad pub quiz and the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) recently reported that it will be revised.[15]

15 https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-49485612 (10/11/2019)

1.3. Roadmap to the thesis

To fully unpack the issue at hand, this research project begins with a literature review chapter. Subsequently, the methodology and research design are presented. Three chapters are dedicated to the presentation of the data, one chapter for each research question. A discussion chapter summarises the research findings in light of existing academic literature and outlines various implications. A final chapter presents conclusions.

Chapter 2 - Literature review

The literature review serves the dual purpose of establishing the theoretical framework within which this research was carried out and maps the current state of three research areas; i) citizenship and civic education, ii) immigration and integration, iii) educational assessment.

As was indicated in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, othering is a popular feature of the rhetoric around civic education for adult immigrants. To establish the theoretical framework of this study, the literature review chapter begins with a survey of theories about the construction of identities (e.g. Hegel's master-slave dialectic and G.H. Mead's stipulation that the self is conceptualised in response to others) and the socio-cultural power dynamics common in Western treatments of the other (presented by Edward Said in *Orientalism*). The section also outlines modern application of the theory of othering, including in educational research (e.g. Fitzsimons, 2017), with a particular focus on anti-Muslim prejudice and stereotypes (e.g. Morey et al., 2019).

The chapter furthermore presents academic literature on citizenship and civic education. Citizenship education is an ancient idea (Heater, 1990), the current operationalisation of which

faces various challenges in school-based education (Richardson, 2010; Heyback & Sheffield, 2014). To be able to better contextualise the civic education process for adult immigrants, the section also outlines the current British and German contexts of citizenship education, highlighting the importance given to historical narratives and collective memories (e.g. Olick, 2007)

As the German as well as the British government name integration as an ultimate goal of civic immigrant education (see Sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 of this chapter), the following section then discusses policy research on immigration and integration. A broad academic consensus exists that the governance of immigration and the management of integration has been fraught with many challenges (e.g. Joppke, 2018). Authors furthermore agree that civic integration measures, like civics courses and naturalisation tests, have proliferated across Europe in the last two decades (Wallace Goodman & Wright, 2015). The specification of desirable behaviour has meant that integration measures have become increasingly invasive and prescriptive (Joppke, 2010).

Finally, the third reviewed research area is educational assessment. This section considers the state of research on how learning can be assessed, and what the purposes of assessment can be on an individual and societal level (e.g. Newton, 2007; Kane, 2016). Particular attention is paid to research on educational assessment in citizenship education (e.g. Richardson, 2010; Rutkowski & Engel, 2010). The concepts presented by educational researchers, like those related to assessment purposes (Newton, 2017), trust in assessments (McGrane, 2010) or the constructive

power of assessment (Hanson, 1994; Stobart, 2008; Shohamy, 2014), can be fruitfully utilised to the study of civic immigrant education, which this section demonstrates.

Being positioned at the intersection of the three research fields of citizenship education, integration, and educational assessment, this research project charts new territory and contributes important insights on how adult immigrants are taught and tested in civic education programmes in Germany and the United Kingdom.

Chapter 3 - Methodology and Research Design

To illustrate how the research questions are addressed, Chapter 3 explains the study's methodology and research design. The chapter begins with a description of epistemological and methodological underpinnings and the case study research design, before it outlines the three qualitative data collection methods. The data analysis and coding approaches used to answer each research question are clarified in turn.

Symbolic interactionism is the lens through which civic immigrant education is operationalised. George H. Mead, also the father of the theory of othering, stipulated that humans understand their social environment through interactions with people, objects, and in light of actions they observe. This meaning-making process takes place between i) the symbolic level, on which the social environment is designed and expressed and ii) the behavioural level, on which individuals respond to what they perceive around them (Denzin, 2017). Applying symbolic interactionism to this study, the state can be seen as constructing national and immigrant identities and designing the civic

immigrant education process on the symbolic level. Immigrants encountering these identity narratives respond to them on the behavioural level.

The civic immigrant education processes in Germany and the United Kingdom are the two cases in a multiple-case study design, that aims to explore significant differences rather than following a replication sampling logic (Yin, 2018). Owing to the difference in the way the two countries' civic immigrant education processes are set up, the data collection methods used differ in one important aspect. Document analysis and semi-structured interviews with immigrants and teachers are used in both cases, whereas only the German case study includes participant observations, which is explained further in Chapter 3.

The three qualitative research methods document analysis, participant observations, and semi-structured interviews were chosen to enable an in-depth, process-focused inquiry. Chapter 3 draws on academic literature to explain the data collection and subsequent analysis process, including discussions of sampling techniques, research tool development, and the analytical coding approach, for which NVivo software was used (e.g. George & Bennett, 2005, Guest et al., 2013; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). While all three data collection methods have limitations and give rise to ethical issues, which are also discussed in the chapter, it is triangulation that makes this research design the most suitable and robust approach to investigate a highly complex and inter-personal process (Flick, 2014a, Bryman, 2016).

Chapter 4 - Identity representations in civic immigrant education materials

In reviewing the academic literature, the importance of a shared, historical narrative has been identified as a key component of national identity (Olick, 2007; Miller-Idriss, 2009).

Furthermore, a prevalence among politicians and the media in the West to stereotype immigrants, and particularly Muslims, as a problematic other has been highlighted as a key component of the European self-conception (Triadafilopoulos, 2011). The first research question therefore asks:

> How are national and immigrant identities represented in the civic immigrant education processes in Germany and the United Kingdom?

Chapter 4 presents data from textbooks and test items used in the two countries' civic immigrant education processes. This data was analytically coded (Cohen et al., 2017) for "national identity (state)" and "immigrant identity (state)". In both countries' national identity historical narratives play an important role. While Germany frames her "history as responsibility", the United Kingdom presents a "long, illustrious history" and places an emphasis on British values. Immigrants in Germany are presented as arriving in Germany, whereas the British depiction of immigrant identities is based on a multicultural society, to which well-integrated immigrants have long been making contributions. The juxtaposed identity narratives of *us* and *them*, which academic literature suggests is foundational to the European self-conception, is present in the civic immigrant education processes in both countries. Liberal, democratic national values are lauded, and immigrants are informed that certain practices like polygamy, marital rape, or female genital mutilation are unacceptable.

Chapter 5 - Immigrants' experiences of identity depictions

Britain's treatment of her national history has been debated and scrutinised by academics and wider society (e.g. Sherwood, 2003; Gebrial, 2018). Similarly, in Germany the national historical

narrative is not without critics (e.g. Miller-Idriss, 2009). Academics have also pointed to the fact that immigrants are aware of and affected by the stereotyped framing that they experience (e.g. Jessop & Williams, 2009; Ali, 2014). Based on this literature, Chapter 5 presents findings related to research question 2:

> How do adult immigrants undergoing the civic education process in Germany and the United Kingdom experience and respond to the depictions of national and immigrant identities by the state?

Data from observations (in Germany) and interviews with immigrants was coded for "national identity (immigrants)" and "immigrant identity (immigrants)". Findings presented in the chapter show that immigrants did not accept the national identity narratives unquestioningly. Despite the prominent role of history in both countries' identity depiction, immigrants in Germany did not engage much with issues such as the holocaust or World War Two. Immigrants in the United Kingdom predominantly disapproved of the strong emphasis on national history. Particularly immigrants from former British colonies challenged the account of the past presented in the Life in the United Kingdom book and test questions. Strongly influenced by their own backgrounds and current social and political issues like Brexit or elections in Germany, immigrants, at times, challenged accounts of national, civic accomplishments like open-mindedness and gender equality. In both cases immigrants differentiated between themselves and other immigrants, when reflecting on the depiction of immigrant identities. In Germany, immigrants deflected stereotyped content in the textbooks and test questions onto other immigrants, arguing that they themselves did not require such value-based instruction but that other immigrants did. While also

distinguishing between themselves and others, immigrants in the United Kingdom were much more critical of the state and thought that it was the role of the state to support immigrants in the civic education process.

Chapter 6 - Impacts of the structure of civic immigrant education on immigrants' learning

Beyond identity narratives, important symbolic meaning also lies in the structure of the civic immigrant education process. The small body of academic literature that exists on civic immigrant education suggests that immigrants respond to practical and logistical aspects of the structure of civic immigrant education, such as financial arrangements, availability of support, timing and length of courses, and the test-taking experience (Brown, 2016; Byrne, 2016, Bassel et al. 2017). The third research question therefore asks:

> What impact does the structure of the civic immigrant education process have on adult immigrants' learning in the two countries?

In addition to observations (in Germany) and immigrant interviews, teacher interviews were analytically coded to unpack immigrants' learning experiences in relation to i) their relationship to the country, ii) to groups or interpersonal learning, and iii) to their individual learning.

The state-provided, group-based, process-oriented civic immigrant education process in Germany is generally appreciated by immigrants, who feel that their integration is valued by the state. However, some research participants found the Orientation Course too long and attendance

was found to be irregular. Through courses immigrants were able to access the support of teachers, often on issues beyond the Life in Germany test. Yet, the course-based learning process also led to tensions between immigrants. The United Kingdom's state-demanded, individual, outcome-oriented civic immigrant education process was seen as insufficiently supportive of immigrants. In the absence of compulsory courses, immigrants tended to prepare for the Life in the UK test in previously existing social groups, thereby weakening the potential for social interactions that lies in civic immigrant education. In both countries, immigrants acquired new knowledge, reflected on their social position, and often felt a sense of achievement or pride after having successfully completed the civic immigrant education process.

Chapter 7 - Discussion of findings

Chapter 7 summarises and discusses the findings of the previous three chapters in the light of existing academic research. Overall, an inconsistency seems to exist between a welcoming rhetoric and a policy practice of civic immigrant education, which is based on othering. In Germany a national, historical narrative that is founded on guilt is not heard by immigrants. Much rather, immigrants respond to those aspects of civic immigrant education that are a normative, value-based instruction about culture and society by deflecting prejudice and stereotypes onto other immigrants. A civic immigrant education process that provides much financial and learning support succeeds on the symbolic level of behavioural interactionism to make immigrants feel appreciated. However, on the behavioural level, course attendance and participation are problematic, some immigrants find the course too long or burdensome, and inter-immigrant tensions are frequent.

Despite the written commitment to multiculturalism that is found in the Life in the UK book, British civic immigrant education is based on a historical narrative that is non-inclusive and a discourse of British values. Immigrants respond to the depiction of national and immigrant identities with criticism, often based on their own experiences outside of the civic immigrant education context. Immigrants in the United Kingdom undergo a process for which no financial and little learning support are available, which carries symbolic meaning. On the behavioural level immigrants therefore react with scepticism and demand more state support for civic immigrant education while remaining within pre-existing social groups. This shows that the power of citizenship tests to facilitate a reconstruction of a successful test taker's identity as a member of the national community, which could foster feelings of belonging, is not fully harnessed in the British context.

This study identifies implications for future research, such as further investigations of the benefits and challenges of compulsory civics courses. On the practical level, the role of teachers in the German context deserves more attention and immigrants in the United Kingdom might benefit from more readily available learning support. However, the practical implications of this research also require attention on the policy level. A further conceptualization of civic education for adult immigrants, based on the academic expertise of educational assessment researchers and scholars on adult education, might assist in making the process more meaningful and helpful to immigrants, while braving the ebbs and flows of 21st century politics.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

This research project was able to make theoretical contributions to the theory of othering in the context of civic education for adult immigrants. Furthermore, by analysing the depiction of

national and immigrant identities in Germany and the UK, immigrants' responses to these identity depictions, and the impact of the structure of civic immigrant education on civic learning, this study was able to identify strengths and challenges of the two countries' civic immigrant education processes. The theoretical and empirical contributions of the study are summarised in Chapter 8.

Chapter 2 - Literature review

2.1. Introduction

Situating this work within a theoretical framework of othering as an approach to identity formation and basing it on previously conducted research on i) citizenship or civic education, ii) immigration and integration policies, and iii) educational assessment, serves two purposes. Firstly, it illustrates how these three research fields are brought together within a theoretical framework in this study on civic education for adult immigrants. Secondly, the review of previous academic literature informs and guides the focus of the research project, thereby ensuring that an original academic contribution is made.

To establish the theoretical framework of this study, the chapter begins with a review of literature on the construction of individual and group identities, which is then extended to the relationships between national or self-identities and immigrant or outside identities. Philosophical writings from George W.F. Hegel's master-slave dialectic (1807) to Edward Said's Orientalism (1978) are discussed, before modern, empirical applications of the theory of othering, particularly in the context of Muslim immigration, are presented.

After having established the theoretical framework of this research project, the subsequent section covers conceptual and empirical academic literature on citizenship and civic education. The context in which civic education occurs in the two case study countries German and the United Kingdom is given particular attention. The following section then discusses academic literature on immigration and integration, a topic mainly investigated by sociologists, political

scientists, and linguists. Here we will see that the use of civic integration measures, like civics courses and naturalisation tests, has become increasing popular across Europe (Joppke, 2008a; Wallace Goodman & Wright, 2015). Finally, the literature review moves on to educational assessment, particularly looking at assessment theory and practice in the context of citizenship education. In addition to short summaries at the end of each section, this chapter concludes with an overarching summary of the relevant literature, in which the contribution of this research project to existing research is specified.

Figure 3 represents the three main areas of academic literature that inform this research project, bound by othering as a theoretical framework to understand group identity construction. The areas in which the Ven diagram's circles overlap furthermore indicate the prevalence of academic publications that combine concepts from these research areas.

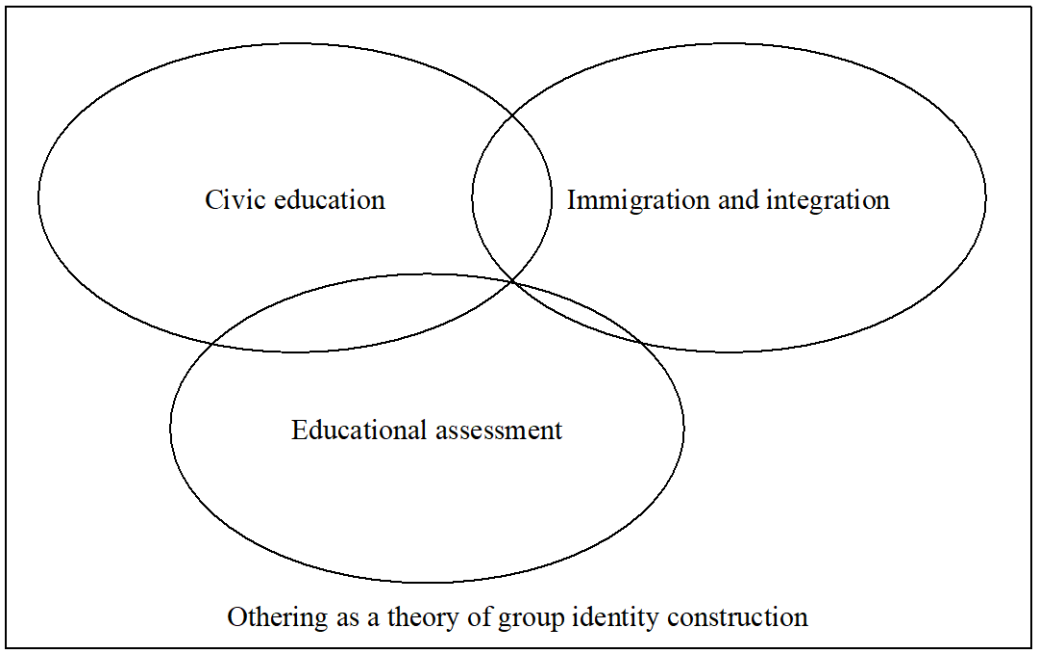


Figure 3. Ven diagram depicting the theoretical framework of this study and the three areas of academic literature by which it is informed

2.2. The self, the other, and the construction of identities

A discussion of the founding theories of identity formation and the encounter between self and other is necessary to better understand civic immigrant education as a process through which national and immigrant identities are constructed and manifested. The theoretical framework discussed in this section is an "integrated body of propositions", which is used "to give order and insight to research activities" (Denzin, 2017, p. 5).

Beginning with Georg W.F. Hegel's master-slave dialectic, the section then briefly touches on works of the continental philosophers Husserl, Buber, Heidegger, and Sartre before discussing George H. Mead's early theory of othering. Subsequently, Simone de Beauvoir, Michel Foucault, and Edward Said, who presented theories on group rather than individual identity formation, are reviewed. De Beauvoir and Said illustrate how, on a societal level, a dominant group requires an other, against which they can construct their own superior, communal identity.

After outlining the philosophical and theoretical foundations of the theory of othering, this section then moves on to present academic literature on the framing of immigrants, particularly Muslim immigrants, as the other in European political and media discourses. Together the review of theoretical and empirical literature outlines why this study suggests that civic immigrant education materials present an immigrant identity that is juxtaposed against a national identity. Immigrants are therefore othered but are also necessary for a national sense of self.

2.2.1 Identity formation and othering in philosophy and social theory

Many authors have theorised about the ways in which individuals come to develop a sense of self and their individuality as well as about the social processes through which individuals position themselves in wider society. An overview of the most relevant writings on these questions is presented in Figure 4 below. All authors listed in Figure 4 are united in suggesting that the other is crucial for the development of a sense of self. However, the theories of authors included in Figure 4 differ on two important dimensions; a) the *nature* of the attitudes that characterise the encounter with others (antagonistic or neutral) and b) the *level* at which these interactions take place (individual or group interactions). While a division along these two dimensions is a radical simplification and by no means the only possible classification of these complex theories, it is a useful way to structure the vast body of literature concerned with individual and group identity formation.

		LEVEL of interactions with others	
		Individual	Group
NATURE of interactions with others	Hierarchical/ Antagonistic	- G.W.F. Hegel- *The Phenomenology of the Spirit* (1807) - M. Heidegger- *Being and Time* (1927) - J.P. Sartre *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology* (1943)	- S. de Beauvoir- *The Second Sex* (1949) - M. Foucault – *The Will To Knowledge* (1976) - E. Said- *Orientalism* (1978)
	Neutral	- M. Buber- *I and Thou* (1923) - E. Husserl- *Cartesian Meditations: An Introduction to Phenomenology* (1931) - G.H Mead- *Mind, Self and Society* (1934)	

Figure 4. Theories of identity formation categorised based on the basis of the nature of the interactions with others (antagonistic or neutral) and the level at which these interactions take place (individual or group). Authors and their main works are listed with the year in which the works were originally published

Theories that operate on the individual level see human interactions as either hierarchical (such as e.g. Hegel) or as neutral in nature (such as e.g. Buber). On the group level however, all interactions are hierarchical because all theories see power and its exercise as central to group encounters. In the following, the key contributions of the nine authors included in Figure 4 are discussed in more detail to outline how this study conceptualises the encounter of self and other. We begin with philosophers that look at individual interactions that are hierarchical in nature, move on to theories about individual, neutral encounters, and conclude with theories that look at group encounters, the nature of which is hierarchical. Theories that are related to individual encounters (Hegel, Heidegger, Sartre, Buber, Husserl, and Mead) are primarily relevant to this

study's research question 2 and 3 that explores immigrants' personal experiences of civic immigrant education. Writings by de Beauvoir, Foucault and Said are of particular importance to research question 1 that explores the depiction of national and immigrant identities in civic immigrant education materials.

Philosophers like Georg W.F. Hegel, Martin Heidegger, and Jean Paul Sartre stipulate that humans inevitably dissociate themselves from the other when constructing a self-identity, thus leading to an antagonistic relationship between the individual and others. The master-slave dialectic, which was introduced by German thinker Georg W. F. Hegel in *The Phenomenology of the Spirit*, originally published in 1807, is considered to be foundational to all subsequent writings on self and other (Pippin, 2011). The dialectic approach proposed by Hegel is based on the idea that encounters with others are necessary for the development of self- consciousness. Through this encounter a process of disassociation begins, in which a person comes to understand their individuality and independence of mind. For Hegel the self "only has its determinateness through the other" (2018, paragraph 139). Hegel's dialectic is based on the premise that every individual will try to dominate the other in a process of self-realization. By trying to establish the self as master and the other as slave, the individual renders the process of mutual recognition impossible. Despite the seminal status that Hegel's writing holds, he has also been criticised for presenting a self-centred account of the development of consciousness, which does not appropriately consider the bidirectional influence of human encounters (Houlgate, 2015). In other words, Hegel's theory only takes one individual's existence and position into account but does not consider the second individual's position and development.

Martin Heidegger, writing a century after Hegel, stresses the hermeneutic nature of social interactions and stipulates that every individual continuously choses between a range of possible actions when engaging with others. In *Being and Time* (1927) Heidegger introduces the concept of *being-in-the-world* as a subjective process in which humans experience and interpret their environment. Being-in-the world requires the intellectual ability and willingness to engage with the social and physical environment. Through an interpretative process, individuals come to understand others as "those from whom, for the most part, one does not distinguish oneself—those among whom one is too" (1962, p. 155). Despite this focus on coexistence, authenticity or the truthful expression of the self is the highest objective for Heidegger. This focus on authenticity and self-realization made his works highly influential and generated much debate about Heidegger's work in later years (Jackson et al., 2010). Like Hegel, the theories presented by Heidegger give rise to interpersonal tensions, if one's authenticity is not compatible with that of an other.

Jean Paul Sartre develops on Hegel's master-slave dialectic in *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology* (1943). Sartre argues that the development of an understanding of self and other requires a two-step process, which consists of objectification and individuation. Sartre sees self-consciousness as requiring an individualistic Ego that dissociates itself from other beings. Sartre stipulates that in order to individuate oneself and to establish an understanding of the self, humans need to deny the humanity of the other. The inevitable result of denying someone else's humanity is the conflict present in all human interactions. Like Hegel's master-slave dialectic, Sartre's individualistic and ego-centric self-development is antagonistic in nature. However, also like Hegel, Sartre has been criticised for failing to

successfully conceptualise the perpetual processes and mutual effects of encounters between the self and the other (Theunissen, 1984).

Hegel, Heidegger, and Sartre present useful theories for how an individual develops a sense of self through encounters with others. However, if we were to understand the encounter of immigrants and German or British society through civic immigrant education in the antagonistic way theorized by Hegel, Heidegger, and Sartre, tensions between individuals of immigrant and domestic communities would be the inevitable result. Yet, not all philosophers saw intersubjective encounters as inevitably conflictual or antagonistic in nature.

In *I and Thou* (1923) Martin Buber distinguishes between two ways in which the individual can relate to others; the *I-It* and the *I-Thou*. While also drawing on the dialectic tradition founded by Hegel, Buber stipulates that the relationship between self and other is mutual and entirely reciprocal (Theunissen, 1984). The I-It is a way of relating to an other in which the other remains an abstract, theoretical object rather than taking a concrete, personal form. The I-Thou however is a dialectic process, in which the individual is involved in an ongoing exchange with another individual, the result of which is a mutual process of recognition and adaptation. Buber proposes a theory of self-formation that is not only more benevolent than the three abovementioned authors, but his work also takes into account the position of other individuals, which critics like Theunuissen (1984) claim is missing in Hegel, Heidegger, and Sartre's writings.

Another philosopher, who, like Buber, sees human encounters as nonconflictual in nature is Edmund Husserl. In his book *Cartesian Meditations: An Introduction to Phenomenology* (1931) he proposes a framework for the study of intersubjective experiences and of individual consciousness. Husserl believes that human encounters enable the development of a transcendental consciousness or the ability to move beyond individual, subjective experiences and engage with the world more objectively. A transcendental consciousness allows individuals to free themselves of the need to establish dominance over others and enables more cooperative forms of interaction, thereby overcoming the Hegelian master-slave dialectic (Zahavi, 2003). Husserl describes what he calls *lifeworld*, which are the socially constructed norms and social rules that communities set up for their members, and in which individuals learn to exist. Through their experiences in the lifeworld, individuals come to develop a sense of who they are and how to interact with others (Zahavi, 2015). However, like other authors who invoke transcendental consciousness, Husserl "only produces and does not overcome the theory of intersubjectivity" (Theunissen, 1984, p. 171) because he fails to account for the wider, social dimensions of human encounters. Intersubjectivity is theoretically conceptualised as including only one-on-one encounters, thereby omitting to address the delicate interplay of individuality and socialisation.

One author, who was able to incorporate wider social contexts into his theory of self and other is American sociologist George H. Mead. In his seminal work *Mind, Self and Society* (1934) Mead suggests that it is through direct, verbal, or non-verbal communication and through action and interaction that the dialectic necessary for self-formation unfolds. Mead moves beyond human encounters and includes objects or activities into his analytical framework of how individuals experience and interpret their social environment. Combining ideas that are reminiscent of

Buber's I-Thou and Husserl's lifeworld, Mead suggests that it is the direct, dialectical human experiences of their social and physical environment through which individuals come to understand themselves and others. While Mead believes that the process of constructing the self in response to the other occurs naturally, he also highlights that individuals have agency over the construction of their self-identity and their understanding of others. Although the five previously discussed authors made important philosophical contributions to the dialectic development of self-identity through encounters with others, Mead is widely considered to be the founder of the theory of othering as a full-fledged theoretical framework (Joas, 1985; Cook, 1993; Hannan, 2008; Jackson et al., 2010).

Mind, Self and Society was not published until after Mead's death and has since then been summarized, simplified, and outshone by later thinkers (Hannan, 2008). Scholars of Mead point out that the posthumous publication of his work lead to Mead's ideas being represented with "unreliability and imprecision" (Joas, 1985, p. 2), thereby decreasing the attention given to Mead's "complex and nuanced conceptualization of the self" (Jackson, S., 2010, p. 134). Yet, as the interest of later scholars and thinkers proves, Mead's theory of othering is a powerful framework to understand inter-personal and inter-group dynamics.

Two key principles can be taken from Mead's theory of othering as a social, hermeneutic process of identity construction. Firstly, Mead includes encounters with other human beings as well as experiences of objects and activities in his theory. Secondly, individuals are active agents, who participate in an ongoing process of evaluation and interpretation. Civic immigrant education equally is a process that heavily relies on objects and theoretical encounters, rather than personal,

intersubjective experiences, to teach immigrants about national identity. Immigrants involved in civic education are not passive recipients but evaluate and interpret these encounters.

The six above mentioned authors all present relevant theoretical contributions to conceptualise the relationship between self and other, which can be used to understand civic immigrant education. However, all ideas focus on the relationship between the self and the other on an individual level - even if Mead also refers to encounters with socially significant objects and activities. As civic immigrant education is however a process that involves a wider social group, the following section presents philosophers and social theorists, who consider the construction of group identities. Unlike Buber, Husserl, and Mead, who represent individual social encounters as non-conflictual, the three authors discussed in the following suggest that group interactions are always antagonistic or hierarchical in nature. De Beauvoir, Foucault, and Said highlight power, self-determination, and agency as crucial issues in the development of communal identities. Civic immigrant education is a context in which the state, as a dominant actor, has the power to define the depiction of its own identity as well as immigrants' identity in the civic education materials. This power inequality between state and immigrants in the construction of identities makes the following authors' contributions highlight relevant to the theoretical framework of this study.

Simone de Beauvoir considered otherness to be a central aspect of social life. Her most important contribution to the debate on self and other was her seminal work *The Second Sex* (published in French in 1949), in which she presents gender identity as an expression of socially constructed otherness. By moving the dialectic of the self and the other beyond the realm of individuals de

Beauvoir proposes a framework to understand the process of group identity construction as an expression of social inequalities. She explains that:

> *"*One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman. No biological, psychic, or economic destiny defines the figure that the human female takes on in society […] Only the intervention of someone else can establish an individual as an Other." (1997, p. 295)

De Beauvoir argues that the role of women in society and the female identity are constructed by men as a counter-image to the male identity. Power inequalities and social hierarchies are therefore central to and expressed in the construction of identities. According to the theory presented by de Beauvoir "if the other is a threat to the self, then woman is a threat to man. Therefore, if man wishes to remain free, he must subordinate woman to him" (Tong & Botts, 2017, p. 234). Accordingly, just as the other is constitutive to the individual self in all above-mentioned theories, de Beauvoir illustrates how women are necessary for men's self-identity as a social group. Analogous to women's identity being defined by socially dominant men, immigrants have limited agency over the way their identity is defined and presented in civic immigrant education. Immigrants undergoing the civic immigrant education process do not have the opportunity to question or redefine the way they are depicted in textbooks, tests, or civics courses.

Another author who is concerned with power inequalities and the governance of the behaviour of certain groups in society is French philosopher and social theorists Michele Foucault. He introduces the concept of *biopower,* the techniques and mechanisms by which governments manage their citizens' bodies and behaviours (*The Will To Knowledge*, Foucault's first volume of The History of Sexuality (1976)). Foucault is less concerned with the construction of identities

and focuses more on the state's intrusive governance of individuals. In his lecture series *Society Must Be Defended* (1975-76) at the College de France, Foucault also discussed how state racism and biopolitics can coincide in targeted government policies that aim to align immigrant behaviours with those behaviours deemed more desirable by the state. Foucault's ideas about how governments manage and regulate specific parts of the population are highly relevant for this study. Civic immigrant education is a process by which immigrants are guided in their integration through the acquisition of new knowledge and the adaptation to dominant behaviours[16]. Immigrants are thus undergoing a state-led educational process that aims to change their behaviour, which is an expression of Foucault's biopower.

A final key author, who presented a social theory on the construction of group identities as a counter-image of those in power, is Edward Said. In his seminal work *Orientalism* (1978) Said argues that Western identity is constructed in opposition to the socio-culturally inferior Oriental. According to him the claim of white superiority justifies, or even necessitates, colonial domination. The process of othering as described by Said acts both on the colonizer, who take up the white men's burden, and on the colonized, who might even come to see themselves as recipients of Western tutelage and protection. Like de Beauvoir's writings on gender inequalities, Said argues that the Western engagement with the Oriental other is "a discourse that is produced and exists in an uneven exchange" (p. 12). This exchange between West and East is based on four believes about the weaker Oriental, who is inferior in terms of i) power political, ii) power

16 The German ministry of the Interior states that civic education aims to "provide starting points for an individual (re-)evaluation and positioning" in German society (BMI, 2017, p. 13). The British Home Office introduces the Life in the UK test with the intention manage integration and to "build firmer foundations on which integration with diversity can be achieved" Home Office, 2002, Foreword).

intellectual, iii) power cultural, and iv) power moral (p. 12-13). Thus conceptualised, the Oriental is politically and intellectually dominated by the superior West. Cultural and moral inferiority arise because the values, believes, and practices of Orientals are "backward, degenerate, uncivilized, and retarded" (p. 204). "The Oriental was thus linked to elements in Western society (delinquents, the insane, women, the poor) having in common an identity best described as lamentably alien", who stands apart, and should be kept separate from mainstream society (p. 204).

Said, in related but different ways to other postcolonial authors like Frantz Fanon (Go, 2016), introduces culture as an important element into the theory of othering. By presenting a framework to understanding culture and its representation as "a critical force in social and political power", Said laid the foundations for a theory of the hierarchy of cultures (Gearon, 2001, p. 99). However, despite his wide acclaim, Said has also been criticized for a selective representation of colonial history. Varisco (2007) for example claims that Said ignores the appreciation and respect that some in the West had for oriental cultures and civilizations. As is discussed in the following sections of this literature review, Said's work on othering, identity narratives, and power imbalances is highly applicable to the civic immigrant education process.

The above-mentioned authors, from Hegel in the early 19th to Said in the late 20th century, present very relevant theories about how social interactions lead to the development of self-identities, either on an individual or group level. While their opinions differ on the nature of these interactions (neutral or antagonistic/hierarchical), all authors build on the Hegelian dialectic, which conceptualises the other as constitutive of the self. De Beauvoir, Foucault, and

Said's writings present theories on how the unequal power dynamic between two groups allows one dominant group (men, the state, colonizers) to construct the identity of the other, such as women or Orientals. Encounters of the self and the other, of dominant and subjugated identities, and the theory put forth by Said in *Orientalism* are a widely present aspect of today's treatment of immigrants, as the next section illustrates.

2.2.2 Recent applications of othering in social sciences

Beyond its philosophical significance, identity narratives and othering have become much-researched aspects of current societal tensions. Particularly othering, as a process of juxtaposing a superior self to an inferior other, is used as a theoretical lens in various social sciences, such as sociology, anthropology, and criminology (Given, 2008). This section looks at recent additions to the theory of othering, its role in national and cultural identity formation, and the use of othering in the European immigration context.

Drawing on the works of George H. Mead, Jackson et al. (2010) explain that othering is a highly useful theory for social scientists that investigate the relationship between individuals or groups and wider society. The theory of othering has however been further developed by authors following in Mead and Said's footsteps, who define othering as an "expression of prejudice on the basis of group identities" and a "frame that reveals a set of common processes and conditions that propagate group-based inequality and marginality" (Powell, 2015, p. 17).

The pre-eminent sociological criminologist Jock Young uses othering as a theoretical concept and, in *The Vertigo of late Modernity* (2007), introduces the distinction between conservative

and liberal othering. He considers othering as a process emblematic of a globalized and capitalist society, in which the market perpetuates social and economic inequalities (Carlen, 2014). Young (2007) claims that in conservative othering all individuals are classified as other that display deviating characteristics from the norm established by white, heterosexual males. This form of othering is "a conservative demonization which projects negative attributes on the other and thereby grants positive attributes to oneself" (Young, 2007, p. 6). Liberal othering on the other hand, frames the other as lacking crucial virtues and skills. However, unlike in conservative othering, the shortcomings of the other are seen as the result of material and cultural deprivation, not as an insurmountable difference. He furthermore explains that liberal othering is based on the assumption that "'they' are not so much different from us as suffering from a material or moral deficit […]. Their deviance is seen as a product of this deficit that can be remedied through education and the opportunity of work" (p. 6). It is assumed that through the improvement of material circumstances and education 'they' could become like 'us'. Civic immigrant education is thus an example of liberal othering. The process of civic immigrant education presupposes that adult immigrants can become citizens by participating in education and passing a test.

Othering, be it based on conservative or liberal motivations, has also been written about as a crucial practice in the construction of Western or European identity. Often basing themselves on the work of postcolonial authors like Said, many scholars argue that othering was a key element in the construction of a liberal, enlightened Western identity. Jacques Derrida for example is concerned with the dangers of a too narrowly defined European identity. In *The Other Heading (1992)* he argues that Europe's recent history is full of horrendous crimes that have been committed in the name of identity. For Derrida racism, anti-Semitism, or nationalism are the

expressions of an unquestioning and perverted application of enlightenment values. At the wake of debates about multiculturalism Derrida urges for Europe to acknowledge that it is not only responsible for the other, but that the other is a constituent part of European identity. The question of how much room and weight is given to non-European identities in civic immigrant education is one of the main points of contestation among politicians and is explored in this research project.

Scholars have furthermore suggested that countries across Europe rely on othering as a means of constructing a national identity and a distinctly different immigrant identity (Arfire, 2011; Jensen & Rasmussen, 2011; Mikander, 2012). Telling a carefully crafted narrative of Europe as the bastion of liberal values and progress portrays European nations as culturally and socially superior. To circumvent ethnic or racial justifications for immigration control, governments have adopted othering to frame their societies as tolerant and liberal, while immigrants lack these qualities and therefore can only be admitted into the country under certain conditions (Triadafilopoulos, 2011). Governments are understood to paint immigrants as a culturally inferior group apart from mainstream society that are unable, and often unwilling, to integrate, thereby bringing about their framing as an other.

In *Postcolonial Melancholia* Paul Gilroy (2005) argues that the root causes for 21st century issues with immigrant populations can be found in colonial legacies, which Western societies are unable to acknowledge. He laments the "inability to disentangle the disruptive results supposedly produced by an immigrant presence from the residual but potent effects of lingering but usually unspoken colonial relationships and imperial fantasies" (p. 100). Considering Britain's colonial

past, her treatment of imperial history, and of immigrants from former colonies within British society, postcolonial theory is particularly pertinent to the British citizenship and civic immigrant education context (Dawson, 2007). The treatment of British as well as German history as a part of national identity is further discussed in Section 2.3.3 of this chapter, when looking at the contexts of citizenship education in the two case study countries.

Anderson (2013) and Monforte et al. (2018) present two publications that are concerned with the effect that the framing of immigrants as other has on integration and social cohesion. They find that immigrants, be they recent newcomers or born to immigrant parents, are struggling to integrate into a society from which they are set apart. Rather than fostering integration, the political framing of immigrants leads to tensions between immigrants and native society as well as conflicts among immigrant groups. Both Anderson (2013) and Monforte et al (2018) stipulate that it is not only the state that represents immigrants as problematic, but that recent immigration and integration policies have led to a dynamic in which more established immigrants other newer immigrants. These different forms of inter-group tensions are further explored in this research project.

2.2.3 Stereotyping, anti-Muslim prejudice, and the contact hypothesis

The most common application of othering in social sciences has been to the study of Muslim immigrant populations. While this thesis is not exclusively concerned with Muslim immigrants and Islamophobia, the treatment of Muslims as other plays an important role in European societies and in the civic immigrant education processes that this study focuses on.

Particularly influenced by Said's writing, much empirical academic work has discussed the ways in which Muslim immigrants are framed as problematic or a source of unrest in Western society. This section of the literature review first discusses the contact hypothesis, as a widely tested theory of how prejudice can be overcome. Subsequently, recent academic work on anti-Muslim stereotypes and Islamophobia in politics and the media is presented. Lastly, educational research literature on prejudice and stereotyping is discussed.

One sociological theory that has often been discussed and tested in relationship to anti-Muslim stereotypes and prejudice is the contact hypothesis. When Gordon Allport first presented his theory of how prejudice develops and can be overcome in 1979, most of his examples referred to racial tensions in the United States of America. He provides a definition of stereotypes based on the concept of otherness. "Whether favorable or unfavorable, a stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category" (p. 191). He argues that stereotypes are widely held and powerful because of their function as "a justificatory device for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group". Stereotypes can be used as a "screening or selective device to maintain simplicity in perception and in thinking" (p. 192). According to Allport prejudice could develop based on racial, religious, ethnic, economic, or gender differences. In the contact hypothesis he further stipulates that contact with other groups is a way to overcome these prejudices.

Because of its broad, theoretical foundation, the contact hypothesis has been used in relation to a range of prejudices. Yet, nowadays the contact hypothesis is often used in the analysis of tensions between mainstream society and Muslim immigrants. Savelkoul et al. (2011) for

example tested the contact hypothesis and found that an increase in ethnic minority individuals in the Netherlands had led to augmented feelings of being threatened among Dutch people. At the same time, they found that having Muslim colleagues, so direct social contact, reduced anti-Muslim sentiments. However, other studies found that increased intergroup contact does not reduce prejudice and animosity. Agirdag et al. (2012) for example found that Belgian teachers working in schools with a higher percentage of Muslim students, held more negative opinions of Islam and of immigrants from Muslim countries.

Applying postcolonial theory several authors have also investigated the ways in which immigrants, and particularly Muslim immigrants, have become othered and stereotyped by politicians and the media in Europe. These authors do not argue that the integration of Muslim immigrants is exemplarity and without problems but they do lament that the framing of Muslim immigrants as other is a hinderance to a more successful integration and coexistence. Looking at the representation of Muslims since the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the beginning of the War on Terror, authors like Seddon (2010) and Morey & Yaqin (2011) find that being both Muslim and British is often presented as impossible. The "images that emerge and are repeated and circulated through modern channels of communication, are often little more than caricatures in which the propensity for extremism and violence of a small segment of politicized Islam is magnified and projected onto Muslim communities around the world" (Morey & Yaqin, 2011, p. 18). Using Said's theories of Orientalism, they find that anti-Muslim stereotypes are perpetuated because of a consensus between politicians and the media that paint Muslims as threatening. They argue that "rather than being descriptive and neutral" such depictions are "almost always contained within a framing narrative whose parameters are defined by questions of belonging, "Otherness," and

threat" (p. 21-22). They lament that extremism and polygamy for example have come to be seen as "Muslim issues" rather than as isolated incidents.

Fekete (2009) criticizes that in a post-9/11, anti-terror policy agenda the heterogeneous group of Muslim immigrants has been simplified into one cultural stereotype. She sees political fights over immigration control and integration policies as issues that originate in party politics but have by now transcended such political divides. Even liberal forces in society "are now part of an overtly right-wing consensus that calls for immigration controls specifically targeted at immigrants from the Muslim world." She argues that this is due to "a generalised suspicion of Muslims, who are characterised as holding on to an alien culture that, in its opposition to homosexuality and gender equality, threatens core European values". The highly political nature of debates about immigration control and about how immigrants should be brought to abandon practices deemed problematic are central to civic immigrant education and are a key concern of this research project.

Despite the academic focus on post-9/11 anti-Muslim prejudice, the issue at hand predates the War on Terror and goes beyond political and media discourses. Already in 1978 Said attested that "for Europe, Islam was a lasting trauma" (p. 59). When further investigating the roots of Islamophobia in Britain, Morey et al. (2019) find them in "colonial ventures and the movement of 'coloured' colonial subjects to the heart of the Empire in the 1950s and 1960s". Muslim immigrants are "perceived as an outsider, and a foreigner belonging to a religion that in Europe was historically associated with barbarism". They argue that anti-Muslim prejudice today continues to exist because "the threatening strangeness of the Muslim Other" (p. 167). This

strangeness is cemented though identity representations that show Muslim immigrants either as "good" and culturally assimilated or as "bad" and resisting integration.

The othering and stereotyping of Muslims has also been a focus of educational research. Welphy (2015) lamented that mono-cultural educational contexts in French and British primary schools prevent Muslim pupils from developing and embracing their immigrant identities. Parker-Jenkins et al. (2017) find that the pressure of cultural assimilation has polarizing effects on Muslim families' school choices in Sweden and the UK, with families feeling forced to choose between their Muslim identity and mainstream schooling. In a multiple-case study design Saada (2017) investigates the transition of Muslim pupils from Islamic to public schools in the UK. She argues that the complex and socially constructed identity of young Muslims in the United Kingdom benefits from exposure to different learning environments, in which assumptions about the other can be challenged. All these authors have in common that they call for more tolerant, open-minded, and inter-cultural education moving beyond the stigmas and prejudices often cast upon Muslims in Europe.

Beyond research focusing on Muslim immigrants in primary and secondary schools, there is also a rich body of research investigating adult Muslims in further and higher education. Fitzsimons (2017) presents a study on anti-Muslim racism in adult education in Ireland. She finds that teachers, who feel poorly prepared to deal with cultural diversity are more prone to fall back on racial stereotypes about Muslims as terrorists. To overcome the limitations of adult education programs in which othering is common practice, Fitzsimons demands the "re- examining [of] our curricula, working interculturally, contemplating our cultural identity and uncovering our

prejudices" (p. 276). Unfortunately, she does not elaborate on the means by which these ambitious goals are to be achieved.

Another publication focusing on anti-Muslim sentiments in the adult education context was carried out by Jessop & Williams (2009), who present an empirical study on ethnic minority students in British Higher Education. While the research participants' experiences at university were overall positive, they also reported instances of racism, particularly when the curriculum discussed culture. Another study investigating the experiences of British Muslim university students was undertaken by Ali (2014). He explored the relationship between the public and media discourse on Muslims and how these effect Muslim students' interactions with their peers as well as their sense of self. Ali found that his research participants saw Muslims as being depicted as pre-modern, prone to violence, and in oppressive gendered binaries that lead to the subjugation of women (p. 1257). Such studies provide evidence of the presence of anti-Muslim sentiments in the British education context and furthermore show how such sentiments come to encumber the relationship between British people with a Muslim religious identity and wider British society. Othering, identity narratives, and the representation of immigrants and their cultures are also at the core of civic immigrant education. Like Fitzsimons (2017), Jessop & Williams (2009), and Ali (2014) this research project looks at the influence of othering and identity narratives on adult immigrant learners.

It should be mentioned however that despite strong evidence for the negative influence of othering on the integration of Muslim immigrants, there is further empirical work that has investigated the relative success of socioeconomic, political, and cultural integration of Muslim

immigrants. Koopmans (2013) for example finds that the fact that Muslim immigrant communities are the largest in most European countries has had "little effect on socioeconomic integration, some positive effects on political integration, and negative impacts on sociocultural integration" (p. 147). He suggests that Muslims are less willing to integrate because their established immigrant communities make interactions with wider society less necessary. What Koopmans does not address however is the extent to which the stereotyping and othering of Muslims, as the largest and most visible immigrant community, may contribute to a resistance and in fact present barriers to integrate.

2.2.4 Summary - Constructing identities and encountering the other

From Hegel in the early 19th century to Said in the late 20th century, the above-mentioned philosophers and social theorists provide useful theories to understand how social interactions lead individuals or groups to develop their self-identities and to construct an understanding of the other. Whether they conceptualise human interaction as neutral or antagonistic in nature, all authors see identity formation as a dialectic, hermeneutic process. Mead introduces the concept of othering as a naturally occurring, social process during which individuals encounter their social environment (in the form of individuals, as well as socially relevant actions and objects) and thus come to understand and socially position the self. De Beauvoir, Foucault and Said's writings present theories on how the unequal power dynamic between two parts of society allows one dominant group to construct the identity of the other group. Through this process the identity of women or Orientals is constructed as a lesser counter image to men or Western society. Othering is a suitable theoretical framework for this research project that investigates identity depictions and immigrants' experiences of civic education, because othering conceptualises

social interactions of individuals or groups as a process requiring an other, while at the same time leading to a disassociation. Understood as such, civic immigrant education is a process in which the state welcomes immigrants to join the national community, as is also claimed in policy documents, while at the same time setting immigrants apart from native society by offering a civic immigrant education process that relies on the juxtaposition of national and immigrant identity depictions.

Based on the work of these seminal authors, the theory of othering has been widely applied and further developed in social science research. Young (2007) for example introduced the distinction between conservative and liberal othering, thereby highlighting that not all process through which social groups are side-lined are ill-intentioned. He argues that the difference lies in whether or not the other's shortcomings are seen as innate and insurmountable (conservative othering) or as remediable through education (liberal othering). If civic immigrant education was considered to be sufficient to achieve the full integration of immigrants into society, then civic immigrant education would be an example of liberal othering. However, based on Said's postcolonial theory, many authors have suggested that the framing of immigrants as insufficiently liberal and intolerant is so deeply engrained that full integration is impossible to achieve (e.g. Triadafilopoulos, 2011). The depiction of immigrants as other has not only led to a narrative of perpetually "postponed arrival" (Boersma & Schinkel, 2018, p. 308) but has also given rise to tensions between different immigrant populations (Anderson, 2013; Monforte et al., 2018). Other authors have argued that a negative depiction of immigrants is a fundamental building block for the construction of a European identity that is superior and in need of protection (e.g. Derrida, 1991).

Allport (1979) stipulates that prejudice could develop based on racial, religious, ethnic, economic, and or gender differences. Prejudices are "a justificatory device for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group" and that this "screening or selective device" is so powerful because it allows "to maintain simplicity in perception and in thinking" (p. 192). His hypothesis that increased intergroup contact would reduce prejudice and negative stereotyping has often been tested, also on Muslim immigrants in the education context. However, whether more contact increases (e.g Agirdag et al., 2012) or decreases prejudice (e.g. Savelkoul et al., 2011) could not be established. The contact hypothesis is considered in this study when investigating how immigrants in the civic education process interact with each other and with German and British society. This study is not exclusively concerned with Muslim immigrants or with the way Islam and Muslim individuals are depicted in the civic immigrant education processes in the two case study countries. However, academic literature on the treatment and depiction of Muslim immigrants contributes important insights into othering in theory as well as in practice. Whether linked to the post-9/11 anti-terror agenda (Fekete, 2009) or tracing it back further in history (Morey et al., 2019) prejudices of "the threatening strangeness of the Muslim Other" (p. 167), have also found their way into education (e.g. Jessop & Williams, 2009; Fitzsimons 2017).

Said and many later authors have found othering to be foundational to the construction of a European identity and to the treatment of immigrants in the West. The suggestion that German or British identities are juxtaposed to immigrant identities in the civic education process has informed the development of codes for data analysis, as is further explained in the following chapter. This literature review has also shown, most literature on the educational experiences of

immigrants in Europe either focuses on children or on individuals with an immigrant background in mainstream education, rather than on recent, adult immigrants undergoing civic education. The literature review has also unveiled that insights from educational research are rarely applied to the study of immigrant experiences, which this study aims to change.

This section introduced the theoretical foundation of this research project and illustrated the application of the theory of othering in social science research. To further outline the fields of empirical research that inform this study, the following sections present a discussion of academic literature on citizenship and civic education, immigration and integration, and on educational assessment.

2.3. Citizenship and civic education

There are two main differences between the terms citizenship education and civic education. *Citizenship* is mainly found in the British context (e.g Osler & Starkey, 2006), while *civic* is a term more commonly used by North American authors (e.g. Heyback & Sheffield, 2014). Beyond geographical preferences, there is also a difference in the two terms' meanings. Citizenship, as we will see in this section, is a legal status, which is either inherited from the parents at birth (*jus sanguinis*), is granted due to the place in which one is born (*jus soli*), or can be acquired later through naturalisation (Street, 2014). Civic or civil are those behaviours and attitudes that ensure the successful life of a community. Everyone who is a citizen might be expected to behave with civility but not everyone who is part of a civic community has to be a citizen. As the acquisition of citizenship is not the ultimate objective of all immigrants undergoing the educational processes investigated in this research project, the term civic immigrant education is used throughout when referring to the educational process of adult immigrants in Germany and the UK.

After illustrating the relationship between concepts of citizenship and civic education, this section discusses literature on practices of citizenship education in schools, which brings to light relevant similarities between teaching and testing future citizens in schools and civic education for adult immigrants. The focus of this section lies on citizenship education on a national level. How citizenship skills and global competencies are measured in comparative large-scale studies is discussed in Section 2.5 of this literature review, which focuses on educational assessment. Lastly, a survey of academic work on civic education in the German and British contexts is presented, in which different attitudes to national history and identity become evident.

2.3.1 Concepts of citizenship: civic virtues and legal status

Modern citizenship finds its roots in two concepts from Antiquity; *Republican citizenship* practiced in Athens and *Liberal citizenship* originating in Rome. Republican citizenship is based on individual duties and responsibilities (Bosniak, 2010) and is a restricted, inherited status (Heater, 1990). Aristotle defined the status of Republican citizenship as the ability to "rule and be ruled" by peers (2013, p. 85). In Rome on the other hand, the status of citizen was awarded more freely, binding together the different peoples that made up the Roman Empire (Castles & Davidson, 2000; Bloemraad, 2008). Rome's liberal citizenship is an "occasional identity" (Walzer, 1989, p. 215) based on the premise that those who obey the law will in exchange be respected and protected by the state (Bosniak, 2005).

Despite the long history of debates about the concept of citizenship, citizenship has remained "multiple, multi-levelled, flexible, shifting, manufactured and imagined" (Marshall, 2009, p. 247) and "is in a permanent state of reconstruction and redefinition" (Byrne, 2014, p. 3). These redefinitions usually relate to one of three questions identified by legal scholar Linda Bosniak (2005), i) the subjects of citizenship (*Who* is a citizen?), ii), its domain or location (*Where* does citizenship take place?), and iii) the substance of citizenship (*What* is citizenship?). The most common modern conceptualisation of citizenship is that of a membership in a social and political community (Bosniak, 2005; Joppke, 2010). Citizenship-as-membership goes beyond a purely legal definition of citizenship and can be understood as a "discursive practice" (Bosniak, 2011), which means that under citizenship-as-membership members of the community engage in social

interactions that regulate what citizenship is and how it is lived. Citizenship-as-membership is therefore a legal status as well as a set of civic behaviours.

The idea that modern citizenship is not merely a legal status is supported by Bloemraad et al. (2008), who point to 4 dimensions that define citizenship: i) a legal status, ii) rights and duties of citizens, iii) forms of political participation, and iv) a sense of belonging to the state. As Table 1 illustrates, these dimensions of citizenship correspond to the three foundational elements of citizenship education (Kerr at al., 2009). Citizenship is taught through the communication of knowledge about the state (*cognitive* level), the teaching of skills and behaviours (*active* level) and the imparting of values and attitudes (*affective* level).

Dimensions of citizenship (defined by Bloemraad et al, 2008)	**Elements of citizenship education (defined by Kerr et al., 2009)**
legal status	
rights and duties of citizens	*cognitive* (knowledge about the state)
forms of political participation	*active* (skills and behaviours)
sense of belonging to the state	*affective* (values and attitudes)

Table 1. Dimensions of citizenship and corresponding elements of citizenship education

Already the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle invoked "the influence of teaching" to foster the development of individuals' "right constitutional temper" (2013, p. 142). The rationale is that teaching the right understanding of and attitude towards the state in early years, will prompt children to grow up to become appreciative citizens, supportive of the incumbent regime and political system. However, this instrumentalist vision of citizenship education is not without critics. Callan (1997) points out that the respect for pluralism foundational to liberal democracies

is in tension with a state education system offering a self-preserving and overly prescriptive teaching of citizenship. The more prescriptive the content of citizenship education is, the more it constitutes a direct mismatch between liberal values in theory, like active and participatory citizenship, and the practice of endorsing only one, state-sponsored version of citizenship (Kisby, 2009; Coelen, 2010).

2.3.2 Citizenship and civic education in schools

Differences between national approaches to citizenship or civic education can usually be found in regard to the concept, components, or content of what is being taught. Citizenship or civic education can either take place in an individual subject, such as GCSE Citizenship in the UK, or it can be accommodated in another subject such as history, as is the case in Germany. Citizenship education also features on school curricula under labels like 'civic' or 'civics education', 'citizenship studies', 'social studies', or 'social and political sciences' (Kerr et al., 2009). As the content of citizenship education touches on topics covered in classes like history or geography, authors advocate for the interdisciplinary teaching of citizenship (e.g Crick, 1998) and argue that it is "critical to recognise explicitly the contribution of History to Citizenship" (Ajegbo, 2007, p. 84). As we will see in the subsequent section of this literature review, the treatment of national history is an important component for civic education, national identity, and narratives of belonging.

The existing literature on citizenship education highlights three main challenges with the implementation of citizenship education in schools. Firstly, curriculum developers and

practitioners of citizenship education wrestle with the need to combine theoretical teaching of citizenship with the practical implementation of what has been taught (Heater, 1990; Crick, 1998; Richardson, 2006; Förster, 2013). Lundahl & Olson (2013) point out that much rhetoric around education for citizenship emphasises individual involvement and active participation. They argue that the consequently emerging contradiction between active involvement in theory and limited opportunities for participation in classroom practice and the school environment undermine citizenship as a subject.

Secondly, authors have found that the neo-liberal marketisation of education and the proliferation of comparative testing regimes have increased the pressure on educational institutions to produce measurable outcomes, often resulting in the side-lining of citizenship-related content for other subjects. Osterwald (2011) also points out that civic education in schools is often an afterthought because of the assumption that civic learning would take place outside the school. The side-lining of citizenship education is found to have two consequences; i) civics content is pushed out of the curriculum, and ii) where such content is still taught in schools, educators seek more measurable results, by implementing summative assessment practices (Lundahl & Olson, 2013; Gloe & Oeftering, 2013; Heyback & Sheffield, 2014). The role of assessment in citizenship education is further discussed in Section 2.5 of this literature review, which focuses on educational assessment.

Thirdly, a tension exists between the nation-building potential of citizenship education and the importance of appreciating and respecting the cultural and ethnic diversity present in all modern states (OECD, 2004; Heyback & Sheffield, 2014). It is important that the sense of belonging

communicated in citizenship education should not come into conflict with the family, community, or religious identity of a student (Osler & Starkey, 2006, p. 15). Levison (1999) argues that an accommodation of minorities within national identities is foundational to any liberal democratic state. Teaching citizenship in a way that leaves minorities feeling excluded may emphasise existing social tensions (Sundström & Fernandez, 2013). Heybach & Sheffield (2014) remind us that the format and content of citizenship education are shaped by social, cultural, political, and economic developments. Current debates about the structure and content of citizenship education should therefore be understood in the context of struggles to find the appropriate balance between the desire for social cohesion and unity on one hand and the need to appreciate diversity on the other (Osler &Starkey, 2006; Ajegbo, 2007; Lehmeier, 2008). The tension between these two objectives makes decisions on the content and format of citizenship education a complex and highly politicized issue.

Be it in Germany, the UK, or elsewhere, citizenship education in schools struggles with the connection between theory and practice, the side-lining of citizenship education for other subjects and content, and the engagement with diversity.

2.3.3 British and German approaches to civic education

The non-compulsory subject citizenship in the British GCSE does not enjoy great popularity (Richardson, 2010) and in fact for the 2018 entry the Office of Qualifications and Examinations Regulation (*Ofqual*) reported that only 18,705 students in Britain took citizenship as a subject as compared to other non-compulsory subjects like religious studies taken by 260,300 students (Ofqual, 2018). In Germany civic content is taught in other subjects, particularly in History or

sometimes in Social or Political Studies, depending on the federal state (Hormel & Scherr, 2013). Beyond questions of how citizenship is taught in schools, there are issues around what the content of learning should be. The teaching of national history is central to citizenship education (see e.g. Ajegbo, 2007) because a shared historical "narrative is constitutive of identity, an instrument of politics and an expression of culture" (Olick, 2007, p. 5).

In the British case, it is particularly the treatment of the British Empire in history lessons that has attracted the attention of academics. Cave (2002) contrasts the teaching of imperial history in Japan and the UK, where little time and attention is devoted to darker parts of national history, to Germany, where a focus on past wrongs is a centrepiece of the national history curriculum. He argues however that the minimal treatment of imperial history is not a "deliberate cover-up of the facts" (p. 623) but rather due to an overly ambitious history curriculum. The time allocated for compulsory history education is insufficient for the content that is to be covered, thereby leading to an inevitable relegating of some content.

However, there are also more critical voices that argue that a lack of engagement with black history is perennial in British education. Sherwood (2001; 2003) for example finds that the depictions of non-British cultures as inferior has always been present in British education. Yet with the beginning of compulsory schooling in Great Britain in the Victorian era, race-based notions of nationhood were proliferated. She argues that while the British Empire is gone, "the education system and the books in use in schools have not improved" (2001, p. 20). Similarly, Wrenn (2003) argues that neither the history curriculum nor the citizenship curriculum in the

United Kingdom give space to black and simultaneously British identities, thereby side-lining a whole part of British society.

Cave, Sherwood, and Wrenn published articles in the early 2000s, but the reforms to the British history curriculum enacted since have not silenced the critics. Looking at curriculum reforms that gave more prominence to the teaching of imperial history, Burns (2014) raises the point that real change would require reforms not only to what is taught but also to how it is framed.

> "The issue of identity – forming and developing – becomes yet another area that has a role to play in any exploration of teaching imperial history. Writings by both historians and educational theorists reveal an on-going discourse about the historical (and continuing) effects of empire on the British people that is far from resolved. Whether a renewed focus on imperial history would help to create a cohesive identity, greater understanding, or exacerbate feelings of difference is a debate that divides commentators and is yet to be answered. The place of British imperial history in the curriculum seems important to many of the commentators cited here, but the nature of how it is taught seems to raise a multitude of questions that will keep educational researchers busy for many years to come" (p. 117).

In fact, debates about imperial history, racism, and identity politics have recently erupted in British society with calls to "decolonise the curriculum". A particularly prominent case in point is the Rhodes Must Fall campaign that was started by Oxford University students in 2015. The campaign began with request to remove a statue of 19th-centruy politician and entrepreneur Cecil Rhodes but culminated in three main demands: i) "to explicate the role of formalised education in the process of knowledge production, and its importance"; ii) "to confront how the British Empire and its legacy is both normalised and trivialised in education"; and iii) "to reorient the anti-racist framework from diversity to decolonisation, and explore what this might look like"

(Gebrial, 2018, p. 20). The Rhodes Must Fall campaign brought national[17] and international[18] attention to questions of imperial history and "has provoked more public discussion and debate on the rights and wrongs of the British Empire than any number of academic books and articles" (Newsinger, 2017, p. 70). Critics of the campaign pointed to the danger of "re-writing history" and thereby causing a loss of identity (Lemon, 2016). Developing an account of national history that is acceptable to the diverse ethnic, religious, political, and social groups within modern Britain is likely to be a challenging task and a long process (Saggar & Somerville, 2017).

Unlike the British context, where a more self-critical approach to the teaching of national history is being demanded, the German national history curriculum is based on "the politics of regret, collective memory and historical responsibility" (Olick, 2007). Pointing to the power of collective memory narratives for national identity building, Olick (2007) stipulates that in Germany one of the key objectives of history teaching is that the Holocaust must be remembered. Holocaust remembrance is combined with frequent repudiations of Nazism and elements of ritualized shame and regret. This approach to teaching about national history emerged the 1990s, when it was decided that a "past which refuses to become history" (p. 103) should be incorporated into the national identity of a reunified Germany (Fulbrook, 1999). Miller-Idriss (2009) found that national identity, and any notion of national pride, are difficult issues in Germany because of the country's role in the Second World War and the Holocaust. Presenting a study on the teaching of national history to students in vocational schools, she identifies an intergenerational tension in the definition of what national identity ought to be. She

17 E.g https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-41904800 (retrieved on 23.10.2018)

18 E.g https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/07/world/europe/oxford-students-want-statue-of-cecil-rhodes-removed.html (retrieved on 23.10.2018)

suggests that the state's efforts to make holocaust-awareness and collective memory a centrepiece of education have, to a certain extent, contributed to the re-emergence of far-right ideologies because "young Germans, born several decades after the end of World War II, still face the question almost daily of whether it is acceptable to be German" (p. 171).

Discussing the difference between the German approach to national history teaching and that used in other countries, Brown (2014) argues that "the practice of negative civic emotion varies little from the pride that citizens of other countries are asked to take in long-past military victories or cultural and political achievements" (p. 439). She claims that, if the central objective of civic education is to teach a collective historical memory, and the German memory is one of guilt and responsibility, then it is not the objective of teaching which is different from other countries but rather the framing of Germany's national history. Other countries might represent their history more favourably in an effort to instil pride and loyalty, but it is the collective nature of historical narratives that makes them powerful and central to citizenship education rather than their content.

It is noteworthy that most academic contributions about civic education in Germany are from non- German authors (Fulbrook, 1999; Olick, 2007; Miller-Idriss, 2009; Brown, 2014). German academic publications on civic education are mainly handbooks with suggestions for didactical approaches (e.g. Osterwald, 2011; Hormel & Scherr, 2013). However, despite the fact that German academics have only rarely published about civic education, there is a set of three guiding principles for civic education in German schools called the Beutelsbacher consensus (*Beutelsbacher Konses*). These three principles, that are in fact also evoked in the federal

curriculum for civic education for adult immigrants (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2017, p. 14) are i) a "Prohibition against Overwhelming the Pupil", also called prohibition against indoctrination, which stipulates that teachers are not allowed to force their personal opinions on their students. ii) "Treating Controversial Subjects as Controversial"; one-sided or artificially neutral discussions of political, social, and historical topics, should be avoided and topics should be presented as controversial, with various points of view being discussed to allow students to form their own opinions. iii) "Giving Weight to the Personal Interests of Pupils" to encourage students to evaluate their position, role, and responsibilities in wider society (Schiele & Schneider, 1977). It should be pointed out that the Beutelsbacher consensus is more than 40 years old and was developed for school-based civic education. The extent to which these principles are a suitable foundation for civic education for adult immigrants in today's Germany is further explored in this research project.

2.3.4 Summary – Educating citizens and teaching collective memory

Citizenship is an old, continuously contested concept, that evolved from antiquity to the contemporary concept of citizenship-as-membership in a state community (Bosniak, 2005; 2011). Modern definitions of citizenship encompass four dimensions, i) a legal status, ii) rights and duties, iii) forms of political participation, and iv) a sense of belonging to the state (Bloemraad et al., 2008). The teaching of citizenship is usually considered to consist of three elements, i) cognitive elements (knowledge about the state) ii) active elements (skills and behaviours) and iii) affective elements (attitudes and values that citizens should hold) (Kerr et al., 2009).

The teaching of citizenship in schools occurs under a variety of names and is sometimes integrated into other subjects, particularly into History (Ajegbo, 2007; Kerr et al., 2009). Three main challenges that the subject citizenship or civic education faces are i) to combine theoretical and practical teaching, ii) the side-lining of civic content for other forms of knowledge, and iii) the treatment of diversity. While British academics have researched the challenges that citizenship and civic education faces with a more diverse student population, civic education is not a widely research topic among German academics. However, the Beutelsbacher consensus defines the founding principles for civic education in German schools, which are i) a "Prohibition against Overwhelming the Pupil", ii) "Treating Controversial Subjects as Controversial, and iii) "Giving Weight to the Personal Interests of Pupils".

National history and collective memories are central to civic education internationally but do also play a crucial role in German and British approaches to civic education. Along with symbols and rituals, collective memory narratives represent the nation's unique characteristics (Olick, 2007). In the British context reforms to the history curriculum that increased the focus on empire and colonial history have not sufficed to silence those who call for a less ethno-centric historical narrative. In Germany the collective feeling of guilt and shame for 20th century history is foundational to the national identity and is given prominence in civic education. However, this collective guilt is being increasingly challenged by younger generations (Miller-Idriss, 2009). Considering the current inter-racial and intergenerational debates about the depiction of national history in British and German schools, it can be expected that teaching new residents or citizens a collective memory is a complex and challenging aspect of civic immigrant education.

The above discussed literature shows that citizenship is a contested concept, the teaching of which is not without its critics and challenges. The problems arising from the two different historical and political contexts of civic education in Britain and Germany have already attracted the attention of academics. However, less research has been undertaken to consider how these historical contexts impact adult immigrants who want to become citizens or residents. This study sets out to contribute new knowledge about the ways in which national identity narratives and ideals of citizenship are presented in the civic education process for adult immigrants.

After having looked at the origins and common understandings of citizenship and its place in schools as well as civic education in the British and German context, the next section presents literature on immigration and integration policies to illustrate the policy context of civic immigrant education.

2.4. Immigration and integration in the age of migration

Castles et al. (2014) call the 21st century the "age of migration", not because of the actual scale of human movement across borders but because the existence of nation states and the influences of globalization have changed how human migration is understood and governed. With the development of nation states and regulated citizenship, together with innovations in technology, transport, and communication, the monitoring and impact of migration today is different from mass migrations in the past. States have implemented a range of immigration and integration policies in an attempt to manage migration and "to re-organise and re-imagine the organisational and conceptual boundaries of a given community and [to] create capacity to include or exclude newcomers" (Geddes & Scholten, 2016, p. 14).

This section first outlines the social and political context of immigration and integration policies in Europe. Subsequently, civic integration, a set of policy measures to facilitate integration in the age of migration, is discussed. Lastly, empirical research on the educational elements of civic integration, namely language teaching, integration courses, and naturalization tests is presented.

2.4.1 Immigration and the governance of difference

In his seminal book *Imagined Communities* (1991) Benedict Anderson explores how nations have developed as linguistic, cultural, and political communities, the boundaries of which are neither natural nor permanent. Calling to mind this project's title *Welcoming and Othering*, Anderson claims that in the context of migration, the modern nation "presents itself as simultaneously open and closed" (p. 146). Through naturalisation an individual can undergo the transition from one side of the boundary to the other, from outsider to insider of the imagined

community. Becoming a citizen "reflects both legal requirements and a personal choice" (Blinder, 2016, p.5).

A rich body of academic literature has developed in recent years that investigates the causes and consequences of international migration and considers the various ways in which the coexistence of different cultural communities within one state can be managed. Castles et al. (2014) identify that the several decades of large-scale immigration have led to a backlash against immigrants and policies of multiculturalism across Europe. They argue that "the new ethnic diversity affects societies in many ways" and has raised "issues of political participation, cultural pluralism and national identity" (p. 329).

Most scholars find that immigrant-net receiving countries reacted to international migration by introducing restrictions on immigration and constricting the access to citizenship (Hollifield et al. 2014; Huddleston & Vink, 2015; Guild & Groenendijk 2016). Across Europe an understanding of citizenship and belonging based on an ethnic national identity is common, which established significant barriers for the integration of immigrants (Hampshire, 2013). However, more liberal political approaches like multiculturalism or interculturalism have thus far also failed to provide clear, successful avenues for the governance of difference (Joppke, 2018).

Policy research on immigration and integration either focuses on the national or international level and often finds that the approach and discourse of such policies actually hinder integration. Studies such as Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos (2013) investigate the intersectionality of gender, religion, race, and immigrant status in the Netherlands. They hypothesise that politicians either

have a fluid understanding of the "prerequisites of belonging", which allows "for an expression of multiplicity in identity formation" or they conceptualise belonging "rigidly, in ways that privilege an imagined "native" subject" (p. 110). Based on the analysis of Dutch policy papers they claim that labels such as immigrant or Muslim are seen to be in tension with Dutch or native identities. Furthermore they argue that the "mobilizations of gender, religious, and ethnic differences at the highest level of policy making reinforced perceptions of the gendered practices of ethnic minority women and girls (and by extensions, of ethnic minority men and boys) as obstacles to integration, enabling calls for strong forms of assimilation" (p. 128). This provides further evidence for literature discussed in Section 2.2 that claims that it is the discourse of otherness used in integration policies that perpetuate the distinction between national and immigrant identities.

Drawing on Said's theories of Orientalism, Meer (2014) finds that British naturalisation, integration, and immigration policies are exclusive and exclusionary. Similar to authors like Bosniak (2010, 2011) and Bloemraad et al. (2008), Meer draws a distinction between the legal and the social status of citizen. "While citizenship takes a legal form, it also operates socially through the reciprocal balance of rights and responsibilities that confer upon its bearers a civic status affording them equal opportunity, dignity and confidence". However, even when the legal status of citizenship has been awarded, social belonging is "exclusive in practice", because citizens with an immigrant background are excluded from the discursive space "in which political and social rights, and cultural obligations [can be] contested" (Meer, 2014, p. 510).

Fortier (2010) evaluates policies and projects that aimed to foster affective citizenship and community cohesion in diverse areas. She finds that "governments and politicians draw on the register of emotions to define good citizenship as loyalty and attachment to the nation" based on compassion and empathy (p. 19). "Proximity by design", as Fortier calls it, is however a policy objective that is misguided as well as poorly executed. Rather than actually fostering value-based, full membership in society, policies aiming to foster affective citizenship in the United Kingdom are instruments for the "management of (white) unease and 'coping' with difference" (p. 19). Further research on the integration of Pakistani immigrants in the United Kingdom (Anjum et al, 2018) has shown that the relative success or failure of integration and acculturation of Muslim immigrants can depend on the degree of agency immigrants feel over the process of their integration. Anjum et al. (2018) found that those immigrants who reported having been able to interact with British society on their own terms were more integrated on a variety of indicators, such as identification with Britain over Pakistan. Immigrants, who felt a lack of agency over their integration were found to score lower on indicators of integration.

In addition to research focusing on national policies, another body of academic literature discusses international policy convergence and the role of the European Union in integration policies. Authors like Mulchay (2011), Frideres & Biles (2012), Guild & Groenendijk (2016) find that joined declarations and expressions of intent do not ensure the consistent application of policies by all signatories. Furthermore, Hollifield et al. (2014) are particularly concerned with the long-term consequences of migration on national communities and the ever-widening gap between the goals and outcomes of immigration policies in most of Europe.

Despite supra-national efforts on behalf of the EU to regulate immigration and integration policies, the difference in immigrant demographics as well as in economic and social conditions in European member states, provides a natural limit to how effective such international policy efforts can be. In *The politics of migration & immigration in Europe* Geddes & Scholten (2016) discuss developments in a number of European countries, among which are Germany and the UK. They point to two facts that are highly relevant to this research project. Firstly, that Germany has in the last twenty years assumed a role as an immigration country after all, which led to significant reforms in her integration and citizenship law. Secondly, they point out that the United Kingdom has become a top destination for inter-European immigration, which has played a major role in recent political developments in the UK, culminating in the British vote to leave the EU. Both findings are crucial to understand the context of civic immigrant education in the two countries.

2.4.2 Welcoming immigrants through civic integration

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) highlights that receiving immigrants with a welcoming attitude is crucial for successful integration. "If the immigrant population is welcomed, it will be better able to contribute to the life of the community" (2015, p. 215). However, despite a common rhetoric of welcoming immigrants, integration policies are often only a partial or incomplete welcome to the national community (Etzioni, 2007; Bauböck & Joppke, 2010). In fact, Joppke (2008a) and Wallace Goodman (2010; 2012) find that there has been a severe tightening in naturalisation requirements and policies across Europe since the late 1990s. "States are not only adopting requirements where there once were none but they are also transforming traditionally vague requirements […] into fully defined

criteria with standardised methods of assessment" (Wallace Goodman, 2010, p. 19). Stricter naturalisation policies are what Wallace Goodman & Wright (2015) call a state push for civic integration. They define this body of policies in the following way:

> "Civic integration uses new assessment tools such as integration tests, courses and contracts. […] Civic integration is novel because of this turn towards facilitated learning and standardised measures with innovative content" (Wallace Goodman & Wright, 2015, p. 1888).

Pointing to the highly political nature of civic integration measures, Wallace Goodman & Wright (2015) suggest that civic integration policies are "politically strategic and rhetorically popular". They argue that citizenship tests and civics courses function as "gatekeeper" to citizenship rather than constituting actual attempts to help immigrants to integrate (2015, p. 1902-3).

Joppke (2010) finds that civic integration comes with "a notable tightening of individual behaviour and personal integrity requirements for naturalisation", which shows a redefinition of the state's role in regulating immigrants (p. 60). In addition to focusing on the cognitive and active dimensions of citizenship, civic integration measures can thus be seen to also target the affective dimension. The intention to use civic integration measures to manage the behaviour of immigrants is reminiscent of Foucault's biopower, with which the state tries to govern the behaviour of its citizens (Foucault, 1976). The intrusive and prescriptive elements of citizenship tests and other civic integration policies has led authors (e.g. Triadafilopoulos, 2011; Hampshire, 2013) to identify a tension between liberal, democratic values and civic integration policies. They argue that the objective of integrating immigrants into liberal, European societies is undermined by the illiberal, restrictive means by which this integration is supposed to be achieved.

In her book *Us & Them* (2013) Bridget Anderson combines theoretical and empirical arguments and compares Western societies' treatment of immigrants to that of citizens who are convicted criminals. She argues that the way in which these two groups are treated and regulated have many similarities, most importantly that they are considered as other by the state. Civic integration policies force immigrants to "endlessly prove themselves" leading to tensions with the state but also within immigrant communities (p. 15). Boersma & Schinkel (2018) present a similar argument and find that the "imaginaries of postponed arrival" (p. 308) that are frequently used in political discourses about immigration and integration are harmful.

2.4.3 Language learning and naturalisation testing

As is the case with citizenship education in school (see Section 2.3.2), teaching and testing immigrants in language and civics courses is based on the idea that the learning process would increase immigrants' understanding of and appreciation for the state (Dinan, 2007). A further similarity to school-based citizenship education is a discrepancy between the theory and practices of active citizenship (Löwenheim & Gazit, 2009). Etzioni (2007) argues that if immigrants are really to be enabled to engage with citizenship as a concept and to become active citizens, preparatory classes would have to be coupled with active engagement with citizenship outside a course setting. Furthermore, as has been discussed above in light of academic literature on British and German approaches to teaching national history, a carefully curated narrative of national history is as central to the teaching of new residents or citizens as it is to citizenship education in schools (Orgad 2010; Sundström & Fernandez, 2013; Brown, 2014). Michalowski

(2011) compares the content of citizenship tests in the USA, Austria, Germany, the UK, and the Netherlands. She finds that in all countries questions about history are second only to questions about the political system and rights.

Most authors stress the highly political nature of attempts to make immigrants adhere to a state-sponsored ideal of citizenship (e.g. Etzioni, 2007; Ryan, 2008; Gordon, 2010; Orgad 2011; Loring, 2015). Griswold (2011) in fact argues that the teaching of a monolingual, mono-cultural national identity in American civic immigrant education is a proof of the prioritisation of "participation and identity dimensions of citizenship over those of legal status and individual rights" (p. 407). Morrice (2017) looks at the United Kingdom's citizenship test since 2005 and argues that testing enables the government to cherry pick migrants who conform to an idealised citizen subject, while containing cultural difference through the exclusion of others. Morrice argues that it is particularly women, who more often than men lack the financial resources and educational background to integrate, that are tolerated but remain symbolic non-citizens. Teaching immigrants about civic behaviour through courses and tests is also considered a security measure in a time when Western states fear terrorism and the infiltration by those who are hostile to their way of life and political institutions (Gordon 2010; Richardson 2015).

Linguistics researchers like Griswold (2011) argue that the language courses for immigrants wanting to become citizens are value-laden and represent a particular understanding of citizenship and national identity. McNamara & Shohamy (2008), Griswold (2011), and Loring (2015) all argue that language courses for adult immigrants are an effort to preserve the cultural and linguistic identity of a country. Loring (2013) suggests that the aim of civic education for

adult immigrants is to help them accumulate "citizenship capital", that like social or cultural capital, would help the immigrants signal to others that they belong to a particular community.

On the other hand, authors also point out that language and civic learning are framed as an opportunity for immigrants to prove their willingness and genuine commitment to contribute to their own integration (Griswold, 2010; Orgad 2011, Byrne, 2016). While warning to not "overstep the line that divides private from public culture" (p. 387), Miller (2008) presents one of the few normative arguments in favour of citizenship tests. He claims that "the legitimacy of the modern state derives in part from its role as protector and promoter of the national culture of its people" (p. 375). A state that failed to protect its national culture would betray its raison d'être. While this argument can be challenged on the grounds that it sees national culture as static and unable to incorporate new cultural currents, Miller does also point to the utility of civic integration measures for immigrants themselves. He highlights that civic education provides adult immigrants with the opportunity to engage with knowledge and to develop an understanding of their new state that they would not otherwise be able to cultivate.

The interesting and varied academic literature that has been published on citizenship education and civic integration has laid important groundwork to understand civic education for adult immigrants. However, most studies are either concerned with normative questions about the justification of citizenship testing, or describe the content, structure, and policy outcomes of civic education. However, as Bassel et al. (2017) point out, "perspectives of migrants on how this 'route to citizenship' is experienced are generally absent" (p. 4).

A small number of researchers have in fact published work on immigration and integration that draw on immigrants' experiences. Fortier (2013) for example presents a study based on her own naturalisation experience supplemented by further qualitative research, that highlights the strong psychological and affective dimensions of the narrative generated around citizenship and belonging. She finds that from the perspective of a new citizens in the UK, the long naturalisation process is presented as a means to substitute the lack of an upbringing in British society. Becoming a British citizen, she argues, is based on two overlapping "desires", i) the desire to belong and to be accepted into British society, and ii) the desire to obtain the security of full legal citizenship, thereby ending fears of deportation.

Byrne (2016) investigates how the Life in the UK test constructs notions of citizenship and how immigrants experienced the naturalisation test. Like other authors, who criticize naturalisation as a path to second class citizenship (e.g. Meer, 2014), Byrne argues that "the tests and the nature of the knowledge required to pass them serve to retain new citizens in a position of less-than-equal citizenship which is at risk of being discursively (if less often legally) revoked." (2016, p. 3).

The pressures placed on immigrants involved in civic education is also highlighted by Monforte et al. (2018), who find that through the civic immigrant education process immigrants adopt the state's narrative of "deserving immigrants". They found evidence of immigrants distancing themselves from those immigrants, who have not invested the time and effort to naturalise. Similar to Anderson (2013) they highlight the ways in which civic education for immigrants divides society despite claims that it fosters integration and harmonious coexistence.

Brown (2014; 2016), who is concerned with civic immigrant education in Germany, finds that teachers working in civics courses for adult immigrants are in support of prescriptive teaching approaches and do in fact accept civics courses as a necessary, non-liberal measure to eradicate immigrants' illiberal thoughts. In a study that draws on postcolonial theories Brown (2016) argues that othering provides the politically acceptable rational for civic immigrant education on the grounds of a liberal European identity that requires protection. German society welcomes immigrants but only if they embrace the progressive, democratic values that are at the centre of German national identity. To ensure that all immigrants embrace these liberal values, they have to undergo civic immigrant education and sit a test to prove that they have overcome their-supposed- initial deficit. This is reminiscent of Young's idea of liberal othering (2007), where the other can be redeemed by means of education.

2.4.4 Summary – Welcoming newcomers and integrating immigrants

The state can be understood as an imagined community (Anderson, 1991), the membership of which is governed through immigration and integration policies. An understanding of citizenship as ethnic in origin, which is common across Europe, is challenged in the age of migration (Castles et al. 2014). Both the legal and the social meaning of citizenship is being redefined through immigration and integration policies that are either passed on the national or European level.

Despite a political rhetoric of welcoming immigrants and policy recommendations from actors like the OECD that highlight the importance of welcoming for successful integration, academics

have identified a tightening in immigration and integration policies (Joppke, 2008b; Wallace Goodman, 2010). Along with the increased use of educational civic integration measures like language courses and naturalisation tests comes "a notable tightening of individual behaviour and personal integrity requirements" (Joppke, 2010, p. 60). This tension-filled space between welcoming policy rhetoric and the othering present in civic immigrant education is the focus of this study, as the project's title suggests.

Academic literature investigating civic integration measures frequently discusses whether citizenship tests are illiberal and misguided (e.g. Loring, 2015) or defensible and necessary (Miller, 2008). Similarities between civic education in schools and for immigrants have been identified and authors agree that civic immigrant education is a nation building project (e.g. Orgad 2010; Sundström & Fernandez, 2013). Furthermore, several authors who presented studies focusing on immigrants' experiences found that, in addition to complicating immigrants' relationships to the state, civic education measures can also lead to increased tensions between immigrant groups (Anderson, 2013; Brown, 2016; Monforte et al. 2018). The dynamics between immigrants and the state, as well as between different immigrant communities are further explored in this research project.

While the rich body of literature presented here provides important insights into immigration and integration policies, few contributions have been made from educational researchers. In fact, most research has been published by linguists (e.g. Piller, 2001; Griswold, 2011; Loring, 2015) and sociologists (e.g Brown, 2016; Byrne, 2016 Monforte et al., 2018). However, civic education

for adult immigrants faces similar challenges as citizenship education in schools, such as the mismatch between theory and practice of teaching active citizenship or the treatment of diversity.

To complete the review of the academic literature relevant to this research project and to highlight the contributions educational research can make, the next section covers educational assessment.

2.5. Educational assessment

Besides literature on citizenship or civic education and research on immigration and integration policies the third relevant area of academic research is educational assessment. This section begins with a review of key concepts in educational assessment like validity, standard setting, and assessment purposes, and discusses academic literature about the constructive power of tests. Subsequently, literature on educational assessment in school-based citizenship education is presented, in which researchers have highlighted the danger of strictly defining and measuring citizenship through testing. Lastly, research publications on civic immigrant education are discussed in light of key concepts from educational assessment research. This section highlights the ways in which assessment research is relevant to this study, while also illustrating how rarely civic education has been the focus of assessment researchers.

2.5.1 Validity, standards, purpose plurality and the power of testing

Andrade & Cizek (2010) describe assessment as a "planned process for gathering and synthesizing information" about learners' performance (p. 6). A distinction needs to be made between formative and summative assessment. Formative assessments are "all those activities undertaken by teachers that provide information to be used as feedback to modify teaching and learning activities" (Black & Wiliam, 1998, p. 82). Summative assessments are usually carried out at the end of instruction and describe the "learning achieved at a certain time" (Harlen & James, 1997, p. 370). Citizenship tests are summative assessments, since they do not inform further teaching but represent the endpoint of an immigrant's educational journey to residency or citizenship.

A test is one form of assessment and is a "device or procedure in which a sample of an examinee's behaviour in a specific domain" is evaluated (AERA, 2014, p. 2). Baker (2001) finds that at the foundation of testing lies the desire to "find external facts to confirm internal states" (p. 4). In order for a test to allow for clear interpretations, the test needs to be designed in a valid, reliable, and standardized way (Kline, 1990).

If a test is designed in a valid way, Wiliam (1994) argues that it provides the evidence necessary to make informed decisions about the test taker and to take appropriate, consequential action. A test possesses validity, if it successfully operationalises the construct, for example intelligence or language proficiency, that it aims to measure. Wiliam laments that educational measurement is unfortunately aiming to be like physical measurement, which in itself has validity and reliability issues. He argues that the assumption that only psychometric measurement could produce valid assessment has limited the development and independent evolution of educational assessment as a field. In a later publication Wiliam (1996) argues that by placing particular value on the output of examinations, so the grades or certificates awarded after summative assessments, more technical considerations about the test design can be bypassed.

Beyond the individuals who directly engage with the assessment as test takers, society at large might be concerned about the validity of an assessment, as the test outcome is supposed to be a trustworthy indication of the test takers skills or knowledge. McGrane (2010) points out that in order to be recognised as valid beyond the circle of test designers and experts, people need to trust a test. "Defensible measurement practices", which can be explained and are acceptable to those outside the field of educational assessment, will foster this trust (p. 22). Kane (2016)

argues that the validity of an examination depends on plausible claims with which the interpretations and uses of the test results are justified. Echoing McGrane's call for "defensible measurement practices", Kane demands that a convincing "interpretation/use argument" (p. 208) should be presented for any test result.

Besides test validity a further focus of educational assessment research is the setting of examination standards. Questions of standards are either concerned with how many students should perform at a particular level or what this desired level should be (Baird, 2007). Among various models according to which examination standards could be set is the *conferred power model.* In the conferred power model certain individuals are invested with the power to define examination standards (Baird, 2007; Wiliam, 1996). A crucial aspect for the conferred power model is the selection of the individuals with standard setting powers. Once standard setters are selected, all judgements made by these standard setters are final. Since the decision-making process is based on individuals, examination standards in the conferred power model are inter-subjectively and socially constructed (Baird et al., 2000) and the result of assessments are based on social conventions rather than explicit rationales (Coe, 2010). The two tests analysed in this study, the Life in Germany and Life in the UK tests, match the description of a conferred power model, whereby policymakers commission test designers with the development of tests that are then the only means by which immigrants can prove that they are fit for life in Germany or the United Kingdom.

The issues of test validity and standard setting are related to the purpose to which a test is being put. Newton (2007) presents a list of 18 potential purposes or uses of assessment in education[19], some of which directly apply to citizenship tests. Among the purposes listed by Newton are social evaluation, qualification, and licensing, which are further illustrated in Table 2.

Purpose/ use	**Decision, action or process supported by assessment result**	**User**
Social evaluation	Individual results are used to evaluate the social value of personal educational achievements [self-evaluation or evaluation by others].	Test taker, peers
Qualification	Individual results are used to judge whether a person is sufficiently qualified for a job, course of instruction or role in life, i.e., whether or not they are equipped to succeed in it	Bureaucracy, employers
Licensing	A positive individual result provides a licence to practice, and some guarantee for those who are practised upon	Professional bodies

Table 2. Multiple purposes or uses of educational assessment and their users (adapted from Newton, 2007, p. 163-164).

While Newton presents his typology in the context of school-based educational assessment, citizenship tests share some of the uses that he describes. The qualification and licensing purposes of assessment are particularly relevant to employers, administrators, or for bureaucratic purposes. Passing the Life in Germany or Life in the UK test represents a qualification or license for membership in the state community. The social evaluation purpose is more significant for test takers and peers, as a form of social capital. A crucial point made by Newton is, however, that even purposes that might appear similar, such as licensing and qualification, do actually require

[19] According to Newton (2007) the 18 potential purposes of assessment are: (1) Social evaluation uses (2) Formative uses (3) Student monitoring uses (4) Transfer uses (5) Placement uses (6) Diagnosis uses (7) Guidance uses (8) Qualification uses (9) Selection uses (10) Licensing uses (11) School choice uses (12) Institution monitoring uses (13) Resource allocation uses (14)Organizational intervention uses (15) Programme evaluation uses (16)System monitoring uses (17)Comparability uses (18)National accounting uses If you use Newton, it has to be reflected in your text – repeating his list, does not offer enough.

slightly different assessment designs, as "a system fit for one of the purposes will not necessarily be fit for the other" (p. 166). However, it is not always the case that stakeholders agree on the purpose of an assessment, which can complicate the test design and the use to which it is put. The global trend of using assessment data for accountability purposes is an example to illustrate how stakeholders' interests might be conflicting (Klenowski, 2013). In an "accountability era" (Hutchinson & Young, 2011, p. 62), governments might use examinations to measure school performances, thereby putting teachers under increasing pressure to ensure that students perform well on tests. This use of assessment data for accountability might however be against the interests of teachers, students, or other stakeholders, who lament a "teaching to the test" and a "narrowing of the curriculum" (Kane, 2016, p. 203). Educational governance in the UK, along with countries like Australia, has been described as relying heavily on the use of assessment data for school accountability (Coe, 2010; Klenowski, 2013).

Following his initial list of potential test purposes and in light of debates about conflicting interests, Newton (2017) published another paper, in which he argues for purpose plurality in assessment. According to him, there are three perspectives from which one could consider assessment. i) The *information perspective,* in which assessment results are used to make decisions. ii) The *expertise perspective* that focuses on the expertise acquired during test preparation and the social capital that arises from acquiring this expertise. iii) The *engagement perspective*, which connects the individual engagement of a test taker with the personal, institutional, and social value of assessment. Considering the various stakeholders in civic immigrant education and civic tests, such as immigrants, the state, and wider society, it is credible that one test can have various uses or purposes, depending on the perspective of

individual stakeholders. In fact, it seems that the initially proposed purposes of Newton (2007) can fit into the three perspectives he put forth in 2017 and can furthermore be applied to citizenship tests. On the i) information perspective for example lies the qualification use of citizenship tests, which provides immigrants with access to citizenship or residency and the associated benefits. The ii) expertise perspective is in line with the monitoring use of assessments, which verifies if immigrants have acquired the desired knowledge about the country. The iii) engagement perspective lastly leads back to McGrane (2010) and Kane (2016), who argue that a test has to be understandable in order for the wider public to trust it as valid.

Beyond debates about the validity, standards and purposes of tests lie arguments about the constructive power of tests. These debates centre around the notion that, irrespective of what specific purpose a test might be put to, testing in and of itself has the power to symbolize knowledge, skill or attainment to the outside world, and in doing so, it constructs the identity of the test taker. Firstly, speaking in particular about language tests, Shohamy (2014) argues that tests have the power to "define linguistic knowledge, determine membership, classify people and stipulate criteria for success and failure of individual test takers" (p. 6). Stobart (2008) wrote an influential book on testing inspired by anthropologist Allan Hanson, who argues that "the individual in contemporary society is not so much described by tests as constructed by them" (Hanson, 1994, p. 4). Stobart comes to the conclusion that assessments are representational in nature because test performance is often seen as a metaphor for who a person is and what a person can do (Stobart, 2008). Applying these ideas to the context of this study, the Life in Germany and Life in the UK test do not just measure the knowledge immigrants have obtained about the politics, history, and culture of the two countries, but the tests furthermore have the

power to symbolise that immigrants are worthy of integration as well as reconstructing an individual immigrant as a member of German or British society.

2.5.2 Educational assessment and civic education in schools

Speaking about assessment more generally, Wiliam (2011) stresses its value and argues that assessment is the best way to find out "whether instruction has had its intended effect, because even the best-designed instruction cannot be guaranteed to be effective" (p. 107). Richardson (2006) however finds that whether instruction has had the intended effect is harder to measure in the case of citizenship education than in other, more easily quantifiable subjects. While it might be true that the best way to ascertain that a student has for example understood how photosynthesis works, it is less clear if getting an A in school citizenship exams really means that the student has learned what it means to be a citizen. Calling to mind the three components of citizenship education outlined by Kerr et al. (2009) - cognitive, active, and affective - it appears easier to test cognitive and active aspects which test knowledge and skills, than to assess the beliefs and attitudes which form the affective dimension. As is the case for other subjects, the underdevelopment of the relationship between curriculum, instruction, and assessment limits the usefulness of an assessment tool to actually measure what students have learned (Popham, 2004).

Richardson (2010) and Campbell (2014) found that having citizenship as an assessed subject leads teachers and students to care more about the grade than the content of citizenship education. Richardson (2010) sees this as part of a trend among students, teachers, and policymakers to prioritize the acquisition of qualifications over learning. The fact that a strong

focus on test results can have a detrimental influence on student achievement, classroom atmosphere, and content coverage, is however not limited to assessment in citizenship and has been lamented in other contexts as a "teaching to the test" (e.g. Kane, 2016). Popham (2001) for example claims that American teachers reduce the breadth as well as the depth of their teaching in an effort of bringing up their students' scores on high stakes tests. Teachers rely heavily on practice tests and sacrifice a more comprehensive engagement with the curriculum, which comes at the detriment of higher order thinking (Jensen et al., 2014). As Stobart (2008) points out, educational assessment leads to teachers and students preparing the content that they are expecting to be tested, thereby influencing the learning approach and focus.

A further issue with the use of educational assessment in the context of citizenship was identified by Rutkowski & Engel (2010), who warn that citizenship assessment would generate "hard measures", which become truth about what proper citizenship consists of, thus rigidifying this perpetually changing concept. This raises the normative question of whether citizenship should be turned into hard truth in the first place, and if so, who should be the actors to decide on this definition. As discussed above, under the conferred power model (Baird et al., 2000; Coe, 2010), individuals or institutions are entrusted by the government to define examination questions and set examination standards. In the context of school-based citizenship education this entails the power to define the correct and incorrect answers by which hard truth about citizenship are generated.

In the international context two actors have been influential in proposing hard truth about citizenship. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)

measures students on citizenship since 1971 through the International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS).[20] In 2016 the IEA administered the fourth ICCS to "investigate the ways in which young people are prepared to undertake their current and future roles as citizens" (Schulze, 2018). In order to be able to measure young people's performance on this test, the IEA has to define what citizenship means and who they consider to be a young individual well prepared for citizenship.

The second influential organisation is the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) that has introduced a global competencies element, concerned with global citizenship skills, to the 2018 round of its Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) Study (OECD, 2016). According to the OECD the importance of global competencies is explicitly to prepare young people "to live harmoniously in multicultural communities" (p.5). International organisations like the IAE and OECD paying increasing attention to civic competencies points to the international importance of teaching and testing citizenship not just on the national but also the international level.

2.5.3 Adult education, educational assessments and civic education for adult immigrants

Before relating the educational assessment literature presented above to civic immigrant education, this section very briefly discusses adult education. In the 1970s Malcolm Knowles

[20] International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). (2017). ICCS 2016. Retrieved on 16/06/2017 on http://iccs.iea.nl

introduced the concept of andragogy, which he argues is distinctly different to the teaching of children (pedagogy). Knowles' ideas and theory of adult learning, which he presented in *Andragogy in Action* (1984), is foundational to the study of adult learning and the development of adult learning theory (Wilson, 2012). Knowles suggest that adult learners should be more involved in decisions about the content and processes of their learning than children, since they are more mature and self-directed. The longer life experience of adult learners should be respected in and utilized for learning, which should be related to their daily lives. While Knowles' andragogy might by some be considered a "set of well-grounded principles of good practice" rather than a "proven theory" Brookfield (1986, p. 98), the ideas he set forth gave adult educators "a badge of identity" (p. 90) and served to stimulate further debate about adult learning.

Most literature on adult learning assumes that individuals participate willingly in the learning process (e.g. Merriam & Grace, 2011), thereby emphasizing the intrinsic motivation that is central to Knowles' argument. Civic immigrant education differs from other forms of adult learning as the requirements to engage in civic education and the pressure to pass the final test are arguably higher than in other adult learning contexts, such as, for example, professional development. Yet, even if the motivation to participate in these two forms of adult learning might vary, this body of academic work still provides a variety of useful insights, such as the need to make learning content relevant to learners' daily lives.

Considering the academic literature on educational assessment validity and purposes above, it is unsurprising that Conti (2009) calls for the assessment of adult learners to be designed based on

the assumptions and constructs underlying adult education. He suggests for example the provision of more formative feedback to utilise adult's ability for self-directed learning.

While there is little academic engagement with adult learning theory in the civic immigrant education context, there is a small body of literature that applies educational assessment knowledge to the study of citizenship tests. Echoing Richardson's (2006) doubts about the assessment of school-based citizenship learning, Orgad (2011) points to usability issues of citizenship tests and laments that "while the test creates 'summa cum laude immigrants', their understanding is still fleeting" (p. 1227). He also highlights that the declared goals of citizenship education, such as increased understanding of the state and the ability to integrate, would not have to be measured through a formal test. In fact, he claims that the added pressure of testing prevents a deeper engagement with the subject matter. Various authors have also pointed to the high-stakes nature of citizenship tests (Gordon, 2010; Loring, 2010), arguing that the pressure to pass the high-stakes test prevents aspiring citizens from constructing alternative interpretations of their new national identity (Löwenheim & Gazit, 2009). The Migration Policy Institute (2008) called it "one of the most high-stakes examinations an immigrant will ever face" because of the life-altering consequences of test outcomes (p. 1).

Loring (2013) describes citizenship tests as the civic equivalent of cultural capital, which signals to test-takers, the state, and wider society that an immigrant was ready to be awarded citizenship. This calls to mind Newton (2007), who identified the social evaluation purpose of assessment as the signalling of social capital for test takers themselves as well as for peers and for society. However, as Kane (2016) and McGrane (2010) point out, an assessment needs to be trusted and

measurement practices need to be defensible if a test is to enjoy wider social acceptance. Such "interpretation/use arguments" as Kane (2016) calls for in the context of educational assessments, could not be identified for the Life in Germany or Life in the UK test.

Bringing to mind educational assessment literature on the conferred power model (Baird, 2007; Coe, 2010), Loring (2013) argues that there is an inherent and inevitable power imbalance in any test setting, which is particularly strong in the citizenship test context. Here examiners decide over test takers' legal, social, and economic future. Kostakopoulou (2010) furthermore argues that citizenship tests clearly illustrate who has the power (the state) and who this power is exercised on (immigrants). He points out that, despite a discourse of liberal and active citizenship, aspiring citizens only engage with citizenship tests by passing or failing them. Immigrants do not have the ability to question what they learn or how they learn it. Being similarly concerned with power relationships, Sarian (2018) presents citizenship tests as a means to regulate differences between immigrants and home societies. Calling to mind this study's title Welcoming and Othering, he points to the impossibility of wanting to overcome socio-cultural differences, while also manifesting them in the process of making immigrants undergo a civic immigrant education process.

The only published study that could be found to empirically analyse the validity of a citizenship test was published by Paula Winke in 2011. Carrying out an experiment with 225 US citizens and 187 noncitizens she presents findings that demonstrate that the items of the US citizenship test "vary widely in difficulty and do not all reliably measure civics knowledge […] The data revealed that test scores contain construct-irrelevant variance that undermines the overall

reliability and validity of the instrument" (p. 317). Like Kunnan (2009), who investigates the naturalisation test from a linguistic perspective, Winke argues that the test does not meet the standards of validity set for other types of large-scale, high-stakes assessments.

Klekowski von Koppenfels, (2010) presents one of the few studies that speaks out in favour of citizenship tests on the grounds of standardisation. She argues that standardized naturalisation tests allow governments to "establish clear criteria" and to maintain "a transparent procedure" for the naturalisation process (p. 12). When introducing the revised American citizenship test, the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) did in fact present standardisation as one of the major improvements of the new test (USCIS, 2008).

When conducting participatory research with new British citizens, Byrne (2014) found that immigrants in the United Kingdom might be opposed to having to undergo a citizenship test but value the recognition they receive through being certified as having passed the test. Without referring to Newton's (2007) list of potential assessment uses, her study points to the qualification, licensing, and social evaluation uses that citizenship tests can have. Furthermore, she touches on all three perspectives proposed by Newton (2017) when considering the levels of stakeholder interest in tests - the information perspective, the expertise perspective, and the engagement perspective. Immigrants learn new information, develop expertise and social capital, as well as showing their engagement with wider society. Studies by Byrne (2014; 2016) and Bassel et al. (2017) furthermore illustrate the constructive power of citizenship tests by presenting evidence that immigrants, who have successfully passed the Life in the UK test, feel that they are more justified in their existence as immigrants in the United Kingdom.

2.5.4 Summary – Assessing knowledge and measuring civic learning

To be accepted as a valid instrument to assess learning, a test needs to gain the trust of wider society by translating its construct validity into a credible "interpretation/use argument" (Kane, 2016). The setting of standards in educational assessment raise questions of what is considered relevant knowledge, and who has the power to define such knowledge. Newton (2007) presents a typology of 18 possible uses of educational assessment, out of which the social evaluation, licencing, and qualification uses are particularly relevant to the context of this study. In arguing for assessment purpose plurality, Newton (2017) stipulates that three possible perspectives on the purposes of assessment - information, expertise, and engagement of the wider society - can be combined through careful test designs. Academics have furthermore argued that assessments have constructive power, because they demonstrate that a test taker has acquired certain skills or knowledge, which can lead to a reconstruction of the test takers' identity (Hanson, 1994; Stobart, 2008; Shohamy, 2014).

Academic work on educational assessment in school-based citizenship education has focused on the difficulty of accurately assessing civic learning (Richardson, 2006). Furthermore, by testing citizenship as a subject, hard truth about what is considered to be good citizenship are created (Rutkowski & Engel, 2010). International actors, namely the IEA and the OECD, carry out international, large-scale studies on civic knowledge and global competencies among school-aged children, thereby highlighting the wider importance of such knowledge.

While the standardisation of naturalisation tests might make the process more equal for all immigrants (Klenowski von Koppenfeld, 2010), standardisation does not guarantee that these tests actually measure what civic immigrant education claims to want to achieve (Winke, 2011). Critique has also been voiced about the high-stakes nature (Migration Policy Institute, 2008), the inherent power imbalance (Kostakopoulou, 2010), and the practical and financial burden that citizenship tests present for immigrants (Bassel et al. 2017).

Along with literature on the theory and practice of adult education, research on educational assessment has much to contribute to civic education for adult immigrants. This study uses educational research knowledge to investigate the German and British civic immigrant education processes.

2.6. Conclusion

The literature discussed in this chapter related to one theoretical and three research themes; i) philosophical considerations of interhuman encounters and othering as an approach to identity formation, ii) citizenship and civic education, iii) immigration and integration policies, and iv) educational assessment.

Based on Hegel's master-slave dialectic of human encounters, touching on Mead's early theory of othering, and concluding with Said's postcolonial writings on Orientalism, identity formation is theorised to be a hermeneutic process in which an individual comes to construct a self-identity in response to their social environment. According to Mead, individuals have agency in the interpretative process through which the self and the other are constructed. Furthermore, it is not only in interpersonal encounters that this identity formation process unfolds but it can also occur in response to socially significant objects or activities. Particularly when group identities are formed, this process of constructing the self and the other takes on hierarchical or antagonistic tendencies, as de Beauvoir, Foucault and Said have argued. Whether conservative or liberal in their intention, the framing of parts of society as requiring special treatment inevitably sets this group apart. Authors have also extensively addressed how the othering of immigrants in Europe was utilised to construct a liberal, progressive European identity, thereby simultaneously hindering the integration of immigrants. Stereotypes and prejudice are particularly common in political and media discourses about Muslim immigrants, which are one of the immigrant groups that this research project is concerned with.

Othering is the most appropriate theoretical framework to investigate civic immigrant education as it conceptualises identity formation as a hermeneutic, dialectic process, in which i) individuals react not only to people but also to socially relevant objects and actions, ii) individuals are seen to have agency over how they interpret their social environment and construct their sense of self in response to it, iii) later authors, particularly Said, have highlighted that othering necessitates and expresses power imbalances between social groups. Yet, while the more powerful group might be in the position to construct the identities of themselves and the other group, one could not be constructed without the other. In the civic immigrant education process immigrants encounter not only people but also objects and actions, such as textbooks and the actual test taking experience. As adult learners, immigrants are in a position to discern and reflect on the content of their civic learning and the identity narratives they encounter therein. Lastly, immigrants might be framed as an other by Western states that require immigrants to engage in civic education, but the framing of the immigrant other is also crucial to the construction of the Western identity (e.g. Derrida, 1992).

The rich and varied literature on citizenship and civic education was discussed to establish the research context of this study and to better identify the similarities and differences between civic education in schools and for adult immigrants. Citizenship is an ancient concept that is today defined as consisting of four aspects, i) a legal status, ii) rights and duties, iii) the opportunity for political participation, and iv) a sense of belonging (Bloemraad et al., 2008). Children in school are usually educated about the i) cognitive elements (knowledge about the state), ii) active elements (skills and behaviours), and iii) affective elements (attitudes and values that citizens should hold) of citizenship (Kerr et al., 2009). Citizenship as a subject faces a variety of

challenges, such as the combination of theoretical and practical learning and the side-lining of civic content for other subjects. In recent years the accommodation of diverse ethnic, racial, and religious identities within school-based citizenship education has also been an issue (e.g. Ajegbo, 2007). The communication of a collective memory and a shared historical narrative is seen as pivotal for civic education (e.g. Heyback & Sheffield, 2014) . Be it the minimal engagement with darker parts of national history (as is claimed to be the case in the UK) or the proliferation of a narrative of guilt and responsibility (as in Germany), national historical narratives are being called into question by those with different ethnic or racial identities as well as by younger generations (e.g. Gebrial, 2018; Miller-Idriss, 2009). These research findings raise the question of how adult immigrants will respond to the national historical narratives they encounter in civic immigrant education.

A separate body of literature discusses immigration and integration policies, highlighting the tension between welcoming policy rhetoric and othering practices of integration policies, which this study's title alludes to. The legal and social meanings of citizenship and belonging require a redefinition in an age of migration (Castles et al., 2014). Authors agree that mass-movements across borders have led to a tightening of immigration and integration policies. Besides the proliferation of educational civic integration measures like language courses and naturalisation tests, researchers have identified an increased focus of these measures on the personal behaviour of immigrants (e.g. Joppke, 2008a). Academics who have investigated civic education measures, mainly linguists and sociologists, have focused on normative arguments about the justification for such measures, their nation building objectives, and the power imbalances inherent in them (e.g. Orgad, 2010; Loring, 2015). Participatory research with immigrants has also found that

educational civic integration measures can lead to increased tensions between immigrants and state as well as between immigrants (e.g. Anderson, 2013). Existing research calls for a further investigation of how immigrants experience the tension-filled space between welcoming and othering, in which civic immigrant education takes place.

The last research field discussed in this literature review is educational assessment. Despite the wealth of academic work on educational assessment, this knowledge is rarely utilised in the study of civic education for adult immigrants. Yet, insights from education assessment are highly relevant and applicable to the context of this study. Particularly focusing on the assessment of citizenship or civic education in school, scholars have identified issues with the accurate assessment of affective learning and the danger of defining hard truth about a concept as fluid as citizenship (Richardson, 2006; Rutkowski & Engel, 2010). Authors point to the fact that, beyond a valid and carefully considered test design, assessments require the trust of wider society to be most useful. An "interpretation/use argument" that is understandable for non-experts and "defensible measurement practices" can aid the development of trust in an assessment (Kane, 2016; McGrane, 2010). Addressing issues of the various users and stakeholders of an assessment, Newton has argued that multiple potential uses exist and that several stakeholder perspectives can be combined in an assessment through careful design. This suggests that the perspectives of and potential uses for citizenship tests that immigrant test takers, policymakers, and wider society might bring to the table, could all be taken into account when designing civic immigrant education tests. Involving immigrants in research on their civic education would yield further insights into their learning experiences (e.g. Byrne, 2016).

Drawing on the review of existing academic literature, this research project aims to make an original contribution in three mains ways. Firstly, while immigrants are not the only stakeholders in civic immigrant education, their centrality to the issue should be recognised. This research project therefore follows the example of authors like Byrne (2016), Brown (2016), and Bassel et al. (2017), who use participatory research methods. Secondly, academic literature has highlighted the importance of historical narratives and collective memories for national identities. Moreover, the juxtaposition of European and immigrant identities has been identified as foundational to integration policies and as a hinderance to successful integration. Taking into account the importance of identity narratives, this study pays particular attention to how national and immigrant identities are represented in civic immigrant education. Lastly, despite the obvious relevance of educational and particularly educational assessment research for civic immigrant education, few educational researchers have for example investigated how civic tests for immigrants rigidify the concept of citizenship or have analysed the power of these tests to prompt the reconstruction of a test takers' identity. Yet, with the academic consensus that civic integration policies have become both more common and stricter over the last 20 years (Wallace Goodman & Wright, 2015), it seems that the expertise of educational researchers could be fruitfully applied to better understand and improve civic immigrant education processes.

Chapter 3 - Methodology and research design

3.1. Introduction

To appropriately address research questions and to effectively describe and investigate the phenomenon of interest, a researcher needs to carefully consider questions of research methodology and design (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). After the presentation of othering as a theoretical framework and the discussion of relevant, academic literature from three fields, this chapter outlines how the methodology and research design aim to answer the three research questions.

To begin with, the chapter outlines the epistemological and methodological choices foundational to the research project's design. Symbolic interactionism was chosen as a lens to operationalise this study on civic immigrant education within the theoretical framework of othering. Furthermore, the multiple case study research design and the selection of the two case study countries are outlined. Subsequently, the three data collection methods employed; document analysis, participant observations and semi-structured interviews, are discussed and the data collection processes in the two case study countries are explained. Sampling approaches and the development of data collection tools are also thematised. The chapter then presents how data was coded and analysed to appropriately address each of the three research questions. Following the discussion of research methods, ethical concerns and how they were addressed are outlined. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the research design and methods.

3.2. Epistemological and methodological approach

3.2.1 Operationalising othering through the lens of symbolic interactionism

In the context of this study, the theoretical framework of othering is operationalised through the application of a social constructivism epistemology – which is described first – and in particular a symbolic interactionist lens, which forms part of social constructivism (Burr, 2006). Social constructivism stipulates "that knowledge of the material world becomes reality not through the discovery of objective truths or facts, but through intersubjective socialization and constructed understanding" (Brown et al., 2018). Furthermore, like the work of the theorists de Beauvoir, Foucault, and Said discussed in the literature review chapter, a social constructivist understanding raises questions of power in social relationships (Burr, 2015).

A social constructivist understanding of human experiences is highly suitable for this study focusing on identity depictions, experiences of such depictions, and the relationship between states and immigrants. This study adheres to social constructivist epistemology, as the identity narratives presented by the state as well as immigrants' experiences of and responses to these identity narratives are social processes of meaning-making rather than objective truths. Furthermore, the state has the power to frame identity narratives, which immigrants then have to engage with in civic immigrant education. Whether immigrants feel welcomed or othered by the civic immigrant education processes they undergo, can only be investigated and unpacked fully if all research participants' individual experiences are taken as valid, relevant, and real.

Symbolic interactionism is one strand of social constructivism that focuses on everyday social interactions and is concerned with the ways in which individuals create meaning and construct

their understanding of reality (Burr, 2015). Symbolic interactionism is credited to George H. Mead, like the early theory of othering. Mead (1934) stipulates that human behaviour is guided by individuals' interpretation of the social rules, norms, and symbols that they experience around them. Communication and social interaction play an important role in helping individuals to understand the world and their position in it. Denzin (2017) describes two levels at which symbolic interactionism simultaneously takes place; the symbolic and the behavioural level. He suggests that these two levels should be considered as parts of a whole in any social scientific inquiry (Denzin, 2017). On the symbolic level are actions that are "manifold and complex, verbal and nonverbal, intended and unintended" (p. 7). On the behavioural level are concrete human actions and reactions that occur in response to what is perceived on the symbolic level. In the context of this study, the symbolic level is the state's construction of national identities and juxtaposed immigrant identities in the civic immigrant education process as well as the structure of civic immigrant education. At the behavioural level are the experiences and reflections of immigrants, who are encountering these identities and who undergo the civic immigrant education process.

Blumer (1969), a student of Mead's, suggests that symbolic interactionism relies on three premises; i) individuals ascribe meaning to people, objects, and actions that they encounter; ii) this meaning is constructed through social interactions; and iii) this meaning is developed and modified through a continuous interpretative process. Following Blumers' premises, three qualitative research methods - document analysis, participant observations, and semi-structured interviews – are used in this study to best investigate the two levels of symbolic interactionism. Figure 5 illustrates the application of symbolic interactionism to this research project. The figure

shows the two levels of symbolic interactionism: the symbolic (the state-designed civic immigrant education process and identity depictions) and the behavioural (immigrant responses and experiences).

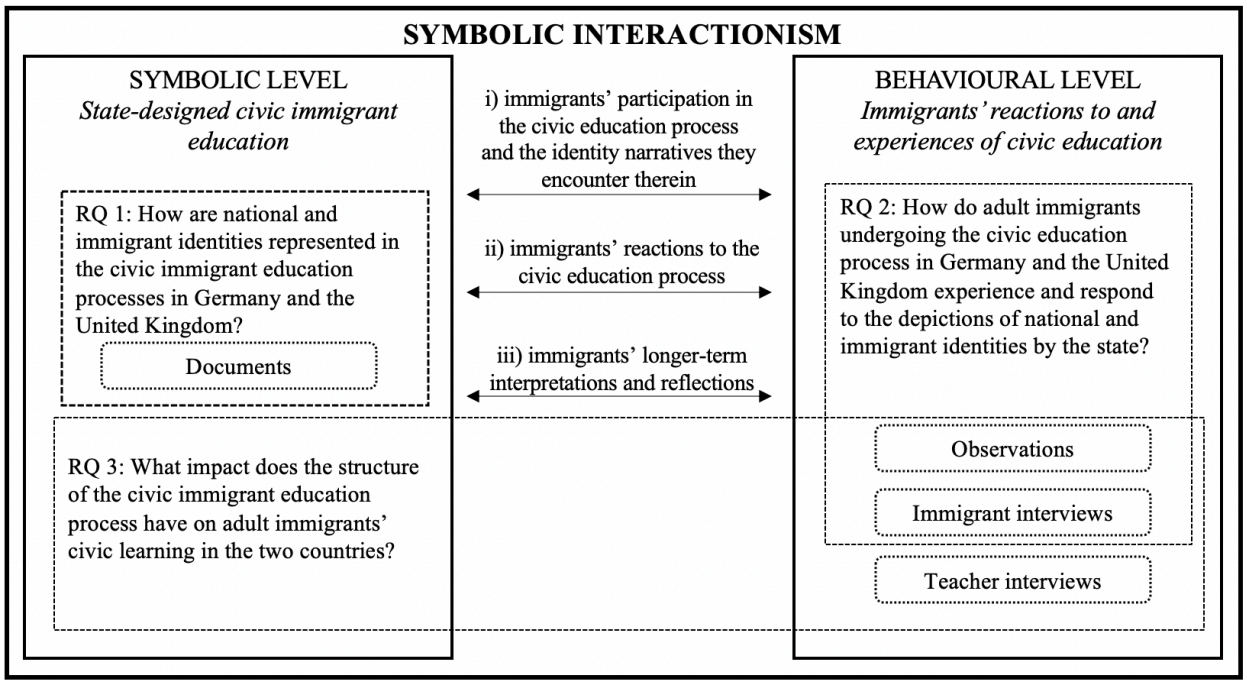


Figure 5. Adaptation of the symbolic interactionist lens to this research project showing the two levels of symbolic interactionism described by Denzin (2017)- symbolic and behavioural-, the three ways in which the levels interact, the three research questions, and the associated data sources

Furthermore, Figure 5 shows the application of the three premises suggested by Blumer (1969) to the study's context: i) human experiences of people, objects, or actions (here adult immigrants' participation in the civic education process and the identity narratives they encounter therein), ii) the construction of meaning ascribed to the encounters of people, objects, and actions (immigrants' responses and reactions to the civic education process), and iii) the interpretative process by which these interactions are continuously evaluated and reinterpreted (longer-term reflections of immigrants).

Lastly, Figure 5 indicated the three research questions and data collection methods that are employed to address them. Textbooks and tests are the documents that immigrants encounter when undergoing civic education. Embedded in them are the narratives of national and immigrant identities that research question 1 aims to identify and analyse. Immigrants interact with and interpret these symbolic identity narratives. Observations and interview research enable the investigation of the behavioural level of symbolic interactionism, on which immigrants respond to how the state represents itself and immigrants, which is the focus of research question 2. Observations are more suitable to investigate the first encounters and initial responses of immigrants to civic education documents, while interviews allow for the corroboration and further investigation of observation data. Research question 3 draws on observations, immigrant interviews, as well as teacher interviews to examine how the differences in the structure of the two countries' civic immigrant education process influences the learning experiences of immigrants. This question operates on the symbolic level, on which the civic immigrant education process is set up (taking into account issues such as financing or the availability of learning support), as well as accessing the behavioural level of immigrants navigating the civic education processes in Germany and the UK.

The methods most appropriate to research projects applying a symbolic interactionist lens are qualitative, as qualitative research captures inter-personal dynamics and enables the tracing of processes (Beach, 2017; Denzin & Lincoln, 2017). Document analysis, participant observations, and semi-structured interviews allow for comprehensive, in-depth analysis, which cannot be undertaken when relying only on the numbers foundational to quantitative analysis (Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Denzin & Lincoln, 2017). Denzin (2017) suggests that observations and interviews enable researchers to investigate processes that unfold over time, as is the case with immigrants'

reactions to the civic immigrant education process. To explore more fully how national and immigrant identities are framed and portrayed in the civic immigrant education process, document analysis is added as a third data collection method to the two suggested by Denzin. Document analysis complements and completes observation and interview research, as the state's construction of national and immigrant identities is most pertinently expressed in those documents that are used in the two countries' civic immigrant education systems.

3.2.2 Multiple-case study design and case selection

Research based on case studies explores "a real-life, contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in- depth data collection involving multiple sources of information" (Creswell, 2014, p. 97). In the context of this research project, each country's civic education system is one unit of analysis, making this a research project with two cases. The strength of multiple-case study designs lies in their increased breadth and thus ability to test or develop theoretical concepts (Yin, 2018). To ensure that the research outputs of multiple-case study designs are richer and more meaningful than a single case study, a structured and focused approach should be used. George & Bennett (2005) emphasise that structure and focus require the clear definition of a phenomenon of interest and the consistent use of methods across cases.

Figure 6 below shows the various stages of a multiple-case research design from conception to conclusion applied to this research project. In the first stage the research topic was defined based on a review of the pertinent academic literature. The research literature in combination with the

theoretical framework then informed methodological choices and the design of the research project. Case studies were selected based on relevance and feasibility considerations, as is further explained in the following paragraph. In the second stage, a further, case-specific review of academic literature was carried out alongside logistical preparations for data collection. Data from the two case studies was analysed separately before findings were compared and cross-case conclusions were drawn.

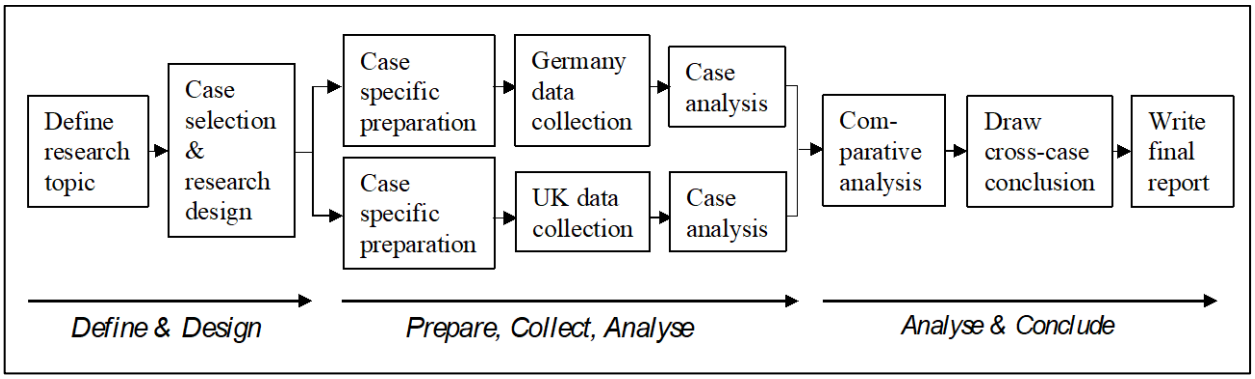


Figure 6. Multiple-case study procedure applied to this research project (adapted from Yin, 2014, p. 60)

Yin (2014) furthermore points to the importance of carefully selecting cases. He argues that in a research design with two cases, case selection could either be based on the researcher aiming to replicate findings across both cases or on a relevant difference between the two cases. These "contrasting situations" should be connected to the study's theoretical framework to improve the validity of analytical interpretations (Yin, 2014, p. 64). Germany and the United Kingdom were selected as case studies because of the significant differences in their civic immigrant education processes. The first significant difference relates to the respective framing of national history and a collective, national identity, with Britain predominantly treating national history as a source of pride (Burns, 2014) and Germany teaching history as a serious responsibility (e.g. Olick, 2007;

Brown, 2016). A further, pertinent difference is that only Germany requires learners to enrol in a course, thereby making personal interactions with course teachers and fellow course participants a critical component of the civic immigrant education process in Germany. However, both countries' civic immigrant education processes also have similarities, which allows for sufficient attention to be paid to the core interests of this study; immigrant and national identity depictions within the theoretical context of othering. Both countries for example use multiple choice tests, which immigrants have to take after passing a language test.

3.3. Data collection methods

Three data collection methods were employed to generate in-depth, personal insights into the symbolic meaning and reactions to othering and identity narratives in civic immigrant education. The three methods complemented and built on each other as well as ensuring that sufficient data was available to answer the three research questions. Research question 1 was addressed through document analysis of German and British textbooks and test items, in which the depiction of national and immigrant identities was identified. Taking into account the data collected for the first research question, participant observations and semi-structured interviews with immigrants were then carried out. These two research methods unpacked how immigrants experienced and responded to identity depictions, which was the focus of the second research question. The third research question about the impact of differences in the two countries' civic immigrant education structure was addressed using observation and interview data, which included interviews with teachers as well as with immigrants.

The combination of document analysis, observations, and interview data enabled the access to the two levels of symbolic interactionism described by Denzin (2017) and furthermore allowed for the triangulation of findings, thereby increasing the validity and reliability of research (Flick, 2014a; Creswell 2014; Cohen et al., 2017). Data triangulation, or the use of more than one method or source of data, generates a more comprehensive understanding in the study of social phenomena and increases the validity of research findings (Bryman, 2016, p. 697).

In the following paragraphs each of the three data collection methods is discussed in more detail, particularly focusing on data selection and sampling, as well as the data collection process in the two countries. The data analysis is discussed in Section 3.4.

3.3.1 Documentary data

3.3.1.1 Data selection

Flick (2014a) suggests that document analysis is a fruitful research method as it allows researchers to access the traces of personal and institutional life "without the filters of individual memory and meaning making" (p. 299). This claim is supported by Prior (2013), who urges researchers not to think of documents as merely peripheral to social events. In fact, the textbooks and test items included in this research are of fundamental importance to immigrants' civic education experience. Immigrants do not have direct or personal interactions with the state when participating in civic immigrant education but rather respond to the narratives and symbolism embedded in the civic immigrant education materials. The documents are representative of how the state wants the national identity to be seen and how it frames immigrant identities.

While acknowledging the importance of documents for this research, it is important to keep in mind that documents cannot be considered as firm evidence of what they report and that the context of their production and use needs to be taken into account (Flick, 2014a, p. 363). Differences between what is presented in documents and real-world phenomena can occur for a variety of reasons; ranging from intended misrepresentations to misinformation of the author to problems with implementation (Platt, 2011). One way of verifying and substantiating what is presented in documents, is to triangulate document data with other data sources (Rubin & Rubin

2012). In this study, documents were the main source of data to address the first research question. However, document data was then combined with participant observations and semi-structured interviews in later stages of the research.

As suggested by Flick (2014a), credibility and representativeness as well as the relevance of documents to the research question were considered as sampling criteria in this research. Bryman (2016) adds unquestionable authenticity and clarity of meaning as criteria upon which to base the selection of documentary data (p. 546). This advice from the academic literature to ascertain the authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and clarity of meaning of document data was followed by only including official, state-approved civic immigrant education textbooks or test items. The application of a symbolic interactionist lens, in which the state is theorised to be acting on the symbolic level through the content and structure of the civic immigrant education process they set up, furthermore requires that only official materials and test questions were included (Passages from the textbooks and sample test items can be found in Appendix A1). Consequently, other materials, while potentially used by adult immigrants for civic education purposes, were excluded as they are not part of the process set up by the state. Moreover, as suggested by Yin (2018) policy texts were reviewed to understand the legal context of the two case studies. However, these reviewed policy documents were also not included in the systematic analysis of data, as policy texts are not used by immigrants in the two countries' civic education process. Table 3 provides on overview of the documents that were included in the two case studies.

Case	Document type	Title and publisher
Germany	Textbooks	- *100 Stunden Deutschland* by E. Butler et al. (Ernst Klett Publishing, 2017, RRP € 12,99) - *miteinander leben* by R. Feil & W. Hesse (Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2017, RRP € 9,90) - *Orientierungskurs* by J. Schote (Cornelsen Publishing, 2017, RRP € 10,99) - *Zur Orientierung* by U. Gaidosch & C. Müller (Hueber Publishing, 2017, € 13,50)
	Test items	*Der Test „Leben in Deutschland"* (Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2017)
United Kingdom	Textbook	Life in the United Kingdom- A Guide For New Residents (Home Office, 2013b, RRP £ 12.99)
	Official practice test items	*Life in the United Kingdom: Official Practice Questions and Answers* (Home Office, 2013c, RRP £ 7.99)

Table 3. Documentary data sources for the two case study countries

3.3.1.2 Documentary data for the German case study

As can be seen in Table 3, four textbooks were included as documentary data sources for the German case. At the time research took place in 2017/2018 these four textbooks were the only textbooks which had been approved by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* (BAMF)) for the use in Germany's civic immigrant education course called Orientation Course (*Orientierungskurs*). The books are available for purchase at recommended retail prices (RRP) between €13.50 and €9.90. Three of the four textbooks (*100 Stunden Deutschland, Orientierungskurs, Zur Orientierung*) are published by major education textbook publishers. The fourth state-approved textbook (*miteinander leben*) is published by the State Centre for Civic Education *(Landeszentrale für politische Bildung)* in Baden-Württemberg, which is one of Germany's 16 states. The BAMF has specified that one of

the four textbooks "must build the foundation of the course" (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2019, p. 1). During inspections in Orientation Courses the BAMF ascertains that one of these four textbooks is used for the course. No other materials are officially approved for the Orientation Course.

The second type of documentary data were the 310 test items on the German citizenship test called the Life in Germany test, which takes place immediately after the last session of the Orientation Course. The Life in Germany test was introduced in 2008 and test items were last reviewed and partially changed in 2013. All 310 test items are publicly available online and are shared with Orientation Course participants at the beginning of the course. 300 test items are part of a federal question catalogue used across Germany's 16 states. An additional 10 questions are added, which are specific to each state. As later stages of data collection for this project took place in Berlin, the 10 Berlin-specific test items were included as data.

3.3.1.3 Documentary data for the United Kingdom case study

Table 3 furthermore shows that document analysis in the United Kingdom included the only state-approved textbook *Life in the United Kingdom- A Guide For New Residents* (Home Office, 2013b) authored by the Great Britain Home Office and published by TSO (The Stationary Office). The current, third edition of the book was first published in 2013. The textbook is available for purchase at the RRP of £12.99.

The second data source for the British case study are test items from the country's naturalisation or permanent residency test, the Life in the UK test. First put to use in 2005 and updated in 2007,

the current version of the test was introduced in 2013. Passing the Life in the UK test is required both to obtain a permanent residency permit and to naturalise as a British citizen (the test does not have to be repeated in case of an application for naturalisation). The 408 questions in *Life in the United Kingdom: Official Practice Questions and Answers* (Home Office, 2013c) (RRP £7.99) were used for the analysis of the Life in the UK test. This book of official practice questions is published by TSO, the same publisher that issued the Life in the United Kingdom book.

3.3.2 Participant observations

3.3.2.1 Observation tool development

To supplement and expand on the document analyses for research question 1, participant observations were carried out. As Guest et al. (2013) state, observation research inserts the researcher into the middle of the phenomenon of interest. Observations as a data collection method therefore produce a large quantity of data, making it at the same time a highly productive and potentially overwhelming data collection method. To avoid being overwhelmed by the breadth and wealth of observation data, it is crucial to clearly define the phenomenon of interest before embarking on data collection.

Gold (1958) represents the role of the researcher conducting observations on a scale from completely detached observer to fully involved participant. On this scale can be found the role of *observer-as-participant,* which is a less involved form of participant observation. When the researcher is an observer-as-participant she is not directly a member of the observed group but does at times participate in group activities. It is clear to everyone involved that research is being

carried out. However, observations would be conducted as unobtrusively as possible. Due to the semi-incorporated role of the researcher within the group and in an effort to not influence the group dynamic, observers-as-participants may have incomplete access to information and people.[21]

To ensure maximum efficiency in observation research, guidelines by LeCompte et al. (1993, p. 199– 200), who propose an observation tool for classroom observations, were followed. LeCompte et al.'s suggested questions were adapted, taking into account the diverse nature of participants in the observed courses. The observation tool captured i) descriptive information (e.g. attendance), ii) how goals and key concepts for the Orientation Course were presented and treated, iii) the types and implementation of activities, iv) participant and teacher behaviour, and v) the relationship of the observed session to the curriculum and overall learning objectives. The observation tool was refined over the course of two pilot observations. A full overview of the adaptation of LeCompte et al. (1993) can be found in Appendix A2.

Furthermore, key terms for critical incidents of othering and identity narratives were defined so that any instances during observations in which these central topics were addressed would be captured in as much detail as possible. The definition of critical incidents was based on the academic literature and the pilot observations. Key terms related to i) identity, ii) immigration, iii) racism/ xenophobia/ the treatment of immigrants, and iv) experiences with the state or individuals, which were discussed by course participants or teachers as representative for the state or wider society. When a critical incident occurred during an observed lesson, the situation

[21] A further discussion of limitations is provided in Section 3.5 of this chapter

was documented verbatim, and with additional, contextual detail. Furthermore, the situation was noted down on a list of issues for potential clarifications should an interview with the immigrant or teacher, who was involved in the critical incident, take place.

The observation schedule that had been developed from the academic literature was piloted for the first two sessions that were observed during fieldwork in Germany. It was then adapted to more fully capture the classroom dynamics and to increase the focus on othering. The final observation schedule focused on instances of identity representation or creation (including notes on teaching practices and classroom dynamics). The observation schedule can be found in Appendix A2. The data collected in the observation schedule was supplemented with field notes taken in a separate notebook after each observation, in which reflections and emerging themes were recorded.

3.3.2.2 Data collection for the German case study

Data collection in Germany took place in September and October 2017 in three separate Orientation Courses in Berlin, producing a total of 48 hours of observations. The collection of observation data included ten classroom sessions, two excursions, and the final Life in Germany test, covering the entirety of the 100 teaching units for the Orientation Course. One course took place in the morning, while two other courses convened in the afternoons. All courses lasted four hours and met from Monday to Friday for five consecutive weeks. The Life in Germany test was taken immediately after the last course meeting. The institution in which the observed Orientation Courses took place was chosen because it is run by the biggest provider of Orientation Courses in Germany (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2018). Access had

been gained by emailing the course provider and following up with a phone call to the institution's director. Only one institution was contacted as access to the course was immediately granted.

Course sizes varied between 9 and 16 participants, although attendance was never full. The nationality, gender, age, German language level, and educational backgrounds of course participants were extremely varied. Some course participants were EU migrants, while the majority of people enrolled in the courses had come to Germany as refugees. Course participants came from Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Tunisia, Turkey, Mozambique, Eritrea, Bolivia, Spain, Ukraine, Poland, Italy, Greece, and the United Kingdom. The youngest course participants were around 20 years old and the oldest course participants were in their mid- to late fifties.

Each course was led by two or three course teachers (six women, one man) who taught the courses on different days. Teachers were in their forties to late fifties and all had a background in German as a Foreign Language teaching. Teaching experience in Orientation Courses varied with the most experienced teacher having taught such courses for five years and the least experienced teacher having only started teaching Orientation Courses in the previous month. All teachers also had teaching experience at other institutions in the past or were still teaching the Orientation Course in other institutions at the time of data collection.

Observations were scheduled to allow for each course to be visited at least 4 times and to see each course teacher at least twice. To be able to pay sufficient attention to the observed session,

data collection never occurred twice in one day. Observations were generally arranged to ensure equal time for data collection across courses and teachers, leading to the content of the Orientation Course being discussed by different groups rather than observations seeing one topic discussed by all three groups. However, to be able to compare between the three different courses more readily *anchor observations* were included. The idea of anchoring observations by seeing the three groups' treatment of the same content, was derived from the idea of anchor items in test development. Thorndike (1982) suggested the use of anchor items in educational assessment to ensure validity and comparability of test results. Items should be defined as anchor items to calculate how far individual markers differ from the points allocated on average. Allocated points can then be statistically adjusted to ensure that all test takers are held to the same standard (Hambleton & Jirka, 2011).

As is the case for anchor items, anchor observations were incorporated in the design of this study to increase the validity and comparability of observation data. By paying special attention to the influence of contextual factors like course demographics or the teachers' individual approaches, the participants' responses to the course content could be more clearly discerned. Owing to the special role of history for national identity (e.g. Olick, 2007; Ajegbo, 2007), the first anchor observation was the beginning of the History Module. The three groups were again observed covering the same content when religion was the topic for the day. During both sets of anchor observations relevant differences between the three groups became apparent. When discussing World War Two for example, the group with most European participants focused more on European battles and leaders, whereas the group with very vocal participants from Arab countries in the Middle East spent a lot of time discussing the genocide of Jewish people in

Europe. A literature search for the terms “anchor observations” or “anchor content” did not yielding any results. However, despite its apparent novelty in participant observation research, it was a highly useful approach to ensure that observations across the three groups were sufficiently contextualised.

3.3.2.3 Data collection for the British case study

In order to follow respected authors’ recommendations for research design (George & Bennett, 2005; Yin, 2014, 2018), participant observation was also planned for the UK. Replicating the data collection approach in the two cases is an important aspect of a multiple-case study design (George & Bennett, 2005). However, as Yin (2014, 2018) pointed out, in a multiple-case study that applies a sampling logic based on “contrasting situations” (Yin, 2014, p. 64), variations in data collection approaches are justifiable, if the variations are related to that phenomenon, which the study aims to investigate. As the third research question of this project was concerned with the impact of the two countries’ civic immigrant education process on the civic learning of adult immigrants, the fact that the United Kingdom does not require immigrants to enrol in courses is reflected in the omission of observation data collection for the British case. The decision to exclude courses from the British case study was later affirmed when the recruitment of teachers for interview research proved to be very difficult, as is explained in the next section.

3.3.3 Semi-structured interviews

3.3.3.1 Interview schedule development

To complement the document analysis and participant observations and to more comprehensively address research questions 2 and 3, semi-structured interviews with immigrants

as well as with teachers in Germany and the United Kingdom were conducted. The purpose of these interviews was to gain a deeper understanding of the impact of depictions of national and immigrant identities on immigrants' educational journey through the civic immigrant education process. With the focus on immigrants and their experiences, teacher interviews were added to provide further insight and to complement, contextualise, and triangulate immigrants' accounts. May (2011) calls interviews "encounters in understanding", where the researcher develops an understanding of a phenomenon with and through the interview participants (p. 147). As a distinctly social and personal data collection method, based on the rapport between the researcher and the interview partner, interviewing is highly suitable to this research study that investigates personal experiences of and reactions to identity depictions.

Two separate interview schedules were developed for research with immigrants and with teachers, based on the academic literature and the insights gained from document and observation data collection in the previous two stages of research. Semi-structured interviews enable researchers to collect data on pre-specified phenomena of interest through the use of an interview schedule while simultaneously allowing for the conversation to unfold naturally (Bryman 2016, p. 402). Marshall & Rossmann (2016) highlight the additional benefit of designing an interview schedule when collecting data across sites, as a (partly) standardized list of questions will facilitate analysis (p. 101).

Kvale (1996) identifies eight types of questions to be purposefully included in an interview schedule; 1) introduction, 2) follow-up, 3) probing, 4) specifying, 5) direct, 6) indirect, 7) structuring, and 8) interpreting questions. According to Kvale silence is a ninth type of question.

The importance of letting the conversation develop freely and of giving interview partners time to formulate their thoughts was particularly strong in this research project, as most interviews were conducted in a language that was not the interviewee's mother tongue – namely German or English. When designing the interview schedule for immigrants, methodological literature on qualitative research with foreign language participants was consulted (Mackey & Gass, 2015; McCarthy, 2016). In this literature the importance of choosing the appropriate language level for the interview partners was highlighted. Furthermore, to ensure that the interview schedule was using the appropriate language level, German as Foreign Language and English as Foreign Language teachers were consulted, who provided feedback on the wording of the interview questions. Their linguistic expertise in phrasing interview questions in an easily understandable way was very helpful.

Irrespective of whether the interviews take place in the participants first language or not, Mackey & Gass (2015) also highlight that the researcher has to be mindful of potential language barriers when conducting the interview. They suggest that some interview partners might be put at ease by giving them additional time to formulate their answers and to ask clarification questions when interview statements were not clear to the researcher. When collecting interview data for this research, however, language proficiency appeared to be a point of pride for some interview partners, who would for example reference their language certificates. Being overly accommodating through for example speaking more slowly, was therefore a hinderance rather than conducive to developing a strong rapport. Where this was the case, no direct clarifications questions were asked but rather questions would be rephrased and restated.

As with observations, the interview schedules were piloted to improve the researchers' interviewing skills and to test the suitability of individual items (Silverman, 2016). The interview schedule for teachers as well as for immigrant interviews were piloted in October 2017 in Germany. The teacher interview schedule was piloted with two course teachers, whose courses the researcher had observed. Another pilot interview was carried out in the same month with a Somali immigrant, who had already taken the Orientation Course and had passed the Life in Germany test. Audio recordings of the three pilot interviews were transcribed in German and then partially translated into English.

Piloting the interview schedules resulted in a number of changes to the phrasing, focus, or order of questions. Main adjustments were the rewording of questions for teacher interviews to be more open-ended and to further simplify the language of questions for immigrants. For interviews with immigrants it was decided to more frequently use what Kvale (1996) calls a direct question format, in which interview partners could provide short answers. For questions using a direct question format, interview partners were then asked to provide examples were appropriate, such as when asking if they could remember anything that they had learned in preparing for the Life in Germany or Life in the UK tests. The interview schedule for immigrants focused on how immigrants felt about the structure and content of the civic education process as well as their test preparation and test taking experiences. Immigrant interviews particularly explored the responses of course participants to the identity narratives of self (German or British state) and other (immigrant identities). Teacher interviews focused on teachers' role and experience with the civic immigrant education process and was particularly aimed at finding contextual information that interview partners would be able to give based on their extensive

experience in the civic education context. The two interview schedules can be found in Appendix A3 and A4.

Despite piloting both interview schedules, when actually conducting the interviews it became apparent that interview partners' "understanding of what the interview is for, and how it unfolds, depend on the biographical and situated context of their lives" (Warren, 2012, p. 8). For example, some interviewees in Germany saw the interview as an opportunity for an interaction with a German person of a similar age. Such interviews then often included several questions from the interviewee him- or herself about issues in Germany or complaints about difficulties with the German immigration bureaucracy. Such extended diversions from the interview schedule were kept as short as possible without breaking the natural flow of the conversation. Furthermore, detailed field notes were taken after each interview, in addition to voice recordings, and notes taken during the conversation, so that the context of each interview could be taken into account when analysing the interviews later on. The positionality of researcher and research participants is further discussed below in Section 3.5 of this chapter (Ethics).

Following Taylor et al. (2015), further interviews were conducted until a "stage when the long hours spent in the field yield diminishing returns" (p. 92). Acknowledging that the interview sample could not be representative of the immigrant population in Germany or the UK, additional interviews took place until the responses became repetitive, suggesting that further interviews would not contribute new insights to the data collection.

3.3.3.2 Sampling and data collection for the German case study

In Germany a total of 15 immigrants participated in interviews in February and March 2018 (14 in addition to the pilot interview). The Somali man, who had been the pilot interview partner, kindly agreed to answer the new, additional questions on the adapted interview schedule in a phone call. Only three interview partners were female, which contrasts with the equal gender distribution in the observed courses. This was one of the limitations of this research, which is discussed in more detail in the final Section 3.6 of this chapter. Interview partners were from Somalia, Japan/UK, Syria, Eritrea, Iraq, India, Italy, and Poland. Immigrant interview partners were recruited by emailing all course participants from the three courses that had been observed. Email addresses had been collected on a voluntary basis during the final course sessions. As this resulted in only seven interviews, seven further interview partners were recruited through personal contacts or snowball sampling. Two immigrants, who had already agreed to participate in the research, facilitated the recruitment of one more interview participant each. Five other interview partners were found through the support of personal contacts to people who work for charities or non-governmental organisations that support immigrants in Germany. Table 4 below gives on overview of immigrant interview partners, their countries of origin, approximate age, gender, and the means by which they were recruited for participation.

Code	Country	Approx. age	Gender	Contact
Ger- I1 (Pilot)	Somalia	Late 20s	Male	Personal
Ger -I2	Japan/UK	Late 20s	Female	From observations
Ger -I3	Syria	Early 20s	Male	From observations
Ger -I4	Eritrea	Mid-20s	Male	Personal
Ger -I5	Iraq	Early 30s	Male	Personal
Ger -I6	India	Mid-20s	Male	Personal
Ger -I7	Syria	Mid-20s	Male	Personal
Ger -I8	Syria	Mid-30s	Male	From observations
Ger -I9	Italy	Mid-30s	Male	From observations
Ger -I10	Syria	Late-40s	Male	Snowball
Ger -I11	Syria	Mid-20s	Male	Personal
Ger -I12	Poland	Early-20s	Female	From observations
Ger -I13	Syria	Early-30s	Male	From observations
Ger -I14	Eritrea	Early-20s	Male	Snowball
Ger -I15	Syria	Mid- 20s	Female	From observations
N= 15	**10 countries**	**Early 20s to late 40s**	**Male = 12 Female = 3**	**Personal, from observations, snowball**

Table 4. Country of origin, age, and gender of course participants interviewed in Germany

Interviews lasted up to 38 minutes and were conducted in German (twelve) or English (three) based on the interview partner's preference. Immigrant interview partners were invited to choose a venue for the interview based on their preference and convenience. 14 interviews took place in cafes close to the home, school, or workplace of the research participants. One interview partner invited the researcher to her home for the interview. Interview partners from Somalia, Syria, Eritrea, and Iraq had come to Germany as refugees. Interview partners from Japan/UK, Italy, and Poland were in Germany as citizens of the European Union. The Indian interview partner had come to Germany on a spousal visa. Before the beginning of the interview all participants were informed about the focus and purpose of the research project and made aware that they could end their participation or withdraw their statements at any point. As per ethical regulations, informed consent was obtained from all interview partners prior to beginning the interview (see Appendix A5). Interviews were anonymised, fully transcribed in German and coded by the researcher as

well as a sample being second coded for the Cohen's Kappa inter-coder reliability check. Translation into English was undertaken of those passages of the transcripts that had been coded as relevant.

In addition to interviewing immigrants to address research questions 2 and 3, teacher interviews were conducted to benefit from the long-term experience and insider perspective of individuals teaching the Orientation Course. While the structure and content of civic immigrant education is prescribed by the state, it is the course teachers that follow the curriculum and use the textbooks in Orientation Course classrooms. Consequently, it is these teachers that are instrumental in helping the immigrants navigate the civic immigrant education process and their experience provided a highly valuable additional source of data to address research question 3.

Six course teachers participated in the interviews, two for the pilot in October 2017 and an additional four in February 2018. The two course teachers who participated in the pilot interviews kindly answered additional questions via email, after the interview schedule had been adapted following piloting. Interviews lasted between 27 and 65 minutes and were carried out in cafes close to the school in which the teachers worked, at suggestion of the interview partners. Informed consent was obtained and conversations were audio recorded. All six interview partners were female and had taught Orientation Courses for a minimum of 18 months. One of the six interviewed teachers had herself taken the Orientation Course as an immigrant many years ago, while the other five were German. An overview of the interview participants is provided in Table 5.

Code	Gender	Approx. age	Orientation Course teaching experience in years	Contact
Ger- T1 (pilot)	Female	mid-50s	5 years	From observations
Ger- T2 (pilot)	Female	late-50s	3 years	From observations
Ger- T3	Female	early 60s	Since the late 1990s in private institutions	From observations
Ger- T4	Female	late 50s	10 years	From observations
Ger- T5	Female	early 40s	18 months	Snowball
Ger- T6	Female	late 40s	2 years	From observations
N= 6	**Female = 6**	**Early 40s to early 60s**	**18 months to 20 years (in similar, private courses)**	**From observations, snowball**

Table 5. Overview of teacher interview partners in Germany

3.3.3.3 Sampling and data collection for the United Kingdom case study

Since data collection in the United Kingdom took place after data collection in Germany had been completed, the interview schedules used in Germany served as models for the development of interview schedules in the UK. The interview schedules were slightly adapted to fit the British context, for example taking into account that there are no compulsory courses in the United Kingdom and that immigrants in the United Kingdom tend to sit the Life in the UK test on computers in test centres rather than in the educational institutions in which they previously took the civics course. Owing to the difficulty in recruiting interview partners in the British case, the immigrant interview schedule could only be piloted in July and August 2018 in Oxford and London with a convenience sample of an Israeli, a German and a Lebanese immigrant. The period between the completion of data collection in Germany (March 2018) and the beginning of interviews in the United Kingdom was used to adapt the interview schedules to the British context and to recruit research participants. Following the pilot interviews, the interview schedule was further adapted. Based on the data collection experience in Germany, the interview

schedule used simple English. However, as became evident in the piloting process, as test takers in the United Kingdom are required to have been in the United Kingdom for at least four years and were therefore more proficient in English than interview partners in Germany, interview questions could be more complex.

Twelve further immigrant interviews were conducted in Oxford and London between November 2018 and April 2019 with immigrants from France, Nigeria, Syria, Bangladesh, India, the USA, Thailand, Spain, Jamaica, Lebanon, and Australia. Initial difficulties with research participant recruitment could be overcome through snowball sampling and by reaching out to immigrant networks and interest groups. Table 6 provides an overview of the interview partners' countries of origin, approximate age, gender, and the way by which they were recruited for participation.

Code	Country of origin	Approx. age	Gender	Contact
UK-I1 (pilot)	Israel	Late 30s	Male	Gatekeeper
UK-I2 (pilot)	Germany	mid-40s	Female	snowball
UK-I3 (pilot)	Lebanon	Early 30s	Female	Personal
UK-I4	France	late 50s	Male	Personal
UK-I5	Nigeria	mid-20s	Female	Personal
UK-I6	Syria	late 20s	Male	gatekeeper
UK-I7	Syria	late 50s	Male	snowball
UK-I8	Bangladesh	mid 40s	Female	snowball
UK-I9	India	Late 40s	Male	Personal
UK-I10	USA	early 70s	Female	Personal
UK-I11	Thailand	mid 30s	Female	Gatekeeper
UK-I12	Spain	early 30s	Female	snowball
UK-I13	Jamaica	Late 40s	Male	snowball
UK-I14	Lebanon	early 30s	Female	snowball
UK-I15	Australia	mid-30s	Male	personal
N=15	**13 countries**	**Mid- 20s to early 70s**	**Male = 7 Female = 8**	**Gatekeepers, personal contacts, snowball**

Table 6. Country of origin, age, gender, and sampling technique of immigrants interviewed in the UK

All interviews (including those with German speakers) were conducted in English and took place in cafes or restaurants of the research participants' choosing. The conversations lasted between 21 and 47 minutes. Informed consent was obtained prior to data collection and interview partners were made aware that they could end or withdraw their participation at any point.

It was anticipated that the recruitment of teacher interview partners for the United Kingdom case would present a difficulty, as no compulsory or official preparatory course for the Life in the UK test exist. Consequentially fewer teachers work in the civic immigrant education space and most of them work in private institutions, making such professionals harder to identify. Despite the lack of official, compulsory courses, an online search yielded several results for test preparation

courses offered by a variety of providers. The three course providers that were identified within a 90-minute radius of Oxford responded to interview requests by clarifying that they were not offering the courses that they listed on their websites due to insufficient sign ups. These correspondences also confirmed that most immigrants, who they teach in English as a Foreign Language and who were planning to take the Life in the UK test, prepare for the test by themselves, using the materials available for purchase or relying on those materials that can be found online. This further validated the decision to not include observations as a data collection method for the United Kingdom case study. The geographical radius to identify potential teacher interview partners was then expanded to cover the South-West of England, as it became evident that more extensive travel might be required for teacher interviews.

The teacher interview schedule was piloted with a teacher at a private language school, where Life in the UK test preparation courses were being offered. The pilot interview took place in late summer 2018 and lasted 67 minutes. As all items on the interview schedule yielded relevant and interesting insights and allowed for a natural flow of the conversation, the initial interview schedule was not adapted after piloting.

Due to difficulties with recruitment and the time required for immigrant interviews, data collection through teacher interviews did not resume until Spring 2019. Three additional interview partners were eventually recruited as the result of internet searches and a final interview partner was identified through snowball sampling. Two interviews took place in the schools in which the teachers were working. One teacher, who offered her course at home, was

interviewed in her home. The fifth interview took place in a café, which the research participant had selected. Table 7 provides an overview of the research participants.

Code	Gender	Approx. age	Years of teaching experience in this context	Contact
UK- T1 (pilot)	Female	Late 40s	3 years	Internet search
UK- T2	Female	Mid-50s	3 years	Internet search
UK- T3	Female	Mid-50s	5 years	Internet search
UK -T4	Female	Mid-40s	8 years	Internet search
UK- T5	Female	Early 40s	4 years	Snowball
N= 5	**Female = 5**	**Early 40s to mid 50s**	**3 to 8 years**	**Internet search and snowball**

Table 7. Gender, age, teaching institution and teaching experience of teachers interviewed in the UK

Interviews lasted between 42 and 72 minutes. All interview partners were female and had extensive experience as teachers in the civic immigrant education context. One of the teachers interviewed had herself naturalised as a British citizen and highlighted her own immigrant background as an important part of her teaching experience. Informed consent had been obtained prior to beginning the interview and all conversations were recorded and subsequently transcribed.

3.4. Coding and data analysis

After having outlined how data was collected, this section presents each research question, the associated data sources, and codes used for data analysis in turn. As is explained in more detail throughout this section, the codes for data analysis were based on the academic literature and the theoretical framework of othering.

Coding has been defined as the categorisation of data into key concepts of interest, which should be based on the research questions and theoretical framework (May, 2011, p. 153). The aim of coding data is to "reorganize and identify concepts, themes, events, and examples" (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. 192). The computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) Nvivo 11 was used as the main software for the coding of data. While CAQDAS like Nvivo is highly useful for data management and to generate information like the frequency with which a particular code was applied (e.g. Bryman, 2016), Nvivo furthermore allows for the organisation of data in a way that enables inductive interpretations. When using the Nvivo software, the key concepts and themes are referred to as "nodes" under which all coded data then appears. All relevant passages from various data sources can then be analysed and interpreted together.

Analytic coding was used for the analysis of documentary, observation, and interview data. Rather than remaining descriptive, analytic coding "draws together and gives more explanatory and analytic meaning to a group of descriptive codes" (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 671). By grounding analytic codes in the academic literature, this coding approach enables researchers to identify emerging themes more easily. For each of the research questions, analytic codes had been pre-defined, based on the relevant academic literature at the stage of research design. These codes

were then re-defined and tested on data samples from piloting. Figure 7 shows all steps of the analytic coding approach.

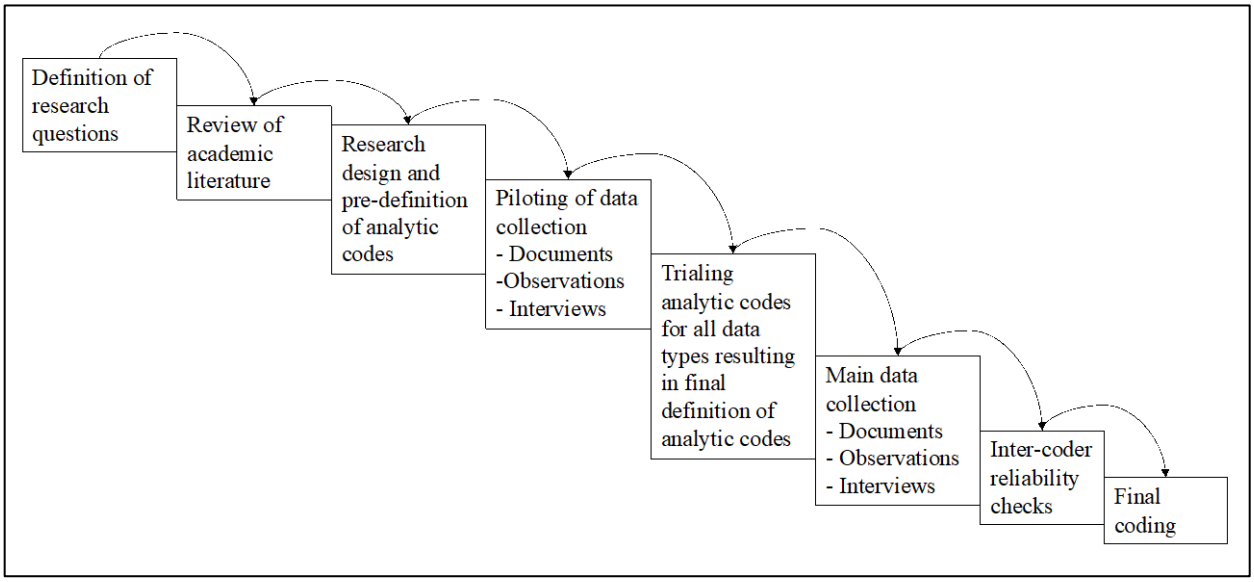


Figure 7. Analytic coding process

Figure 7 furthermore shows that, to verify the accuracy of document, observation, and interview coding, inter-coder reliability checks were carried out with a fellow German PhD student working on immigration and integration policy using Cohen's Kappa(k) on SPSS. Cohen's Kappa was first introduced by Cohen (1960) to assess the inter-rater agreement of two independent markers coding on a nominal scale. Fleiss et al. (2003) operationalized Cohen's Kappa by suggesting that an agreement value between 0.41 to 0.75 is "fair to good", while a value of above 0.75 is "excellent agreement" and indicates strong reliability (p. 604). As the acceptable window of k= 0.41 to 0.75 suggested by Fleiss et al. (2003) is very wide, and to guarantee a high level of inter-rater reliability, further literature was consulted and a threshold of $k > 0.6$ was chosen. Developing on the work of Cohen (1960), Landis & Koch (1977) suggested

that a Cohen's Kappa score ≤ 0.6 indicated only moderate agreement, while the strength of agreement of a Kappa score of > 0.6 was substantial. In the data analysis of this study, samples of documents, observation schedules, and interview transcripts were co-coded and where the inter-rater reliability was below k ≤ 0.6, a discussion between the two coders about the relevant codes took place and a further sample was co-coded. Once an inter-coder reliability of > 0.6 had been achieved, the remaining data was coded by the researcher. Results of inter-coder reliability checks are presented throughout when presenting the respective data analysis.

3.4.1 Depictions of national and immigrant identities

The first research question was concerned with how national and immigrant identities are represented in the civic immigrant education processes in Germany and the UK. Analytic coding (e.g. Cohen et al., 2017) was used to address this research question and to build a foundation for the following steps of the research project. As all analysed documents and the identity depictions therein were state-approved for civic immigrant education in Germany or the UK, this research question operates on the symbolic level of symbolic interactionism (Denzin, 2017). On the symbolic level, the state presents depictions of national and immigrant identities which are then interpreted in ways that are "manifold and complex, verbal and nonverbal, intended and unintended" (Denzin, 2017, p. 7). Table 8 illustrates what data sources and analytical codes were used to address research question 1 and provides examples of data that was coded for "national identity (state)" and "immigrant identity (state)".

Research question	Data sources and sample size	Analytical codes	Examples from the data
How are national and immigrant identities represented in the civic immigrant education processes in Germany and the United Kingdom?	Germany: 4 textbooks, 310 Life in Germany test items United Kingdom: 1 book, 408 Life in the United Kingdom practice test items	"national identity (state)"	""Responsibility for history" is one of the most important terms of post-war Germany. It describes the moral-political obligations we have for all people that have in the past been victims of injustice" (*Zur Orientierung*, p. 37)
		"immigrant identity (state)"	"any man who forces a woman to have sex, including a woman's husband, can be charged with rape" (*Life in the United Kingdom Handbook*, p. 149)

Table 8. Data sources, analytical codes, and examples of coded data addressing research question 1

3.4.1.1 Documentary data analysis

As Table 8 shows, all official textbooks and test items were included for the document analysis of the two countries' civic immigrant education process. The codes "national identity (state)" and "immigrant identity (state)" were used to identify and group text passages, in which national or immigrant identities were depicted. These codes were based on the theory of othering that highlights the juxtaposition of self and other in the identity construction process. German documents were first coded in German upon which coded sections were subsequently translated into English.

The code "national identity (state)" was informed by the academic literature, in which the importance of national history and liberal values for European identities was highlighted (e.g.

Olick, 2007; Joppke, 2010). The following document passage from the German textbook *Zur Orientierung* was for example coded for "national identity (state)":

> "Responsibility for history" is one of the most important terms of post-war Germany. It describes the moral-political obligations we have for all people that have in the past been victims of injustice. (p. 37)

This quote illustrates a German national identity that is framed as being responsible for past wrongs.

The code "immigrant identity (state)" was informed by academic literature that points to the prevalence of stereotyped, prejudiced depictions of immigrant identities across Europe (e.g. Fitzsimons, 2017). Authors also point out that it is particularly Muslim immigrants, who are stereotyped as being violent and dangerous (e.g. Morey et al., 2019). The following quote from the Life in the United Kingdom book was coded as "immigrant identity (state)" because it is illustrative of a stereotyped framing of immigrants as sexual aggressors:

> any man who forces a woman to have sex, including a woman's husband, can be charged with rape (Home Office, 2013b, p. 149)

The fact that this information is included in the Life in the United Kingdom book under a section called "Fundamental principles" shows that the state considers immigrants to be in need of education about marital rape.

A total of nine pages, or the first three pages of each of the Orientation Course's three modules, of each of the four textbooks were coded by another German graduate student. A Cohen's Kappa

test showed the coding to have sufficient consistency with k = 0.78 and k= 0.71 for the two codes respectively.

Cohen's Kappa for 30 Life in Germany test items (10 from each module) was calculated at an inter-rater reliability of k = 0.57. The second coder was stricter in applying the code "national identity (state)" for test items that the first coder considered to be straight-forward questions about legal or political institutions and not representative of a particular identity depiction. One item on which there was disagreement for example asked about why individuals have to declare their religious affiliation on tax returns. As Germany levies a Church Tax for registered members of a church, it was agreed that this was an administrative matter, which should not be coded as identity depiction. After a discussion between the two coders another 30 items were coded with k = 0.79.

A Cohen's Kappa test was also carried out to ensure that coding of the interpretative content analysis of the Life in the United Kingdom book was valid and reliable. A fellow doctoral student coded 2x10 pages of the book. The test yielded the result of k = 0.73 which is considered a substantial agreement. For the 40 co-coded items of the Life in the UK test, the Cohen's Kappa interrater reliability test was k = 0.68.

3.4.2 Responses to identity depictions

The second research question is concerned with how adult immigrants' experienced and responded to the depiction of national and immigrant identities that they encountered in the state-

approved civic immigrant education process. For the German case, where participation in the Orientation Course is required of immigrants, observations and immigrant interviews were used as data sources. In Britain, where immigrants prepare for the Life in the UK test on their own and private test preparation courses are rare, immigrant interviews were used as data source. As the question explores immigrants' experiences and responses to identity narratives that are expressed in words and actions, this question operates on the behavioural level of symbolic interactionism. In both cases the codes "national identity (immigrants)" and "immigrant identities (immigrants)" were applied, as Table 9 shows.

Research question	**Data sources and sample size**	**Analytical codes**	**Examples from the data**
How do adult immigrants undergoing the civic education process experience and respond to the depictions of national and immigrant identities by the state?	Germany: 48 hours observations, 365 minutes immigrant interviews (n=15) United Kingdom: 410 minutes immigrant interviews (n=15)	"national identity (immigrants)"	"There were many people in my course for whom some topics are off limits and they don't want to talk about them. But I think it is important to talk about that [homosexuality]." (Italian immigrant in Germany)
		"immigrant identity (immigrants)"	"They tell their story of England – the UK, and not just the UK, also the empire – and it's just one clean, sanitized, friendly version of what happened. And then they throw in some BME people for good measure." (Jamaican immigrant in the United Kingdom)

Table 9. Data sources, analytical codes and examples of coded data addressing research question 2

3.4.2.1 Observation data analysis

As this research project used a case study sampling technique that focuses on the differences between the two cases, resulting divergence in data collection and analysis can be justified based on the sampling technique (Yin, 2014). Germany and the United Kingdom were selected as case

studies - among other reasons illustrated in Section 3.2.2 of this chapter - because Germany has a compulsory civic education course for adult immigrants, who intend to sit the Life in Germany test. Due to the absence of such compulsory courses in the UK, observation research only took place in Germany. Data collected through the use of the observation tool was transcribed and entered into the Nvivo software.

To capture the multiple levels of human interactions that occurred in the courses, analytic coding was used. Analytic coding is a data analysis approach in which coding includes an element of interpretation and "draws together and gives more explanatory and analytic meaning" in the coding process (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 675). Saldana (2016) furthermore suggests that coding approaches should be reflective of the epistemological and theoretical underpinnings of a research project. The codes used for the analysis of observation data from Germany were based on the theory of othering, which suggests that identity construction requires a counter-image.

The codes "national identity (immigrants)" and "immigrant identities (immigrants) were derived from the academic literature and were tested on two pilot observations in Orientation Courses in Berlin. "National identity (immigrants)" was a code applied to situations in which immigrants reacted to national identity depictions in the textbooks used in the Orientation Course or discussed experiences that they considered to be specific to Germany. Such comments were often based on experiences outside the course or consisted of clarification questions. An example of an observed statement by a course participant from Iran that was coded as "national identity (immigrants)" was when the man expressed that he could freely express his atheism in Germany,

which would not have been possible in his home country. This statement was made while the group discussed fundamental freedoms that were guaranteed under the German constitution.

The application of the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" proved to be a particularly challenging aspect of data analysis. Already when coding the data from pilot observations, relevant instances could be grouped into two types of statements; those in which immigrants made statements that included themselves as immigrants, and those instances in which immigrants distanced themselves from other immigrants. An example of immigrants including themselves in statements coded as "immigrant identity (immigrants)" was when a Spanish course participant expressed agreement about European immigrants making an important contribution to German society. However, among the observation data coded as "immigrant identity (immigrants)" were also instances of immigrants engaged in a discourse about other course participants that was reminiscent of the sociocultural distancing and power imbalances of othering (e.g. Said, 1978). When discussing the integration of Turkish guest workers in Germany for example, statements of course participants were observed that expressed their sense that Turkish immigrants are not well integrated (as stated in the textbook) but that this immigrant group was rather unwilling or unable to learn German at a high level. A detailed discussion of the different findings produced by the application of the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" in the German case is presented in Chapter 5.

As with document coding, samples of observation data were also second coded by a German graduate student carrying out research on a related topic. Transcripts from the second anchor observation, in which all three groups were observed when starting on the topic Culture and

Society, were used for this inter-rater reliability check. The fieldnotes for these three observations were read before the second coder began coding. The inter-rater reliability was 0.76, with most differences in the application of the code "national identity (immigrants)".

3.4.2.2 Interview data analysis

In addition to observation data for the German case, research question 2 was addressed through immigrant interview data for both cases. As Table 9 (p. 150) illustrates, the same two codes were used for the analysis of interview data. As was the case with the analysis of observation data, interview transcripts were coded using an analytical coding approach.

Interviews that were conducted with immigrants in Germany were first coded in German, with coded passages translated into English after an inter-coder reliability test had been carried out. Interviews in the United Kingdom were fully transcribed and coded. A sample of an interview transcript can be found in Appendix B.

An example of the code "national identity (immigrants)" being applied to immigrant interview data was when a Jamaican immigrant made the following statement:

> They tell their story of England - the UK, and not just the UK, also the empire - and it's just one clean, sanitized, friendly version of what happened. And then they throw in some BME people for good measure. (UK- I13)

This statement was made in response to an interview question that asked whether anything was missing from the Life in the United Kingdom book.

The following statement is an example of an interview passage that was coded as "immigrant identity (immigrants)":

> There were many people in my course for whom some topics are off limits and they don't want to talk about them. But I think it is important to talk about that [homosexuality]. (Ger- I9)

This statement by an Italian immigrant was made when being asked about his experiences during the Orientation Course and indicates that he is of the opinion that the topic homosexuality should be covered in the course because other course participant were reluctant to discuss it.

Cohen's Kappa inter-rater reliability tests were carried out for two ten-minute sections of randomly selected immigrant interviews for each of the two country cases. At k= 0.62 and k= 0.71 respectively, agreement between coders was acceptably high.

3.4.3 The impact of the structure of civic education on immigrants' civic learning

The third and final research question explored the impact of the structure of the civic immigrant education process on the civic learning of adult immigrants in Germany and the UK. This research question was developed in an effort to consider civic education for adult immigrants fully and holistically. While othering was explored in identity narratives, the structure of the civic immigrant education process also carries significant symbolic meaning. This research question operates on the symbolic and behavioural level of symbolic interactionism as it investigates how the course structure that is set up by the state influenced what and how immigrants learn. For the German case, observation, immigrant interview and teacher interview

data was analysed. The British case was explored through the analytical coding of immigrant and teacher interview transcripts. Table 10 provides an overview of the data sources and analytical codes used as well as giving examples of coded data.

Research question	Data sources and sample size	Analytical codes	Examples from the data
What impact does the structure of the civic immigrant education process have on adult immigrants' civic learning in the two countries?	Germany: 48 hours observations, 365 minutes immigrant interviews (n=15); 290 minutes teacher interviews (n=6) United Kingdom: 410 minutes immigrant interviews (n=15); 220 minutes teacher interviews (n=5)	"references to the country"	"You don't come out of this experience feeling better about the state. When really it should be a friendly, welcoming experience. It is just a very cold, almost hostile process." (Israeli immigrant in the United Kingdom)
		"Group or interpersonal learning"	"Particularly for the refugees, that are sometimes traumatised, they don't know a lot of people and then it often happens that the course is an opportunity for them to meet others, make friends and stuff. This is less so for immigrants, who have lived here longer or the ones that are here for work or because of their families" (Orientation course teacher in Germany)
		"Individual learning"	"They feel they belong; they feel they are making progress; they have learned and been tested. Confidence I suppose is really what they get from it." (Life in the UK test preparation course teacher).

Table 10. Data sources, analytical codes and examples of coded data addressing research question 3

3.4.3.1 Observation data analysis

For the German case, observation data was analysed for the codes "references to the country", "group of interpersonal learning", and "individual learning". These three codes were derived from the academic literature on civic education for adult immigrants (e.g. Byrne 2016; Brown 2016), in which is suggested that individuals undergoing civic education reflect on their

relationship to the state and wider society, their interaction with other individuals, and their personal knowledge, attitudes, and position in society.

Observation data was for example coded for "group or interpersonal learning" in instances where course participants showed that they had learned from or established social contacts with fellow Orientation Course participants. One woman for example mentioned that her and another woman she had met in the course were enrolling in a further language class together upon completing the Orientation Course.

To ensure the validity of observation coding, an inter-coder reliability check was carried out for three course observations. The inter-rater reliability test yielded k = 0.59 across all three codes. This value falls within what Fleiss et al. (2003) call "fair to good" inter-rater agreement (p. 604) but is only considered to be a moderate agreement by Landis & Koch (1977). The sources of inter-rater disagreement were reviewed and it became evident that it was particularly the code "references to the country" on which coding had differed. The second coder had coded fewer passages as "references to the country", such as an immigrant's comment about experiences of racism that she considered to be a general grievances rather than reference to wider society or the state. After extensive discussion another two observations were second coded after which the inter-rater reliability was k= 0.69.

3.4.3.2 Immigrant interview data analysis

As Table 10 illustrates, the three codes "references to the country", "group of interpersonal learning", and "individual learning" were also applied to the analysis of immigrant interview

transcripts from Germany and the UK. The code "references to the country" was for example applied to the interview passage below from an interview in the United Kingdom.

> You don't come out of this experience feeling better about the state. When really it should be a friendly, welcoming experience. It is just a very cold, almost hostile process. (UK- I1)

In this interview statement the man criticised the way immigrants were treated in the civic immigrant education process.

Cohen's Kappa inter-coder reliability tests were conducted with two ten-minute sections from two separate interviews from Germany and the United Kingdom each being second coded by a German graduate student. For the interview data sample from Germany, the result was $k = 0.73$ across three codes. Inter-coder reliability was even higher for the two data samples from interviews in the United Kingdom, where $k = 0.80$.

3.4.3.3 Teacher interview data analysis

The third and final data source that was used for the analysis of the third research question were teacher interviews with civic immigrant education teachers in Germany and the UK. Owing to their extensive experience working with immigrants, who were preparing for the Life in Germany and Life in the UK tests, teacher interviews provided fruitful, additional insights.

This statement made by a British teacher was coded as "individual learning".

> They feel they belong; they feel they are making progress; they have learned and been tested. Confidence I suppose is really what they get from it (UK- T5).

Having worked with immigrants for several years, this woman was able to provide a generalised perspective on what immigrants learn in the civic immigrant education process that complemented the personal experiences of immigrants.

As with immigrant interviews, samples of teacher interview transcripts were second coded to ensure validity. For the two ten-minute transcripts from teacher interviews in Germany the inter-rater reliability test yielded $k = 0.85$ across the two codes. For the United Kingdom one ten-minute section each from two teacher interview transcripts was $k = 0.81$.

3.5. Ethics

Several ethical issues arose when planning and carrying out this research project. Approval from the Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) was obtained prior to data collection (see Appendix A5). Most of the ethical issues arising from this study were related to observation and interview research. All documents included in the first part of the research were publicly available and the authors had thereby consented to their use. No personal documents were included, the analysis of which can be more ethically complex and could potentially have a negative impact on the authors of such documents (Cohen et al., 2017). Document analysis was thus the least ethically complex element of data collection. Participant observations and interview research however entail several ethical issues that are here discussed in turn. Before however delving into ethic issues related to these specific data collection methods, researcher positionality is discussed as the position of researcher and research participants has a significant impact on both data collection methods discussed thereafter.

3.5.1 Researcher positionality

Positionality can be understood as the researcher's position "in relation to the social and political context of the study—the community, the organization or the participant group" This position affects every phase of the research process from research aim and design, to data collection, analysis, and dissemination (Coghlan and Brydon-Miller, 2014). Hammersley and Traianou (2012) argue that positionality is "an ethical matter" because it is concerned with power relationships between the researcher and what is being researcher (p. 12).

Two main recommendations are made in the research methodology literature when it comes to the treatment of positionality. The first suggestion is that researchers should engage in a constant process of reflexivity, whereby they carefully reflect on the effect their own background, context, and beliefs have on the research design and process. Secondly, it is important for researchers to be transparent about their own position(s), both in their interactions with research participants and when presenting their research (Bourke, 2014; Flick 2014b, Cohen et al., 2017; Denzin & Lincoln, 2017). In preparation of data collection, researcher positionality and the relationship between research and research participants was extensively considered and a reflective journal was kept during observation (see Appendices C1 and C2) and interview data collection (see Appendix C3).

Prior to beginning the data collection, it was anticipated that, as a German national, the relative position of the researcher would be different in the two case study counties. An educational researcher, who is German and who has degrees in history and politics might by German teachers be seen as a colleague. Furthermore, it was anticipated that in the British context immigrants, particularly immigrants from European countries, might consider a German researcher as a fellow immigrant. However, it was also expected that the legal and social status of a European citizen and graduate student at Oxford University would be more privileged and secure than that of some of the immigrant interview partners.

Initial presentiments about the researcher's relative position in relation to research participants was confirmed during data collection. Immigrant interviewees in the United Kingdom made statements such as "but you know how that is" referring to the researcher's own immigrant

status. Teachers in Germany similarly adopted a more familiar language, stating assumptions like "we [meaning all Germans] are all representatives of this country and that includes me and you and the janitor in school and all others". Such statements indicated that some immigrants in the United Kingdom and teachers in Germany felt a form of analogy between their own position and that of the researcher. It was easier to establish rapport to immigrants in the United Kingdom and teachers in Germany, who appeared to speak freely when invoking a perceived shared background.

However, during data collection, it also became apparent that two aspects of researcher positionality had been insufficiently considered. Firstly, research participants had high expectations of the potential impact of this research project. Teachers and immigrants in both countries expressed the hope, and at time expectation, that research findings would be shared with political decision makers and could thus contribute to changing the current system of civic immigrant education. Secondly, the difference between the relative position of EU immigrants and non-European immigrants in the United Kingdom had been underestimated. Middle Eastern and South Asian immigrant interview partners in the United Kingdom would for example refer to their experiences of being Muslims and encountering Islamophobia. Immigrants from Africa, the Caribbean, or South Asia would furthermore recount examples of racism. While herself an immigrant in the UK, the researcher had neither direct experiences of racism nor of Islamophobia. This is what Coghlan and Brydon-Miller (2014) describe as the multidimensionality of positionality, whereby a researcher might be closely related to research participants on one dimension (in this case, being an immigrant in Britain) but not in others (in this case, having a different ethnic and religious background). Insights about the

multidimensionality of positionality led the researcher to reconsider how she could establish rapport and make research participants feel comfortable during interviews.

3.5.2 Observation research

Unlike document analysis, the collection of data through observations did warrant several ethical considerations. Firstly, it was important to obtain informed consent. For observations in Germany, written consent was gained from the executive staff of the institution at which observation research took place. Teachers were then asked by their superiors if they would be willing to have a researcher attend their course. It was explicitly stated that they were under no obligation and could refuse, in which case another teacher would be asked in their place. All teachers consented to participate in the research project. At the beginning of the first session that the researcher attended, all course participants were then made aware of the reason and purpose of the researcher's presence. Course participants were informed by the teachers that, while they could not change out of the course, they could make it clear to the teacher or the researcher that they did not wish to be included in the observations. The researcher then introduced herself and the topic of the research project and also offered to be available for any questions or comments.

A second issue in observation research is the disruption caused by overt participant observations. Undoubtedly the researcher's presence in the courses altered the group dynamics, as both teachers and participants revered to the researcher for opinions, teaching support, or language assistance. Following advice from research methodology literature (e.g. Bryman, 2016), the researcher attempted to counteract the potentially disruptive effects of the researcher's presence

through regular conversations with course teachers, the first of which took place before the beginning of data collection. Course teachers were asked what they would like the researcher's involvement in class to be and their specifications were then followed. All teachers were in favour of the researcher being an active part of the group and supporting activities when possible. To not disrupt the teachers' work, the researcher did however only take an active support role when the teachers asked her to do so or when teachers had given their approval to the researcher supporting course participants who had asked for help.

A third ethical issue that arises with observation research is that of deception. The British Educational Research Association (2018) declares that deception should be avoided and that researchers should be transparent about the research process and its objectives. While course teachers and participants had been informed about the nature and purpose of the research project, it seems that not all participants were fully aware of what the research entailed. Not all course participants attended the first sessions during which the researcher was introduced to the courses. Those participants would therefore not have received the same amount of information. However, all course teachers repeatedly referred to the researcher as "our visiting researcher" or similar descriptions that reminded all those present about the fact that research was being conducted. Furthermore, in those situations during which the natural flow of the interaction allowed for it, the researcher's interactions with course participants were used as an opportunity to re-state that observation research was being carried out. Additionally, during the last session that each of the three groups were observed, immigrants were invited to write down their contact information on a sheet of paper, if they were willing to be contacted for interview research. At this point it was

again clarified that those course participants, who now wanted to be excluded from the analysis of observation data, could express this to the researcher. No such requests were made.

3.5.3 Interview research

Similar ethical issues to those mentioned in the context of observation research arose with interview research. More so than in observation research, however, interview partners were vulnerable to being identified through their statements. Particularly teachers stood a larger risk of being identified, as they were members of a smaller group. All teachers signed consent forms before the interviews and were promised anonymity. No personal names or names of teaching institutions were used when reporting the research, thereby keeping the identity of research participants anonymous.

Mackey & Gass (2015) point out that informed consent is a particularly difficult issue when conducting research with people who might not be fully proficient in the language they are being interviewed in. In addition to providing immigrant interview partners with an information sheet, the focus and goal of the research project was explained verbally, and immigrant interview partners were reminded that they could end or withdraw their participation at any point. The information sheet included the researcher's contact information if immigrant interview partners should want to clarify or add anything after the interview had ended. To avoid the emotional distress of having to sign a written consent form, oral consent was obtained prior to immigrant interviews.

Another issue with interviews was the power imbalance during data collection. Power asymmetries are in fact inherent to all human interactions and cannot be avoided in the interview process (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). Rather than taking on the impossible task of eradicating power imbalances, Kvale & Brinkmann (2015) suggest a similar approach to the management of researcher positionality (Section 3.5.1), which entails being mindful and reflective of power dynamics during the interview process and to consider them when analysing the interviews. Both groups of interview participants raised issues that they hoped this research would bring to the attention of policymakers. Three teachers for example lamented that their working conditions were precarious and that they were often hired on short-term contracts. Immigrant interview partners seemed less concerned with the influence they hoped the research could have on their individual situation. However, during interviews immigrants also raised issues with German or British bureaucracy more generally. Five interview partners in Germany directly stated that the comments they had made during the interview, for example about the problematic housing situation, should be brought to the attention of those in power. To manage the expectations of interview partners, the researcher clarified after each interview that, while she hoped that the research findings would be widely considered, this could not be guaranteed.

The third and last ethical issues was that the conversations during interviews could at times have been unpleasant for research participants. This was particularly the case for immigrants, as these interviews were touching on themes such as xenophobia or experiences of exclusion. Interview partners were previously made aware that such topics could be touched upon. Furthermore, to mitigate emotional distress questions that were likely to illicit positive emotions were also included in interview schedules, such as positive experiences during the courses or memories of

being welcomed to Germany/ the UK. It should be noted that the interview sample only consisted of immigrants, who had received a pass mark for their Life in Germany or Life in the UK tests. Furthermore, the sample did not include any immigrants whose asylum claims or naturalisation processes were still pending. No research partner's legal status was therefore under immediate scrutiny by German and British officials, which could have increased their unease. To further assuage immigrant interview partners, it was highlighted that all their statements would be anonymised, and that data would be handled with utmost care. Despite these reassurances of confidentially, two interview participants in Germany and one interview partner in the United Kingdom chose to not have the interview recorded, so that a more extensive transcript was made during and immediately after the interviews.

3.6. Limitations of the research design and methods

It should also be noted that there are several limitations inherent in the research methods used for this study. This section considers i) language issues, ii) sampling size, and iii) current developments in the field in more detail, while also outlining how these limitations were addressed.

Firstly, observation and particularly immigrant interview data collection were curtailed in their usefulness by language issues. While measures were taken to accommodate for various levels of language proficiency with steps outlined above (see Section 3.2.3), the mastery of German or English influenced the way in which immigrants were able to express themselves. Further issues with interview data are i) researchers bias, ii) the way in which the researcher would impact the behaviour and statements of research participants, and iii) the validity of participants' recollections during interviews (Rubin & Rubin 2012; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015; Bryman 2016). Rubin & Rubin (2012) suggest that these limitations can be addressed at least in part by reflecting on one's biases and the effect of one's presence during data collection and analysis. Additionally, administering an inter-rater reliability check during the coding and analysis phase of the research process, further minimises the effect of researcher bias (Fleiss et al., 2003). These measures suggested in the academic literature were followed through written reflections on biases and researcher presence, as well as inter-rater reliability checks.

Secondly, this study is based on a relatively small sample, which is often the foundation of criticism of qualitative research (see e.g. Creswell 2014; Cohen et al., 2017). However, the sample for documentary data included all relevant, official civic immigrant education materials

and interviews were carried out until no new information was added in additional interviews (Taylor et al., 2015). Moreover, through the use of a detailed observation schedule and anchor observations across three groups, the observation data collection in Germany was designed to be as informative, rigorous, valid as possible.

Lastly, it has to be admitted that the highly current nature of this research project leads to constant changes. By the time this research project was concluded important contextual factors had changed. The document analysis for Germany that is presented here is based on the list of state-approved Orientation Course textbooks for 2017/2018. Since then the BAMF has published a new list of textbooks, on which can be found a fifth book. Since the participant observation component of this research project however builds on the document analysis, it was decided to include those four textbooks in the analysis that were in use at the time at which observation research was conducted. Furthermore, changes in course participant demographic have occurred in Germany since the time of data collection, with fewer new refugees arriving in Germany.[22] No research method could have prevented the conditions in the field from changing and in fact, it is the current nature of the research topic that makes this study so relevant.

The academic research literature agrees that limitations of individual data collection methods can be mitigated through triangulation. Triangulation is the "use of more than one method or source of data in the study of a social phenomenon so that findings may be cross-checked" (Bryman, 2016, p. 697). Beyond broadening and deepening a scientific inquiry, the combination of three data collection methods is also invaluable to fully unpack complexities, such as those inherent in

[22] https://www.dw.com/en/refugee-numbers-in-germany-dropped-dramatically-in-2017/a-42162223 (retrieved 20.11.2019)

the civic education process, while at the same time strengthening the rigour and validity of qualitative research (Flick, 2014a; Creswell 2014, Bryman, 2016).

3.7. Conclusion

The social constructivist epistemology and the terms around which this research project is centred require a qualitative research methodology. Furthermore, the theoretical framework of othering and the focus on identity construction are experiential, process-based phenomena that cannot be explored in sufficient depth when using a quantitative methodology. The research design choices were made to capture the ongoing personal, interpersonal, and interpretative elements of symbolic interactionism, the lens through which othering and identity construction within the civic immigrant education process are investigated. Analytic codes, which had been developed based on the academic literature, tested on pilot data, and scrutinised in inter-coder reliability checks, were used in data analysis.

A document analysis of official textbooks and test items from the Life in Germany and Life in the UK tests was carried out to understand the ways in which the two countries present their national identity and frame the immigrant other. Primarily employed to address research question 1 and to access the symbolic level of symbolic interactionism, the analysis of document data also informed the subsequent steps of the research process. As a second data collection method, observations were carried out in civic immigrant education courses in Germany. Observations allowed for an investigation of how immigrants interact with and respond to the civic education process and the identity narratives present therein, the focus of research question 2, which takes place at the behavioural level of symbolic interactionism. Observations were not included in the United Kingdom case, as the difference between the two countries' civic immigrant education processes is reflected in a multiple-case study design that does not aim to replicate findings but to investigate significant differences (Yin, 2014). A third and final data collection method was

semi-structured interviews with course teachers and immigrants in the two countries. Interview data was used to verify, complement, and contextualise observations. Interviews were conducted with teachers in Germany and the UK. The major focus of this third research method however was the collecting of immigrants' accounts of and reflections on their own experience after having sat the Life in Germany or Life in the UK tests. Interview data, along with observation data for the German case study, was used to answer the third research question, which operates across the symbolic and the behavioural levels of symbolic interactionism.

Ethical concerns arose in relation to i) researcher positionality, ii) observation research, and iii) interview research. Positionality is an issue relevant to all forms of research that is however particularly prevalent in qualitative research. It concerns the position of the research in relation to the research topic and research participants and has an impact on all parts of the research process, from design to the communication of findings. Transparency and reflexivity are suggested as means to manage researcher positionality (e.g. Coghlan and Brydon-Miller, 2014).

Ethical issues in observation research included the potentially disruptive effects of the researcher's presence and the difficulty of obtaining informed consent from all participants in the Orientation Courses that were observed. Academic literature (e.g. Bryman, 2016) suggests to always maintain transparency about the research process and objectives. Furthermore, the researcher had regular conversations with teachers before and during the observation data collection process, in an effort to minimise the disruption her presence could have. The main ethical concerns with interview research are related to power inequalities, anonymity, and the potential emotional distress that research participation could cause. In line with Kvale &

Brinkmann's (2015) proposal to be reflexive and mindful of power dynamics when conducting interviews, the informed consent of interview partners was ensured and data was anonymised at the point of transcription. Furthermore, all interview partners were ensured that they could end the interview or withdraw their participation at any point.

Limitations inherent in the research methods chosen for this study were considered in the planning and conducting of research and could furthermore be mitigated through triangulation. The first limitation relates to data collection with immigrants, who might have been hindered in their ability to fully express themselves when interviewed in German or English. Secondly, a larger interview sample could have yielded additional, relevant insights. Lastly, the highly current nature of the research topic, while also foundational to its relevance, results in constant changes on the ground. The socio-political context in which this research was conducted has already evolved, for example with fewer refugees and asylum seekers arriving in Germany.[23]

23 https://www.dw.com/en/refugee-numbers-in-germany-dropped-dramatically-in-2017/a-42162223 (retrieved 20.11.2019)

Chapter 4 - Identity representations in civic immigrant education materials

4.1. Introduction

Academics agree that historical narratives and a widely shared, collective memory are crucial for the construction of national identities; in Germany and the United Kingdom no less so than in other countries (e.g. Olick, 2007; Burns 2014). Moreover, academics propose that the depiction of immigrants, and particularly Muslim immigrants, as poorly integrated and prone to dangerous behaviour is a fundamental building block of a European sense of self (e.g. Derrida, 1992; Arfire, 2011). However, by setting apart immigrants through identity narratives based on othering, it would be made harder for newcomers to successfully integrate while simultaneously rendering it less likely that European host societies would welcome immigrants, as the rhetoric around civic immigrant education claims they do (e.g. Meer; 2014). Based on academic literature, the first research question inquires how national and immigrant identities are represented in the teaching and testing materials used in the civic immigrant education processes in Germany and the United Kingdom.

Being focused on how Germany and the United Kingdom present themselves and the immigrants they require to undergo civic education in official materials, this research question focuses on the symbolic level of symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1969; Denzin, 2017). Beyond being the content of citizenship tests, these identity narratives signal how states want to be seen and in what ways immigrants are portrayed as the other.

This chapter presents data from the analysis of civic immigrant education materials (756 pages from textbooks and 708 test questions) that were analytically coded for "national identity (state)" and "immigrant identity (state)". After this short introduction, the data for each code is first presented for the German case study, followed by the British case. The closing section summarises the findings, offers an initial comparison of the two cases, and highlights emerging themes.

4.2. National identity represented by the state

Recording instances of the representation of German and British national identity in the official learning and testing documents for the civic immigrant education process, this section presents data that was coded as "national identity (state)". The code was applied to the analysis of textbooks and the Life in Germany/ Life in the UK test questions. Text passages or test questions that were coded as "national identity (state)" are not just references to national holidays or traditions. Much rather, the code was applied when materials covered content that was presented as foundational to the national identity. This section includes a brief presentation of the textbooks and tests questions that were analysed to better illustrate the nature of the education materials used for civic immigrant education.

4.2.1 Germany: Tormented past and a commitment to the rule of law

2.1.1 Textbooks

There are four textbooks that the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF))* has approved for the use in Germany's compulsory civics course, called Orientation Courses:[24]

1) *100 Stunden Deutschland* ("100 hours Germany") published by Klett (Bulter et al., 2017),

2) *Orientierungskurs* ("Orientation Course") published by Cornelsen (Schote, 2017),

3) *Zur Orientierung* ("for Orientation") published by Hueber (Gaidosch & Müller, 2017),

24 The list of state-approved textbooks was most recently updated in June 2019 and now includes a fifth book called Mein Leben in Deutschland- der Orientierungskurs (published by Hueber)

4) *miteinander leben* (“living together”) published by the Centre for Civic Education Baden Wurttemberg (Feil & Hesse, 2017).

Baden Wurttemberg is one of Germany’s 16 federal states, each of which has a Centre for Civic Education. As the Orientation Course curriculum and Life in German test are federally administered across Germany, material developed in one state can be used in the entire country. Klett, Hueber, and Cornelsen are German textbook publishers (sample pages from all four textbooks can be found in Appendix A5). In line with what is laid out in the Federal Curriculum, all textbooks cover politics (Module 1), history (Module 2), and society and culture (Module 3). These three modules are in line with what Michalowski (2011) has identified as usual content for civics tests.

All four textbooks used in Germany’s Orientation Course address the reader directly and use inclusive pronouns when referring to “*Your* city”, “public services in *your* neighbourhood”, or “*our* duties” [emphasis added by author]. A discourse of immigrants’ shared ownership of their physical and social environments reflects the German understanding of integration as a bilateral process that is defined in policy documents (e.g. Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2017). All textbooks make an effort to include ethnic minorities in the visual materials they use, however they do so to different extents. The textbook *Orientierungskurs* uses only three images of ethnic minority individuals in the entire book, while *100 Stunden Deutschland* includes ethnic minority individuals on almost all graphics/ collages.



Figure 8. Illustrations from 100 Stunden Deutschland representing the German welfare state including ethnic and religious minority individuals (Butler et al., 2017, p. 27)

Figure 8 from the textbook *100 Stunden Deutschland* (Butler et al., 2017) shows a cartoon with the heading "welfare state" (*Sozialstaatlichkeit*). The protective umbrella and the safety net of the German welfare state also include a woman with a headscarf and a man with a darker complexion, potentially an immigrant.

Figure 9 from the book *Zur Orientierung* (Gaidosch & Müller, 2017) is a collage with the title "All this is Germany". Together with a woman in traditional dress (image h), the Frankfurt skyline (image g), and two men holding hands (image j), the collage also includes a mosque (image b), and a newspaper clipping of a football match between vicars and imams (image k).



Figure 9. Picture collage with the heading "All this is Germany". The collage includes a mosque and an article about a football match between vicars and imams. From the textbook Zur Orientierung (Gaidosch & Müller, 2017, p. 53)

All four textbooks include sample test questions and relate content to questions on the Life in Germany test. This highlights the purpose of the textbooks for Life in Germany test preparation.

In the analytic coding of the textbooks' content the code "national identity (state)" was applied to capture text passages that described explicitly German characteristics, which were not framed as general values or principles but as attributes particular to Germany. The code was applied a total of 22 times in the analysis of German textbooks. "National identity (state)" was used only twice for *miteinander leben*, five times for *Zur Orientierung*, seven times for *100 Stunden Deutschland*, and eight times for *Orientierungskurs*. The coded text passages were from all three modules of the textbooks and included statements about political, historical, and cultural

specificities of Germany. All four textbooks spell out the advantages of the German political system, the welfare state, and the freedoms guaranteed under the Basic Law (Germany's constitution).

While it has previously been suggested in the academic literature that holocaust memory is important to Germany's national identity (Olick, 2007; Brown, 2014), it is noteworthy that the module on Germany's history only begins with the rise of National Socialism. None of the four textbooks cover German history prior to the 1930s. In the federal curriculum for the Orientation Course the history module is called "history and responsibility" and the focus that is placed on Germany's commitment to human rights, the rule of law, and non-discrimination are framed as a result of past crimes. The book *Zur Orientierung* explains for example that

> "Responsibility for history" is one of the most important terms of post-war Germany. It describes the moral-political obligations we have for all people that have in the past been victims of injustice (Gaidosch & Müller, 2017, p. 37).

Out of the four textbooks *100 Stunden Deutschland* differs slightly in its approach to the discussion of Germany's history in the 20th century. While it covers the same time period, the textbook depicts Germany's history through the example of a family. A fictional Syrian refugee called Samir meets a German family (with a French father and Turkish stepfather) and learns to appreciate Germany's and Europe's complex, interconnected history through the stories of the family. At the end Samir states that he now understands Germany and "also wants to become a German in Europe" (Butler et al., 2017, p. 89).

While all four textbooks mention the history of immigration to Germany, two textbooks (*Orientierungskur*s and *Zur Orientierung*) do not refer to immigrants as part of German society but rather as a separate group. *100 Stunden Deutschland* on the other hand emphasises the contribution of immigrants to German society. When covering the German political system for example, the book presents a quote from Cem, which is a Turkish name, saying that he is politically active and uses his free time to inform citizens about political issues (Butler et al., 2017, p. 8). Furthermore, it is pointed out that 21% of Germany's population has an immigrant background (ibid., p. 118) and that German is an immigrant country (ibid, p. 132). Such information deliberately includes immigrants as part of Germany's national identity. However, such positive, inclusive depictions as Germany as an immigrant country only exist in *100 Stunden Deutschland*.

The book *miteinander leben* is more critical in its assessment of the situation of immigrants in Germany by explicitly thematising racism and discrimination of immigrants in Germany. One of the exercises in the book for example presents a study showing that applicants with a Turkish-sounding name had a 14% lower chance to be invited for a job interview. By covering the existence of racism in German society the textbook *miteinander leben* takes a more self-critical approach to German identity than the other three books, which either do not include immigrants in their depiction of Germany or, as is the case with *100 Stunden Deutschland,* exclusively focus on positive aspects. As is discussed in the next chapter, the textbook's admission that racism and xenophobia exist in Germany is reflective of immigrants' accounts of their lived experiences that were shared during observations and interviews.

Overall, the four textbooks in Germany cover the content that researchers have identified as common for civic immigrant education, namely politics, history, and society and culture (Michalowski, 2011). All four textbooks present Germany in a favourable light and emphasising the political and legal achievements, while also highlighting the important, historical responsibility that Germany has for the protection of minorities and the rule of law. However, there are also slight differences in national identity depictions between the textbooks. Two of the textbooks (*miteinander leben* and *100 Stunden Deutschland*) used in the Orientation Course make more frequent efforts to include visual material of immigrants, such as photographs of ethnic minority individuals or of a mosque, when describing Germany. These two books also address the current situation of immigrants in German society. While *100 Stunden Deutschland* excludes existing anti-immigrant sentiments in their depiction of Germany, *miteinander leben* is more open about the continuing challenges of immigrant integration, particularly of Muslim immigrants, in Germany.

4.2.1.2 Life in Germany Test

In addition to analysing the textbooks, the code "national identity (state)" was applied in the analytic coding of questions of the Life in Germany test. The multiple-choice test has to be sat at the end of the Orientation Course. Test takers are presented with 33 questions, each of which has four possible answers. The pen and paper test has to be completed within one hour. 15 questions have to be answered correctly to successfully complete the Orientation Course, while answering 17 questions correctly enables immigrants to also use the test to acquire German citizenship (upon fulfilling further requirements). The publicly available question catalogue, from which

items are randomly drawn for the test, consists of 300 federal questions and an additional list of ten questions specific to each federal state. The ten state-specific questions cover the same content and follow the same format in each of Germany's 16 states but are adapted to reflect state-specific information. Questions specific to a federal state ask for example about the state capital or the state emblem. For the 33 questions on a Life in Germany test, 30 items are drawn from the federal item pool and three items are state-specific.

Mirroring the structure set up in the federal curriculum, the 300 federal test items cover the three following modules; 1) Politics in democracy with 150 items, 2) History and responsibility with 90 items, and 3) Culture and society with 60 items. Before presenting the content analysis of the test items, the changes to test questions undertaken in the 2013 revision are briefly discussed.

The federal question catalogue for the Life in Germany test is updated annually for accuracy, to reflect developments such as a new head of government. However, since its initial publication in 2008, the test was only revised once in 2013. 34 questions were changed from the 2008 to the 2013 edition. 13 out of these changed questions relate to Module 3 - Society and Culture, which consists of only 60 questions in total. Module 3 thus has the highest proportion of changed questions with almost 22% of the module's items having been replaced. In some instances, new questions replaced items that were culturally sensitive. Former question 247 for example was "Who is able to file for marriage in Germany?" (the correct answer being that both partners have the right to do so), while other replaced questions were more neutral (such as "Where does the German government work?").

The fact that most revisions were made to questions about Module 3 - Society and Culture is in line with this module being allocated most teaching units in the federal curriculum of the Orientation Course. 38 teaching units of the total 100 units of the Orientation Course cover Culture and society. It should also be noted that the increase from 60 to 100 units of the Orientation Course enacted in 2017 was undertaken to enable a "value-based civic education" (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2017, p. 6) and most of the 40 additional teaching units were allocated to Module 3.

As can be expected for a test called Life in Germany test, all 300 test questions in the federal test question catalogue relate to Germany. 248 of 300 questions have German or Germany in the wording of the question.[25] Through analytic coding the code "national identity (state)" was applied 29 times to the Life in Germany test items. These 29 test items concern the German national identity beyond the clarification of procedures or the names of political institutions. Much rather the test items coded for "national identity (state)" are based on societal norms and refer to values and behaviours that are described as foundational to Germany (further sample questions can be found in Appendix A5).

Question 14 on the Life in Germany test for example reads "Freedom of opinion in Germany means that I …", with the four possible answers being "a) can spread false information on flyers, b) can state my opinion in letters to the editors in newspapers, c) can wear Nazi symbols, d) can state my opinion as long as I do not question the government" (B is the correct answer). Question 295 is "Which religion has influenced European and German culture?", with the answer options

25 133/150 questions from the Politics section, 63/90 questions from the History Section, and 52/60 from the Society and Culture section

being a) Hinduism, b) Christianity, c) Buddhism, d) Islam (B is the correct answer). Such questions highlight the importance of liberal values, the rule of law, and Christian traditions to Germany.

In line with the Module's title "history as responsibility", 20 out of the 90 questions in Module 2 - History cover national socialism and World War Two. The history questions' emphasis on holocaust memory is again in line with the academic literature on the teaching of German national identity (Miller-Idriss, 2009, Brown, 2014). Four out of the 60 questions covering Module 3 - Society and Culture ask about the history of immigration to Germany since World War Two. These four questions about the history of immigration to Germany reflect the four textbooks' coverage of the topic (see above). However, the references the textbooks *100 Student Deutschland* and *miteinander leben* make to the contribution of immigrants to German society are not reflected in the test.

In summary, the test covers the same three components as the textbooks, which are defined in the federal curriculum, namely i) politics, ii) history, and iii) culture and society. The 29 test questions that were coded as "national identity (state)" refer to cultural values and social norms foundational to German society, such as basic freedoms and the influence of Christianity. The fact that most questions that were revised in 2013 for the current test edition are part of Module 3 - Society and Culture also suggests that it is the teaching and testing of cultural practices and normative content that is more contentious than history or politics. Furthermore, 20 out of 90 history questions in the test question catalogue cover World War Two and national socialism. Even if one was to date the genesis of Germany as a country back to only 1871, when the

German Empire was formed, it is surprising that the period prior to 1930 is not covered in the textbooks or Life in Germany test at all. Instead the twelve years of national socialist rule between 1933 and 1945 are extensively covered. This choice by the Federal Office of Migration and Refugees, that authored the federal curriculum, authorised the textbooks, and the test questions, shows that Germany's identity is based on national repentance and guilt for Germany's Nazi past.

4.2.2 United Kingdom: Accounts of glory from the Stone Age to the present

4.2.2.1 Life in the United Kingdom Book

To address research question 1 for the British case, coding for "national identity (state)" included the book *Life in the United Kingdom- A Guide For New Residents* (Home Office, 2013b), which is authored by the Great Britain Home Office and published by TSO (The Stationary Office). The current, third version of the book was published in 2013. This is the only accepted text- or handbook for the Life in the UK test. The structure of the book and the language used in it are briefly described in the following paragraphs.

The 180-page *Life in the United Kingdom- A Guide For New Residents* is divided into five chapters of unequal lengths: 1) "Values and principles of the UK" (p. 6-11), 2) "What is the UK?" (p. 12-13), 3) "A long and illustrious history" (p. 14-69), 4) "A modern, thriving society" (p. 70-117), 5) "The UK government, the law and your role" (p. 118-161). Chapter 2 "What is the UK?" is the shortest chapter with only two pages. Chapter 3 "A long and illustrious history" is the longest chapter with a total of 55 pages. The book begins with a table of contents, in which the focus of each chapter is introduced, and ends with a glossary, and an index of terms.

On its 180 pages, the book has few pictures and includes no reflection prompts or exercise for learners to undertake on their own. Each chapter opens with a textbox "Chapter contents" and ends with a textbox called "Check that you understand", which lists the key points of the chapter. While the Life in the UK test is introduced in the first chapter of the book, there are neither any examples of how the book's content could be turned into test questions nor does the book include practice questions (example of Life in the United Kingdom book pages can be found in Appendix A1).

Unlike the textbooks used in the German Orientation Course, the Life in the United Kingdom book has very few visual elements. Only 38 photographs can be found on 180 pages. Only two of these 38 photographs show non-Caucasian individuals, one women of East Asian origin interacting with a policeman and one South Asian family celebrating Diwali. It should however be mentioned that the depiction of individuals is only one part of the 38 photographs, with only 13 depictions of people and the remaining 25 photographs showing landmarks, historical artefacts, or examples of art and architecture.

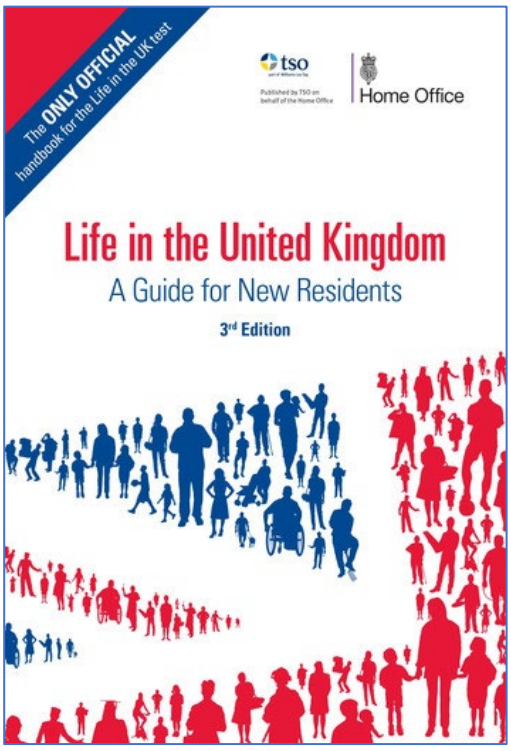


Figure 10. Life in the United Kingdom: A Guide for New Residents (Home Office, 2013b). The front cover of the only civic immigrant education book shows a part of the British flag as a collage of human outlines

The British flag takes a prominent position across the book. In addition to the front cover being a collage of human outlines in the form and colours of the British flag, there are two graphics and

four photographs that show the Union Jack. The cover of the Life in the United Kingdom book is shown in Figure 10.

In addition to photographs, a variety of other visual and graphic elements is used in the Life in the United Kingdom book. There are seven historic paintings; five depicting historically significant people like Henry VIII and two showing battle scenes. Three tables show i) population statistics, ii) Commonwealth member states, and iii) European Union member states. The book also includes three maps of the United Kingdom (one satellite image and two political maps).

The Life in the United Kingdom book addresses the reader directly and possessive pronouns are regularly used. For example, the book starts with stating what is expected of "you". It outlines that:

> If you wish to be a permanent resident or citizen of the UK, you should:
> - Respect and obey the law
> - Respect the rights of others, including their right to their own opinion
> - Treat others with fairness
> - Look after yourself and your family
> - Look after the area in which you live and the environment. (Home Office, 2013b, p. 8)

Furthermore, the strong emphasis on the individual reader of the book as well as the consistent use of personal pronouns places considerable responsibility on the immigrants involved in civic education. For example, readers are told that "*you* can get contact details for all *your* representatives and their parties from *your* local library and from www.parliament.uk" (ibid, p. 126). Alongside the explanation of "how *you* can be a good neighbour" (ibid, p. 154) and the instruction that "*you* should recycle as much of *your* waste as *you* can" (ibid, p. 159), the book

also outlines that "there are a number of positive ways in which *you* can support *your* community and be a good citizen" (ibid, p. 156). The book then goes on to describe ways to volunteer in schools, with local charities, to get involved with party politics, or to become an organ donor.

When carrying out analytic coding 20 passages of the Life in the United Kingdom book were coded as "national identity (state)". These text passages present a vison of or narrative about what the United Kingdom is or stands for.

Throughout the book history plays a central role in the depiction of British identity. Beginning with the statement that "Britain is a fantastic place to live: a modern, thriving society with a long and illustrious history" (ibid, p. 7), the book then goes on to a history chapter that traces the origin of the United Kingdom back to the Iron and Stone Ages. As the history section covers several millennia, it presents a rough overview of historical developments rather than a detailed account. This results in complex topics, on which various perspectives exist (such as the abolition of slave trade or Britain's role in World War Two) being condensed into single paragraphs. Furthermore, the narration of British history is speckled with accounts of the many accomplishments of Britain in the past, such as the Scottish Enlightenment (ibid, p. 40), numerous important inventions (ibid, p. 64), and the many achievements of modern Britain, such as cultural and sportive successes. This includes value judgements such as British poetry being among the richest in the world (ibid, p. 99).

Contained within the Life in the United Kingdom book's long coverage of British history are accounts of the long history of migration into Britain. This includes labour migrants in the

Middle Ages (ibid, p.25), Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe (ibid, p.47) and the "invitation" of workers from Ireland, other parts of Europe, and the West Indies to help in the reconstruction of post-World War Two Britain (ibid, p. 63). The story of immigration to the United Kingdom contains the statement that:

> The UK today is a more diverse society than it was 100 years ago, in both ethnic and religious terms. Post-war immigration means that nearly 10% of the population has a parent or grandparent born outside the UK. The UK continues to be a multinational and multiracial society with a rich and varied culture. (ibid, p. 71)

The Life in the United Kingdom book therefore emphasises that Britain is a multicultural society that has benefitted from the contributions of various immigrant communities. There are however also three occasions in which a distinction is made between "our people" and the reader. On page seven for example the book explains that:

> Our people have been at the heart of the world's political, scientific, industrial and cultural development. […] We are proud of our record of welcoming new migrants who will add to the diversity and dynamism of our national life. (ibid, p. 7)

While this statement acknowledges the important contribution of immigrants to British life, it nonetheless draws a distinction between "our people" and the new immigrants. In line with this statement about the contribution of immigrants to British life, the book includes a textbox about Sake Dean Mahomed, a South Asian immigrant, who opened the first curry house in the United Kingdom. The long-distance runner Mo Farah, who was born in Somalia, is listed among Britain's great athletes.

Besides British history, the Life in the United Kingdom book also repeatedly emphasises the importance of values and rules to British society. While acknowledging that Britain benefits from cultural diversity, the book lists "shared values and responsibilities that everyone can agree with" (ibid., p. 154), which include obeying and respecting the law, being aware of and respecting the rights of others, treating others fairly, behaving responsibly, helping and protecting your family, preserving the environment, treating everyone equally, voting in local and national elections, helping others, as well as, and working to provide for yourself and your family. This list is concluded with the advice that "taking on these values and responsibilities will make it easier for you to become a full and active citizen" (ibid, p. 154).

Overall, the Life in the United Kingdom book is a comprehensive text that places emphasis on the reader's personal responsibility for integration. By depicting Britain as a value-based, multicultural society the book spells out the conditions under which aspiring citizens can integrate and be welcomed to British society. The United Kingdom is represented as a country proud of its long history and many cultural, artistic, and sportive successes. Furthermore, Britain is described as appreciative of its long tradition of welcoming immigrants.

4.2.2.2 The Life in the UK test

The test items for the Life in the UK test are not publicly available. However, as part of the test preparation materials the Home Office has published *Life in the United Kingdom: Official Practice Questions and Answer* (Home Office, 2013c). This booklet was published together with

the revised test in 2013. *Life in the United Kingdom: Official Practice Questions and Answers* contains 17 practice tests of 24 questions each. The reader is instructed that:

> these practice questions are not the actual questions that you will get in the Life in the UK test, but by answering them correctly you can find out whether you are ready to take the test (Home Office, 2013c, p. 7).

An official Life in the UK test will consist of 24 similar questions out of which the test taker has to answer 18 correctly within 45 minutes. The official Life in the UK test has to completed on a computer in one of 60 test centres across the United Kingdom.

The *Life in the United Kingdom: Official Practice Questions and Answers* served as a substitute for the document analysis of the Life in the UK test. A short description of the test's structure and format is given here, before the results of the document analysis are discussed.

Four question formats are used for the Life in the UK test. All question formats appear between three and ten times in a given practice test in *Life in the United Kingdom: Official Practice Questions and Answers*. However, as the book also clarifies (ibid, p. 8), there is no apparent system as to how often a particular question format is used. Across the 408 questions in the 24 practice tests the multiple-choice question (MCQ) format was used 128 times. This was followed in frequency by 97 questions that asked the test taker to identify which one of two given statements is correct. 92 questions used a true/false format. 91 questions asked the test taker to choose two correct answers of a list of four options. Table 11 provides examples of each type of question. The examples chosen are the first appearance of this question format among the 408 official sample questions (Appendix A1 provides further examples of test questions).

Question format	Example (Correct responses in bold)
MCQ	What festival is celebrated on 31 October? Valentine's Day Bonfire Night **Halloween** Hogmanay
Identify two options out of a list of four	Which TWO are political parties in the UK? Office Party Moderate Party **Conservative Party** **Labour Party**
True/False	Is the statement below TRUE or FALSE? The British constitution is contained in a single written document? **(False)**
Correct statement	Which of the following statements is correct? **EastEnders and Coronation Street are popular television programmes.** EastEnders and Coronation Street are historical landmarks.

Table 11. Overview of question types, their frequency among the 408 practice questions, and example for each question type

As is the case in the Life in the United Kingdom book, many of the questions on the test directly address the test taker, such as Question 24 in Practice test 3 "What must you have done in order to vote in elections?".

In each of the 17 practice tests, eight of the 24 questions were based on content of the chapter "A long and illustrious history". A third of all questions in a given test were therefore concerned with Britain's past, underlining the importance attributed to national history that was already evident in the history chapter being the longest chapter in the Life in the United Kingdom book.

The code "national identity (state)" was used 28 times across the 408 questions. While more questions cover content about British culture or costumes, these 28 coded items were noteworthy

because they went beyond questions on popular sports or British food but rather, they were direct claims about British beliefs and values or about what it means to be a British citizen or resident. 18 of these 28 coded items were variations of the question "Which of the following is a fundamental principle of British life?" (Practice test 2, Question12) or "Which of the following statements is correct? - On becoming a UK citizen or permanent resident, you will be agreeing to respect the laws, values and traditions of the UK" (Practice test 11, Question 6). The fact that 18 such questions exist across the 17 practice tests in *Life in the United Kingdom: Official Practice Questions and Answers* suggest that it is highly likely that a test taker will be asked a question about British values or the duties associated with British citizenship when taking the actual Life in the UK test. Questions that ask how someone can be a good neighbour or what the benefits of volunteering are, also provide clear instructions as to how aspiring citizens or permanent residents are expected to behave.

The remaining ten questions that were coded as "national identity (state)" pertain to religion. Six of these ten questions are about Christianity or Christian traditions. One other question is about the Church of England being the official church of state of the United Kingdom, while yet another question deals with the fact that there is no established Church in Wales or Northern Ireland. The remaining two questions coded as "national identity (state)" are noteworthy because they include non-Christian religions as part of British life. One of these questions asks about Diwali, a South Asian holiday celebrated by Hindus and Buddhists (Practice test 6, Question 1). The other question, or rather it's answer options, is an MCQ question about the holiday during which mince pies are eaten. Diwali and Vaisakhi are two of the four possible answers (Practice test 10, Question 6). Like the inclusion of non-Christian holidays in the list of British festivities

and holidays in the textbook, the existence of questions about Diwali as part of the Life in the UK test show that there is a conscious effort to paint a diverse picture of British society. Therefore, as mentioned above in regard to some passages in the Life in the United Kingdom book, these questions are instances of the civic immigrant education materials not highlighting the otherness of immigrants but rather including them in Britain's national identity.

Overall, the test questions for the Life in the UK test mirror the model set up in the Life in the United Kingdom book. A significant emphasis is placed on Britain's history with eight out of the 24 questions in a given practice test being drawn from the chapter "A long and illustrious history". Question 16 in Practice test 4 does in fact ask "Is the statement below TRUE or FALSE? - British values and principles are based on history and traditions", with the answer being true. This question highlights the connection between national history and British values, which are another important topic in the Life in the UK test. With 18 questions in the 17 official Life in the United Kingdom practice tests pertaining to British values or fundamental principles of British life, it is likely that immigrants would face such a question on their official test. Potentially owing to the influential role of Christianity in Britain's history and culture, Christianity is given a prominent place in the question pool, with questions covering particular holidays like Lent or Easter and another question asking about the Church of England. However, it should also be highlighted that the test questions follow the same practice set out in the Life in the United Kingdom book of including non-Christian and non-White elements as part of British society, such as a question about Diwali. There are also questions that mention the history of migration in the United Kingdom covering the period from the Middle ages to today. The

inclusion of immigrant narratives in the Life in the United Kingdom materials blurs the lines between what is British and what aspects of immigrant culture have become British.

4.2.3 Summary - National history as responsibility or source of pride

The depiction of national identity in the state-approved learning and testing materials for civic immigrant education in Germany and the United Kingdom both consist at least of the three components: i) politics, ii) history, and iii) society and culture. As we know from the academic literature on citizenship tests (e.g. Michalowski, 2011), these are standard topics in civic education for adult immigrants.

The politics sections in both countries' textbooks cover democratic procedures and institutions, the electoral system and political parties, the judicial system, and the rule of law. Corresponding questions exist in the Life in Germany and Life in the UK tests. Both countries show themselves to be proud of the fundamental freedoms and rights that are guaranteed under national law. In the German case, the politics section includes explanations about federalism and the European Union. In the British case, devolution and Britain's involvement in international bodies like the United Nations, the European Union, and the Commonwealth are outlined.

A difference exists in the two countries treatments of their national history. This difference pertains both to the length of the historical period covered and the lens through which national history is told. In Germany, only the period beginning with Hitler's ascent to power is covered in a section called "history and responsibility". 20 out of 90 questions about history that are

included in the Life in German test question catalogue ask about World War Two or Nazi Germany. In the Life in the United Kingdom book, the 55- page long history chapter covers the "long and illustrious history" of the country reaching back all the way to the Stone Age. While this is the book's longest chapter, it nonetheless requires brevity. The fact that an extended period of history is to be covered on a limited number of pages calls to mind criticism by Cave (2002), who argued that the school curriculum does not allow for adequate time to discuss the British Empire. While German materials presents a detailed description of the atrocities of national socialism, the Holocaust, and World War Two, British materials take a less close look at problematic parts of national history. Existing academic literature has pointed to the fact that it is common practice in civic education to present accounts of national history that might not include more problematic periods or do not present alternative accounts (Griswold, 2010; Loring, 2013). Evidence gathered for this study in the United Kingdom confirms such prior research while the German case differs from what has been found in other countries.

There are also marked differences between the sections on society and culture in both countries' civic education materials. The British book and test contain information on British authors, artists, athletes, and inventors. Furthermore, the book provides lists of popular TV programmes and films. Among notable British personalities, individuals with an immigrant background are included, illustrating the contribution of immigrants to British society. None of the four German textbooks nor the Life in Germany test cover current popular culture and only one of the four textbooks explicitly mentions that immigrants have made a contribution to German society. The Life in Germany test question catalogue includes four questions about 20th century immigration

to Germany but unlike in the United Kingdom, no explicit effort is made to portray the country as multicultural in the Life in Germany test questions.

Both countries civic immigrant education materials include text passages or test questions about Christian religious traditions. In the German case, all textbooks cover religion, including a discussion of Catholicism, Protestantism, and other religions. The Life in Germany test only asks about Christian religious holidays. In the United Kingdom, the book and test include non-Christian holidays or practices in their culture section. The British approach to a multicultural depiction of national identity is supported by authors such as Osler & Starkey (2006), who have previously mentioned the necessity to incorporate elements of multiculturalism in citizenship education in schools. Heybach & Sheffield (2014) have warned that the depiction of national identities as mono-cultural could be harmful for the integration of immigrants.

After having presented data on the code "national identity (state)", the following section now covers data coded as "immigrant identity (state)". This code was applied to the same data sources, textbooks and test questions, but turns the attention to the representation of immigrant identities in these state-published or state-approved materials.

4.3. Immigrant identity represented by the state

This section presents data that has been coded for "immigrant identity (state)" and refers to instances of representations of immigrant identities in the official learning and testing materials used in the civic immigrant education processes in Germany and the United Kingdom. Like for the previous code, textbooks and the Life in Germany/ Life in the UK test questions were used as data sources. Using othering as a theoretical framework for this study, this code captures the counter-image to the previous code on national identity. The code "immigrant identity (state)" therefore highlights text passages or test questions in which immigrants are depicted as being different from the Germany or British national identity that was captured under the previous code. Academic literature suggests that immigrant identity narratives are often based on stereotyped views of Muslims as engaging in polygamy or being prone to religious extremism (e.g. Fekete, 2009).

4.3.1 Germany: Rules for proper coexistence

4.3.1.1 Textbooks

There are differences in the frequency and nature of the representation of immigrants in the four state-approved textbooks in Germany. The book *Orientierungskurs* for example has limited ethnic diversity in its images. Ethnic minority individuals are only shown seven times across the entire book and only appear in pictures are of immigration-specific contexts, such as visits to the immigration office. One of the seven times that ethnic minority individuals are shown, is in an exercise where learners have to identify which election law is being broken in the images. The first cartoon is a black man telling a black woman how to fill out her ballot (see Figure 11).

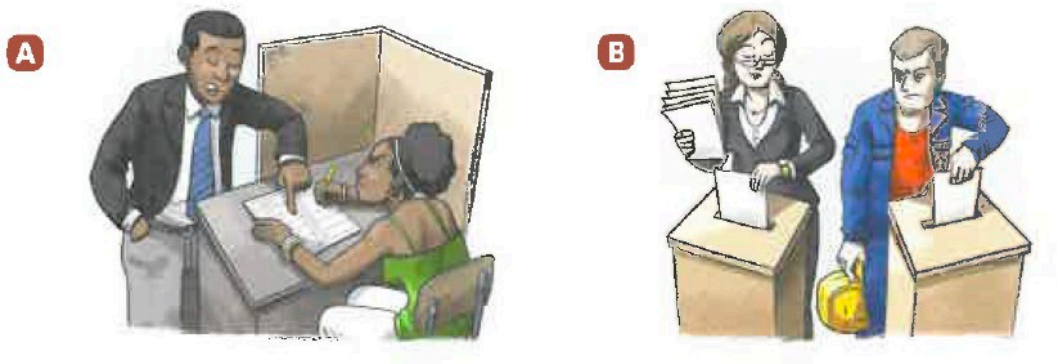


Figure 11. Picture exercise from Orientierungskurs (Schote, 2017, p. 22) on election fraud. This is one of seven instances in the entire book that shows ethnic minority individuals

There are however also examples of positive visual representations of immigrants in the photographs used in textbooks, such as Figure 12 from the book *100 Stunden Deutschland*. These two photographs from the beginning of Module 3 - Society and Culture show a woman with a headscarf as a paramedic and another woman with a headscarf involved in an inter-faith initiative.



Figure 12. Pictures at the beginning of Module 3 from the book 100 Stunden Deutschland with the title "People and society- living together" (Butler et al., 2017, p. 90) shows women with headscarves as medical professionals and in an inter-faith initiative

In line with differences in the visual depictions of immigrants, the four textbooks also differ in how immigrant identities are represented in the texts. When carrying out analytic coding, the code for immigrant identity depictions was applied less frequently than the code "national identity (state)" (n=22), which was discussed in the previous section. Across the four textbooks only one to four text passages were coded as depicting immigrant identities, resulting in a total of nine applications of the code "immigrant identity (state)" when analysing textbooks.

The code "immigrant identity (state)" was applied most frequently in the book *Orientierungskurs* with four coded passages. The exercise prompts given to learners to talk about their own country hint at immigrants holding less liberal opinions and coming from less developed societies. In an exercise about welfare state provision for example, all example answers are about the lack of welfare schemes and medical insurances or about such schemes being inaccessible (Schote, 2017, p. 26). Furthermore, when covering democratic institutions and electoral systems, the speaking prompts for classroom discussions include statements like "The government is scared to lose the next election, therefore they forbid other parties" or "The government does not like a court's ruling. The court is supposed to change the ruling" (ibid, p. 13). Providing only speaking prompts that reflect a lack of democracy or the rule of law in the course participants' countries of origin speaks to an image of these countries as backward.

The code "immigrant identity (state)" was applied three times in the book *Zur Orientierung.* All three applications of the code covered passages that showed stereotypes that are particularly associated with Muslim immigrants. One of the exercises on individual freedoms and the legal

system for example is about an immigrant, who got involved with an Islamist terrorist organization and who was convicted to seven years in prison (Gaidosch & Müller, 2017, p. 22). An explanation about marriage in Germany includes a paragraph about the illegality of having more than one wife (ibid, p. 60).

For the two textbooks *100 Stunden Deutschland* and *miteinander leben* the code "immigrant identity (state)" was only applied once. *100 Stunden Deutschland* portrays immigrants as desiring to become German nationals while *miteinander leben* has a passage about why engaging in unofficial employment is detrimental to the welfare state. As both books make efforts to portray immigrants as part of German society or discuss issues like racism, it is not surprising that *100 Stunden Deutschland* and *miteinander leben* include fewer negative depiction of immigrants than the other two textbooks.

4.3.1.2 Life in Germany Test

The code "immigrant identity (state)" was applied seven times across the 310 official Life in Germany test questions. These six questions all appear towards the end of the test question catalogue (questions 245, 251, 252, 267, 272, and 292 in the question catalogue) and are normative or value-based in nature. Question 245 for example reads "Which of the following couples is not allowed to live together in Germany? – A) Hans (20 years old) and Marie (19 years old), B) Tom (20 years old) and Klaus (45 years old), C) Sofie (35 years old) and Lisa (40 years old), D) Anne (13 years old) und Tim (25 years old)". In addition to pointing to the illegality of living in a relationship with a minor (Anne, 13 years old in answer option D), the question also clarifies that the two homosexual couples (answer options B and C) are not

engaging in illegal behavior by living as a same-sex couple. Question 251 addresses that corporal punishment of one's children is forbidden, while question 267 is concerned with respecting a grown-up child's choice of partner. Questions 252 and 272 clarify that a man is not allowed to be married to more than one woman at the same time. Another question, 292, refers to religious tolerance. One of the possible answer options is "the state decides which God people believe in". These six questions are based on assumptions about what behaviour immigrants might engage in and should be warned about.

All instances of applying the code "immigrant identity (state)" occurred for items in Module 3 – Society and Culture. As indicated in the academic literature on the framing of immigrants in Europe and as was to be expected from the treatment of Module 3 – Society and Culture in the test revision of 2013, the coding confirms that the teaching and testing of culture is a complex and contentious endeavour that might give rise to stereotyped identity depictions.

Overall, depictions of immigrant identities in the textbooks are less frequent than depictions of national identity. The code "immigrant identity (state)" was only applied a total of 9 times, between four and one time across the four textbooks, compared to 22 applications of the code "national identity (state)" in the analysis of the same sources. Owing to the textbooks' double purpose as Orientation Course textbooks and test preparation materials, there is strong alignment between coded content in the textbooks and the Life in Germany test questions. The six coded test items refer to child rearing, polygamy, religious tolerance, and acceptance of homosexual partnerships. While exercises or test questions about such normative, personal issues might be presented in the context of what is accepted by German society, the existence of such questions

suggests an image of the test-takers as requiring such information. It is particularly Module 3 - Society and Culture in which particular views of immigrants as less liberal become apparent. This module, unlike the previous two modules on politics and history, is not based on the law or historical facts but covers values and cultural practices. As such, it is to be expected that this module conveys more normative content, drawing more heavily on believes held about immigrants, such as that they might be in polygamous marriages or use different parenting approaches, which include violence.

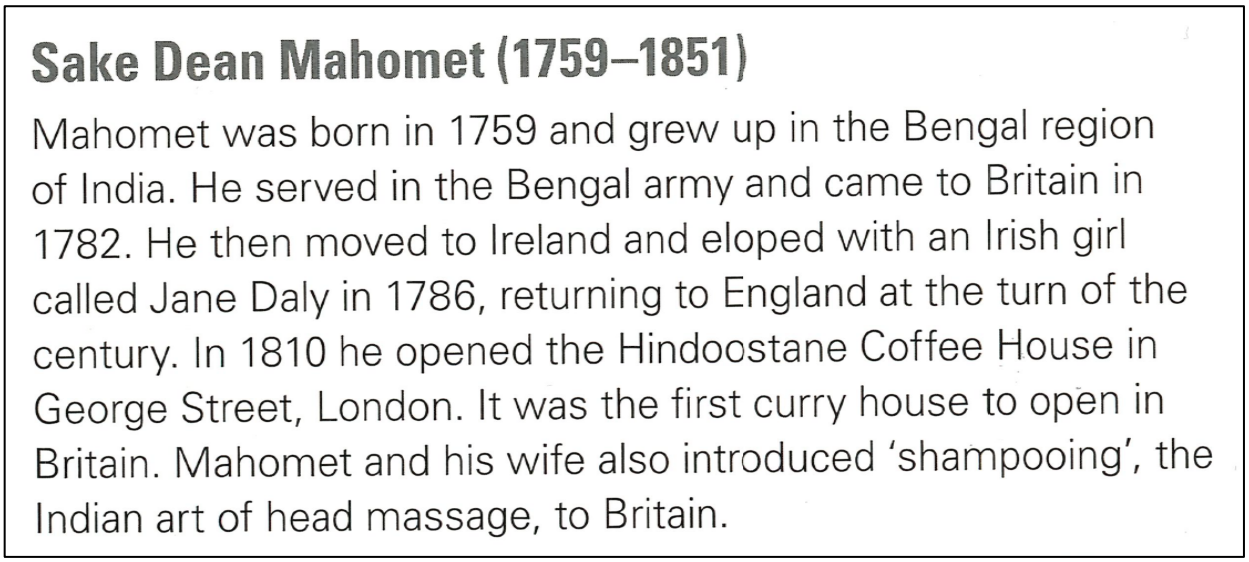
4.3.2 United Kingdom: Proudly multicultural and behaviourally prescriptive

The code "immigrant identity (state)" was used to record instances in which the Life in the United Kingdom book and test present an immigrant identity that is distinctly different from the British identity. Like in the German case, the code was less frequently applied in the document analysis than the code "national identity (state)", which was used for the analysis of the same data sources.

4.3.2.1 Life in the United Kingdom Book

The code "immigrant identity (state)" was only used four times in the analysis of the Life in the United Kingdom book. The fact that the code was applied so rarely, is reflective of the Life in the United Kingdom book painting a deliberately multicultural picture of British society, which has been outlined when presenting findings on the previous code. When holidays are named and briefly described in the Life in the United Kingdom book (p. 79- 84), Christian holidays are listed first, but another list is presented immediately after, which catalogues other religious

holidays and includes Hindu, Sikh, Jewish, and Muslim holidays, such as Diwali, Hannukah, Eid al-Fitr, Eid ul Adha, and Vaisakhi. Among the many notable Brits to whom the book dedicates a textbox is Sake Dean Mahomet (p. 42), in Indian immigrant who opened the first curry house in the United Kingdom (see Figure 13). Mo Farah, a Somali-born British long-distance runner is included in the list of notable athletes.



Sake Dean Mahomet (1759–1851)

Mahomet was born in 1759 and grew up in the Bengal region of India. He served in the Bengal army and came to Britain in 1782. He then moved to Ireland and eloped with an Irish girl called Jane Daly in 1786, returning to England at the turn of the century. In 1810 he opened the Hindoostane Coffee House in George Street, London. It was the first curry house to open in Britain. Mahomet and his wife also introduced 'shampooing', the Indian art of head massage, to Britain.

Figure 13. Text box on Sake Dean Mahomet, a Bengali-born immigrant to England, who opened the first curry house in England in 1810. Page 42 of the Life in the United Kingdom book.

This effort of including examples of non-white British life blurs the distinction between the codes "immigrant identity (state)" and "national identity (state)", as immigrants are depicted as being part of British society.

The code "immigrant identity (state)" could however be used four times across the 180 pages of the Life in the United Kingdom book for instances in which this multicultural, diverse British

identity was not consistently applied. The first such instance is when discussing the laws and rules that govern British society. Here the reader is instructed that:

> all residents, regardless of their background, are expected to comply with the law and to understand that some things which may be allowed in other legal systems are not acceptable in the UK. Those who do not respect the law should not expect to be allowed to become permanent residents in the UK. (Home Office, 2013b, p. 140)

This strongly worded warning makes it explicit that no cultural relativism applies to legal questions and that even though some immigrants might come from different legal systems and have other cultural practices, the condition for being welcomed as a British resident is that they obey British laws at all times.

Furthermore, there are paragraphs in a section called "Fundamental principles" within the book's Chapter 5- "The UK government, the law and your role", which discuss domestic violence, forced marriage, and female genital mutilation (FGM). In these paragraphs the reader is instructed that "any man who forces a woman to have sex, including a woman's husband, can be charged with rape" (ibid, p. 149) and that "practicing FGM or taking a girl or woman aboard for FGM is a criminal offence" (ibid, p. 150). Furthermore, it is clarified that forced marriage is illegal. The fact that out of a range of possible illegal actions marital rape, forced marriage, and FGM are included, suggests that the book's readers might engage in such practices and therefore require special notice of their illegality.

4.3.2.2 The Life in the UK test

The code "immigrant identity (state)" was applied only six times across the 408 official practice questions for the Life in the UK test. The fact that one third of the test questions are dedicated to

British history is likely to be a contributing factor to the code not having been applied more often. Furthermore, as is the case in the Life in the United Kingdom book, some questions present immigrant traditions in the same way as Christian or British traditions, thereby blurring the lines between the codes "immigrant identity (state)" and "national identity (state)". Instances in which non-Christian traditions are included in test questions in the same way as Christian traditions were not coded as depictions of immigrant identity but were rather included in the national identity code.

Two of the six test items coded for "immigrant identity (state)" were true-false questions referring to criminal behaviours.

> Is the statement below TRUE or FALSE? - A husband who forces his wife to have sex can be charged with rape (Practice test 5, Question 15).

> Is the statement below TRUE or FALSE? - Forcing another person to marry is a criminal offence in the UK (Practice test 7, Question 8).

The third and fourth coded question are further true/false questions that do not directly refer to the law; "Is the statement below TRUE or FALSE? - There is no place in British society for extremism or intolerance" (Practice test 7, question 22). Practice test 6, includes question 22 "Is the statement below TRUE or FALSE? - In the UK you are expected to respect the rights of others to have their own opinions". While not referring to the British law, these two questions do

address to the test takers' behaviour and place all test takers under the general suspicion that they are likely to engage in such actions.

The other two coded questions suggest that the test taker is inexperienced with liberal, democratic values.

> Is the statement below TRUE or FALSE? - In the UK a citizen may only follow an approved religion (Practice Test 5, Question 18).

> Which of the following statements is correct? - A free press means that what is written in newspapers is free from government control (Practice test 6, Question 1).

It is interesting that all six coded questions are in effect true/false questions, since even the question format that asks to identify the correct answer provides one true and one false statement. Even if one considered the information covered in these six questions to be important and worthy of inclusion in the Life in the UK test, a different format could have been used. For example, it would have been possible to ask which two actions are illegal and include one or two (e.g. marital rape and forced marriage) among the answers along with other examples of criminal behaviour. Such a question format would have placed these actions among other illegal actions and would have avoided the normative nature of a true/ false question format.

In addition to the six test questions coded for "immigrant identity (state)", there are four test questions about the history of immigration to the United Kingdom. There is for example a

question about textile and engineering firms recruiting workers from India and Pakistan after the Second World Two (Practice test 4, Question 22). Another question asks "Which group of refugees settled in England before 1720?" (Practice test 15, Question 1). The inclusion of such questions might be an effort to underpin claims made in the Life in the United Kingdom book about Britain being a country open to and appreciative of refugees and immigrants. These questions furthermore underline the long history of immigration to the United Kingdom.

Overall, the Life in the United Kingdom book and test include immigrant customs and practices, such as religious holidays, among traditionally British and Christian ones. As could be seen from the analysis of the code "national identity (state)", the British civic immigrant education materials deliberately include immigrants as part of British life, for example by including Sake Dean Mohamed among notable British people. However, there are also certain practices like FGM or polygamy, that are associated with particular immigrant groups, included in the book and test. While such cultural topics are covered in the book's section about the law, separate paragraphs are dedicated to them, thereby setting polygamy, forced marriage, and FGM apart from other criminal behaviour. In the Life in the UK test the six questions coded for "immigrant identity (state)" use a true/false question format (one question asks the test taker to identify the correct statement out of two). If a multiple-choice question format had been used, in which such cultural practices could have been listed along other criminal acts, the questions would have been more legal and less normative in nature.

4.3.3 Summary - Heavy histories and the treatment of diversity

The code "immigrant identity (state)" was applied to passages from the textbooks and test questions in the Life in Germany and Life in the UK tests that depict immigrants in a way that highlights the distinction between national and immigrant identities. This code is therefore a counter-image of the previous code that focused on the depiction of the German and British national identities in the respective learning and testing materials, which was discussed in Section 4.2 of this chapter.

Coding the materials in both countries for "immigrant identity (state)" revealed two main similarities between Germany and the United Kingdom. Firstly, the materials contain several passages that explain, citing the constitutional rights and laws of each respective country, that everyone is to be respected irrespective of what religion they follow or what kind of partnership they live in. This respect for other individuals is explicitly extended to wives and children, who may not be physically or sexually abused, or forced to marry against their will. The inclusion of book content and test questions that venture into the realm of the private lives of immigrants, is in line with what the academic literature calls the "restrictive turn" (Wallace Goodman & Wright, 2015). Joppke (2010) also pointed to the fact that it had become common practice across Europe for countries to use civic education as an element of the naturalisation processes that attempted to regulate immigrant's behaviour even in their private and domestic lives.

The second similarity between the two cases it is that passages from the culture and society sections in the books and corresponding questions on the tests are most prone to depictions of immigrants as having a less liberal disposition or for this content to be based on assumptions and

stereotypes about immigrants. In the German case for example, the six questions that, without referencing any laws or universal human rights, touch upon polygamy or physical punishment as a parenting method are all listed within the culture and society section. Similar content also appears in the Life in the United Kingdom book and test, such as questions about freedom of religion or the press. Passages from the textbooks as well as test questions about polygamy, religious extremism, or FGM address cultural practices that are especially associated with Muslims. As previous academic research has pointed out, it is such a stereotyped depiction of Muslim immigrants that can be a contributing factor to this immigrant group being seen as more resistant to integrate (e.g. Ali, 2014; Morey et al., 2019).

The main difference between the two countries' depiction of immigrant identities lies in the extent to which immigrants are shown to be part of German or British life. While the German books and test do not include any content on notable Germans with an immigrant background, or non-Christian holidays, the United Kingdom underlines her multiculturalism. The distinction between British identity and immigrant identify is blurred when the Life in the United Kingdom book and test are deliberately inclusive of immigrants as part of British identity. The presence of text passages and test questions about the long history of immigration and the inclusion of questions about non-Christian holidays in the Life in the UK test represent immigrants as well-received additions to British life. Such welcoming content in the learning and testing materials stands however in content with the more normative elements, that are based on stereotyped visions of immigrants as a less-liberal other.

4.4. Conclusion

By presenting data that was coded for "national identity (state)" and "immigrant identity (state)", this chapter addresses research question one. 576 pages of German textbooks and 310 Life in Germany test questions were analysed for the German case, while the United Kingdom data set included the 180-page Life in the United Kingdom handbook and 408 official practice questions. The two codes were based on the academic literature on identity formation and stereotyped depictions of immigrants in Europe (e.g Fekete, 2009). Furthermore, applying the theory of othering, the two codes captured juxtaposed identity narratives that construct national identity and immigrant identity as distinctly different. As the identity narratives presented in civic immigrant education materials signal how the state sees itself and the immigrant populations it receives, this research question operates on the symbolic level of symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1934, Blumer, 1969; Denzin, 2017). Table 12 presents an overview of the data sources, codes, and frequency of their application for both country cases.

Code	**Data sources German case study**	**Frequency**	**Data sources UK case study**	**Frequency**
National identity (state)	Textbooks Life in Germany test	22 29	Handbook Life in the UK test	20 28
Immigrant identity (state)	Textbooks Life in Germany test	9 6	Handbook Life in the UK test	4 6

Table 12. Overview of the data sources, codes, and the frequency of their application

With 51 and 48 applications of "national identity (state)" respectively compared to 15 and ten applications of "immigrant identity (state)" respectively, coding shows that the official civic

immigrant education materials are more focused on national identities than on the depiction of immigrant identities. As has been suggested by previous research (Michalowski, 2011) both countries base their national identity depictions on their i) political and legal system, ii) national history, and iii) society and culture. However, the text passages and test questions coded as "national identity (state)" differ in two important respects; the treatment of national history and the extent to which multiculturalism features in the national identity depiction.

Germany only covers 20th century history, in a chapter called "history and responsibility" that emphasises the horrors of World War Two and the Holocaust. 20 out of the 90 history questions on the Life in Germany test are about the period of Nazi rule. This is in line with what academics have discussed as a German approach to national history as a source of collective guilt (Olick, 2007; Miller-Idriss, 2009; Brown, 2014). Britain on the other hand displays a much longer historical narrative, going as far back as the Stone Age. With 55 pages the chapter on history is the longest chapter in the 180-page Life in the United Kingdom book. However, due to the ambitious coverage of several millennia, more problematic aspects of British history, such as colonialism, are not discussed. Researchers have already pointed to the potential problems with superficial coverage of national history (e.g. Wrenn 2003; Heybach & Sheffield, 2014). History is cited as the source of cultural traditions and British values, questions about which appear in each of the 17 practice tests.

The second difference between Germany's and Britain's depiction of their national identity pertains to multiculturalism. Only one of the four German textbooks explicitly refers to the positive contribution that immigrants make to German society and the Life in Germany test does

not include any questions about content that might be of an immigrant origin. The four questions about the history of immigration to Germany are descriptive and statistical and do not reflect that immigrants are part of German society. British materials on the other hand make a deliberate effort to include non-Christian and ethnic minority practices and people in their portrayal of British society. The Life in the United Kingdom book and test speak of the long and proud tradition of welcoming immigrants and emphasise that immigrants have enriched British society. The Life in the United Kingdom book includes for example a list of non-Christian holidays, separate but directly following the list of Christian holidays. Authors on citizenship education in schools have highlighted that an explicit treatment of cultural diversity can be beneficial for the integration of immigrants by providing role-models and success stories (e.g. Ajegbo, 2007; Sundström & Fernandez, 2013). Coded materials from the British civic immigrant education process that paint a picture of British society as welcoming of immigrants are however contradicted by other text passages and test questions that portray immigrants as less liberal and prone to certain kinds of illegal behaviour, which were captured by the next code.

Analysing the same sources as the previous code, "immigrant identities (state)" captured data on the depiction of immigrant identities that were shown to be separate from national identities. With only 15 and ten applications of this code for the German and British case respectively, the data illustrates that immigrant identity depictions feature less prominent in the two countries' civic immigrant education materials than national identity depictions. Irrespective of the less frequent application of the code however, both countries' materials do include normative content, which is based on assumptions about or stereotypes of immigrants' behaviour. While

questions about polygamy, non-discrimination, and religious tolerance are sometimes framed as legal questions, this is not always the case.

In Germany such topics are treated under the culture and society module and they also appear in the respective section of the Life in Germany test. This finding supports researchers that have identified an international trend to increase the "individual behaviour and personal integrity requirements" for immigrants wanting to become citizens (Joppke, 2010, p. 60). Carrying out research in German civic immigrant education courses, Brown (2016) has also argued that the country's approach to civic immigrant education was based on an "intolerance toward the intolerant" (p. 455), meaning that behaviour which was considered to be common among immigrant populations had to be eradicated through a value-based, prescriptive approach to civic immigrant education.

In Britain polygamy, marital rape, and FGM are covered in the chapter about the law. However, such practices, which are often associated with immigrants (Morey & Yaqin, 2011), are discussed separately from other legal issues in a section called "Fundamental principles". On the Life in the UK test all six questions coded as "immigrant identity (state)" ask test takers to identify the right answer out of two options. By not using a multiple-choice format, in which other criminal behaviour could be listed as answer options, the questions' format does not underline the supposed legal nature of the questions as strongly as possible. While this study is concerned with the depiction of immigrant identities more generally, the presence of issues related to Muslim immigrants that is evident in the civics textbooks and test questions is in line with what academics have discussed as a stereotype-based framing of Muslim immigrants in the

West, where isolated instances are treated as representative of entire social groups (e.g. Morey et al., 2019). Researchers such as Jessop & Williams (2009) and Ali (2014) have provided evidence that individuals with an immigrant background are aware of stereotyped identity depictions and that encountering such stereotypes had a negative influence on their social wellbeing. How adult immigrants undergoing civic education experienced and responded to such normative content and questions is explored in the following chapter, which presents findings related to research question 2.

Chapter 5 - Immigrants' experiences of identity depictions

5.1. Introduction

After the previous chapter outlined how national and immigrant identities are depicted in civic immigrant education materials in Germany and the United Kingdom, the focus now shifts to immigrants' experiences of these identity depictions. Academic research has shown that the historical narratives foundational to Germany's and Britain's national identity are not without their critics (e.g. Miller-Idriss, 2009; Burns, 2014; Gebrial, 2018). Furthermore, it has been found that individuals with an immigrant background are aware of and sensitive to the ways in which they are framed by politicians, the media, and wider society (e.g. Jessop & Williams, 2009; Ali, 2014). Using the analytical codes "national identity (immigrants)" and "immigrant identity (immigrants)", this chapter presents data addressing research question 2 about immigrants' experiences of and responses to identity depictions.

By unpacking immigrants' reactions to identity narratives, this research question focuses on the behavioural level of symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1969; Denzin, 2017). In the process of encountering the symbolic identity narratives that the state presents in civic immigrant education materials, immigrants reflect on and respond to their social environment on the behavioural level. Findings presented in this chapter are based on the analytic coding of 48 hours of observations in German Orientation Courses and 30 interviews with immigrants (15 interviews in each country). As courses are not compulsory in the British civic immigrant education process, the British case does not include observation data.

In the following, the chapter continues with the presentation of findings for the two codes "national identity (immigrants)" and "immigrant identity (immigrants)". Data for the German case is discussed first, followed by the British case. The chapter closes with a conclusion section, in which the two cases are compared to each other and references to relevant academic literature are made.

5.2. National identity depictions experienced by immigrants

This section presents data for the code "national identity (immigrants)" and records instances in which immigrants expressed their opinions of and experiences with German or British national identity as depicted in the two countries' civic immigrant education materials.

5.2.1 Germany: Understanding Germany through comparisons

The code "national identity (immigrants)" was applied 47 times to the analysis of 48 hours of observation data. Three different Orientation Courses were observed during twelve course meetings (this included two excursions). The code was furthermore applied 23 times to the analysis of interviews with 15 immigrants in Germany, who had recently passed the Life in Germany test. Coded interviews amounted to more than 6 hours of recordings.

2.1.1 Observations

The coding of observation data for "national identity (immigrants)" brought to light three main issues, namely i) a focus on Module 3 - Society and Culture, ii) the reliance on comparisons with immigrants' countries of origin to illicit reflections on Germany, and iii) the influence of the timing and location of the course on immigrants' responses to identity depictions.

Firstly, despite there being three Modules in Germany's civic immigrant education process, course participants' responses to national identity depictions occurred predominantly during Module 3 - Society and Culture. Out of the 47 times in which the code "national identity (immigrants)" was applied, this only occurred twice in reference to content covered in Module 2 - History and 16 times for observation data collected during Module 1 - Politics. The remaining

29 applications of the code occurred during Module 3. Considering that Germany places a strong emphasis on "history as responsibility" and holocaust memory, it is significant that immigrants only reflected on German national identity in relation to the history module twice. Where course discussions during Module 1 - Politics gave rise to comments about Germany's national identity, this was mainly in relation to the laws guaranteed under the German constitution or the German welfare state.

Secondly, the discussion-based format of the Orientation Course and the exercise prompts provided in the four state-approved textbooks frequently invited immigrants to compare Germany to their country of origin. Some course participants engaged very critically with the content presented in the books and by course teachers and challenged or questioned what they were taught about Germany. Out of the 22 instances that were coded as "national identity (immigrants)" and that were the result of comparisons, seven reflected negatively or critically on Germany. One participant for example argued that, in light of gender pay gaps and a lack of female political representation, Western countries should stop preaching to Muslim societies about gender equality. Another course participant stated that he found it sad to see how little intergenerational contact existed in Germany. In Iran elderly family members would not be allowed to live alone or sent to care homes. These statements suggest two things; firstly, that course participant's own background informed the ways in which they engaged with the content of the civic immigrant education process in Germany. Secondly, as the gender pay gap, gender distributions in parliament, and the rarity of intergenerational housing are not discussed in the course materials, the statements show that information which was gathered outside the course influenced immigrant's responses to the course materials and identity representations.

In general, it seemed to be easier for participants from other European countries to identify with the content presented in the course. European course participants frequently shared stories of similarities between their country and the political system of Germany or emphasized historical connections and cultural similarities between their country of origin and Germany. Course participants from Italy or Poland for example were familiar with Catholic religious traditions and holidays. Similarly, discussions of Germany's political and legal system and the European Union were more familiar for a course participant from Spain, a country that also has a federal political system and is also a member of the European Union.

There were 15 positive instances in which a reflection about Germany was prompted by a comparison with another country. For example, when talking about religious diversity in Germany, a course participant stated:

> In Iran, I cannot say that I am an atheist. But in Germany there is religious freedom, so I can freely say that I am an atheist (Course participant from Iran, male, early 20s).

On three other occasions, participants expressed similar sentiments, stating that in Germany they were able to live their lives safely and freely. Another course participant stated that she preferred the German approach to child-rearing to that taken in Syria because German parents played more with their children while giving them clear rules at the same time.

Course participants also expressed support for the fundamental rights guaranteed by Germany's constitution, called the Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*), which they considered to be generally respected in Germany. For example, when discussing rights and freedoms, a course participant

from Tunisia shared an anecdote of reading criticisms of the government in a German newspaper and thinking that such media coverage would not have been possible in Tunisia. When discussing the judicial system and punishment approaches, one participant stated that "at least in Germany you know what you get for doing something and you can trust that they won't harm you- beyond what is fair". While course participants displayed a certain level of irritation with the German bureaucratic system by complaining about the length of procedures and the amount of paperwork, there were four instances in which immigrants reported benefitting from welfare provisions such as free schooling or child support. As such, there was general agreement that the representation of the German welfare state in the textbooks was accurate.

Lastly, the time and location of the Orientation Courses seemed to influence the way that course content was presented and discussed. The three Orientation Courses that were observed for this study were convened during the time of the federal election (24th September 2017) and the German national holiday Day of German Unity (3rd October). The timing of the five-week long course gave teachers the opportunity to connect much of the course content of Module 1 - Politics with the national election. When discussing political parties, immigrants would for example talk about election campaign posters that they had seen on the street. As the observed courses took place in Berlin, course excursions were easily arranged to the sights that were depicted in the course's textbooks. Both excursions that were included in data collection for this study took the course participants to the Jewish Museum in Berlin (see Figure 14) and one of the courses did an additional tour of the neighbourhood surrounding the museum to visit historical sights related to the prosecution of Jews in Nazi Germany.



Figure 14. Outside the Jewish Museum in Berlin to which both excursions included in observation research were done

On three occasions immigrants were overheard expressing that the timing or geographic location of their Orientation Course made the course more interesting to them. For instance, when talking about the division of Germany after World War Two, one woman from Spain stated that "being here [in Berlin] makes all of it more real". She reported having gone to the Berlin Wall last month. While this was not coded as "national identity (immigrants)", since it is not a reflection on German national identity, it stands to reason that the timing and location of the courses did have an influence on how immigrants related to Germany and made the depiction of Germany more accessible for course participants.

5.2.1.2 Interviews

In addition to 47 applications of the code "national identity (immigrants)" to observation data, the code was also applied 23 times to the analysis of interviews with immigrants. Each of the 15 interviews conducted with immigrants in Germany was coded for "national identity (immigrants)" at least once. Interview research allowed for a more in-depth and personal exploration of how immigrants experienced Germany and the narrative about Germany that is presented in the civic immigrant education materials. Coded passages from interviews either related to i) whether or not they found the depiction of Germany to be accurate and ii) how they related what they learned in the Orientation Course to their experiences outside the course.

The interviewed course participants were divided on whether the depiction of Germany they encountered in the Orientation Course was accurate. One participant for example had a positive impression of Germany and found what he learned to have been accurate. He stated that:

> In the course I learned about two Germanys, there is old Germany in history and there is Germany today. And I know the Germany of today with human rights and freedom to say your opinion and those things they all exist here (Ger- I14).

In contrast, another course participant claimed that despite having learned about religious tolerance and non-discrimination in the course, he felt discriminated against as a Muslim in his daily life. One young woman from Syria reflected on the Orientation Course as a tool for national self-representation:

> There are different kinds of people everywhere, some nice, some nasty. Obviously, they want all of Germany to be the nice kind but that is just not real, you have racists and sexists and dumb people everywhere (Ger- I15).

A second group of interview statements that was coded as "national identity (immigrants)" was in reference to how immigrants' related the course content with their experiences since arriving in Germany. Seven course participants commented on having German friends or being in some form of employment and therefore learning more about Germany in their personal interactions than through the Orientation Course. An additional four participants spoke about their experiences outside the course as being at odds with or insufficiently addressed in the course. One course participant for example would have liked to learn "more about why people don't like foreigners", while three others complained about experiencing discrimination during interactions with German bureaucracy or administration.

Six participants also explicitly highlighted the way in which the Orientation Course helped them to understand their experiences in Germany, as expressed in the statement below:

> Sometimes there are discussions about why things are the way they are. So like Germany after the war and the different occupation zones and such, you know. And so you could like see the changes happening when you do the course and you understand so to speak why things were made and are the way they are. (Ger- I6)

This data suggests that whether or not immigrants found the Orientation Course to be accurate in its depiction of Germany and useful in understanding Germany depended on their experiences outside of the course.

It is interesting to note that while ten immigrants mentioned finding the course too detailed in one or all of its modules, only three participants mentioned additional content about Germany that they would have liked to cover in the Orientation Course. As cited above, one interview partner would have liked to learn more about the reasons for xenophobia. Another man was

interested in learning more about Germany's cultural heritage, and a third interview partner lamented that there was insufficient coverage of current daily life. With an interview sample of only 15 immigrants, it is not possible to identify why course participants had such different judgements. However, it stands to reason that individual contexts and backgrounds, such as language level, formal education, or the immigrant's legal status, would affect the ability and willingness to engage in civic education.

Overall, data from observations and interviews showed that immigrants had diverse engagements with the depiction of Germany that they encountered in the civic immigrant education process. With a total of 70 applications of the code "national identity (immigrants)" (47 for observation data, 23 for interview data), it is however evident that national identity depictions did feature significantly in immigrants' civic education experience. These reflections on and responses to the representation of Germany were influenced by immigrants' personal backgrounds and experiences outside the Orientation Course. The frequently used comparison prompts in the Orientation Course textbooks invited immigrants to compare Germany to their countries of origin, which led to a variety of statements, some of which were positive and others rather critical of Germany. Furthermore, immigrants frequently drew on experiences outside the Orientation Course as a basis for comparing the German identity depicted in the civic immigrant education materials with their experiences in daily life.

Reflections about Germany's identity depiction were particularly frequent during discussion on Module 3 - Society and Culture. The fact that Module 3 was particularly prone to prompting comments about German national identity depictions was evident in observations and, to a lesser

extent, during interviews. This is in line with the code "national identity (state)" having been most frequently applied to Module 3 in the textbooks and to corresponding questions on the Life in Germany test. Those passages of the civic immigrant education materials in which Germany's national identity was most prominently displayed were also the passages to which immigrants had most reactions. A contrast exists, however, in regard to the state's and immigrants' treatments of national history under Module 2. Only two observed instances that were coded as "national identity (immigrants)" occurred during the history module. The state-approved narrative of German identity on the other hand placed heavy emphasis of Germany's recent history, as outlined in the previous chapter.

5.2.2 United Kingdom: Questioning historical accounts

The code "national identity (immigrants)" was applied to interviews with immigrants in the United Kingdom, who had recently passed the Life in the UK test. During the 15 interviews and resulting 410 minutes of interview recordings, the code "national identity (immigrants)" was applied 39 times. One of the reasons for which Britain was selected as a case study alongside Germany was the difference between one country having a compulsory civics course and the other country expecting immigrants to prepare for the citizenship test by themselves, the British case does not include observation data.

5.2.2.1 Interviews

Coding for "national identity (immigrants)" in the United Kingdom case brought to light three main issues about which immigrants shared their experience of British identity depictions,

namely i) whether or not interview partners considered the depiction of Britain and British identity to be accurate, with a particular focus on national history narratives, ii) distinctions made by interview partners between themselves and British society, and iii) the test taking experience itself.

In line with contemporary debates about the British history curriculum in schools and reflecting the length of the Chapter "A long and illustrious history" in the Life in the United Kingdom book, the treatment of history attracted criticism from eight different interview partners. Five statements were coded for interview partners finding the focus of the book backward looking. One interview partner stated for example that they were "quite surprised when it came to the balance between past and modern Britain" with too much attention being given to the past. Another stated that the focus on history gave the "impression that Britain is defined by her past". Yet another immigrant said that they found the depiction of British history to be too favourable citing the example of the slave trade, "they kind of forget to mention that they allowed it to happen and benefited from it for centuries".

Three coded passages were strongly worded statements from immigrants, who were born in former British colonies. Calling to mind academic criticism about the apparent incompatibility of British and Black history, an interview partner from Nigeria made the following statement:

> You see with me coming from Nigeria and my grandfather and his generation having fought for independence from the British, I thought that there was a … let's call it … lack of engagement… with the colonial history. I think they should have had a bit more of a critical and honest [emphasis placed on this word by interview partner] treatment of what the British did for centuries. Right, because in some sense, this is why we are here and the Indians and Pakistanis and Jamaicans and all. They colonised us, they made us speak

> English and so now we come here because now English is our language too and this is what we know and where the opportunities lie for us (UK- I5)

An Indian interview partner found that:

> If you look at it as a brown person you wonder why there is not more about South Asian life in the book. I mean are we not a part of Life in the UK? But then if you include that, what about the Afro-Caribbean stories? Like Windrush for example. It is always this thing where people just fraudulently sneak their way into Britain as if they hadn't been here for decades and as if the reasons that they decided to come to the UK don't have a long colonial history (UK- I9).

An interview partner from Jamaica made a similar statement:

> They tell their story of England – the UK, and not just the UK, also the empire – and it's just one clean, sanitized, friendly version of what happened. And then they throw in some BME people for good measure. Like as if just adding some salt would make any dish tasty. No no, there is no substance, no admission of past wrongs – or the ones that still continue (UK- I13).

However, the same interview partner (UK- I13) later on admitted that "it was all there, and it was all left out, kind of as it is in politics and real life" referring to the fact that it was less the subject matter as such and more the insufficient nuance of historical events and contexts that he considered problematic.

In addition to such calls for an extended or more nuanced coverage of British national history, one immigrant would have liked to learn more about the functions of the state, while three others lamented that there was not more information about current politics and social developments. One interview partner voiced surprise over what was included in the Life in the United Kingdom book and test referring to the inclusion of Hindu holidays. An Australian interview partner was

surprised by just how similar he found what was presented as British culture to be to Australian culture.

However, there were also five passages from different interviews with immigrants who found the depiction of Britain and British identity to be accurate. Two immigrants mentioned enjoying their lives in the United Kingdom and finding that the book provided a "good coverage" of the UK. Another immigrant mentioned that the book's explanation of the devolution of political powers helped them in their interaction with Scottish friends. Being in general agreement with the book's treatment of British values, one immigrant stated "not that I found them [British values] to be particularly off or anything, it's just that they kind of tell you that [they exist] and then don't go any further".

A second main area on which strong opinions were expressed related to the distinction between immigrants and British society. All but one immigrant made statements related to that issue. The distinction made between interview partners and British society was evident when immigrants spoke of the United Kingdom as "their country" or stating that "the British are proud of their democracy". In all 14 cases, such distancing of themselves from British society was the result of personal experiences outside of the civic immigrant education context or in relation to the interview partners' background. In line with the strong criticism of historical accounts, three out of the five interview partners from Commonwealth countries felt insufficiently recognized in the civic immigrant education materials, the exceptions being a Bangladeshi and an Australian person. These three immigrants assumed an "us and them" line of argument, stating that "we are here today because they were in my countries 200 years ago". Two further statements made that

displayed a distance between the immigrant and British society were related to experiences of xenophobia or islamophobia. One young man from Syria shared the following experience:

> Like even people that are normally okay, when something has happened, like after the attack in Manchester, I came to work and one of my colleagues, Brian, he was making all these comments and jokes. Like I was taking something out of my backpack, and he went like "Duck everyone! [Name of interview partner] is getting out the bombs". But not everyone is like that. But many people are. It is not nice (UK- I6).

Similarly, interview partners from European countries referred to recent experiences related to the British decision to leave the European Union. All three European interview partners stated that they had taken the Life in the UK test as a result of the Brexit referendum. A French interview partner stated that he had thought of the United Kingdom as a tolerant country but now he doubted whether this was accurate. An interview partner from Spain stated:

> And then obviously with the whole Brexit nightmare the book and the test just seem super outdated. Maybe they updated it now. But when I was taking the test, it was as if Brexit hadn't happened and as if they weren't leaving the EU and totally making fools of themselves in the process (UK- I12).

With the latest edition of the Life in the United Kingdom book dating back to 2013, the book has in fact not been updated since the British vote to leave the European Union.

The third point on which immigrants had strong opinions was the test taking experience itself. Five of the 15 interviewed immigrants made statements about their experience with the test centres at which they took the Life in the UK test. These were all statements that interview partners made towards the end of the conversation when given the opportunity to share anything else that they might want to speak about. As such, all five statements were unprompted, and all

statements related to negative experiences or opinions of the test taking process. Statements were made that "actually taking the test was awful" or that "the people weren't very nice". Another immigrant said that they initially thought that "it [the Life in the UK test] was just another way that the Home Office was getting money from us and giving us a hard time". However, they reported coming to have a less negative opinion of the process later on, upon receiving their certificate. Two further immigrants argued that the entire process, with specific mention of the test taking element, should be made a more positive experience. One immigrant stated that:

> You don't come out of this experience feeling better about the state. When really it should be a friendly, welcoming experience. It is just a very cold, almost hostile process (UK- I1).

As immigrants can study by themselves and register for the test online, the test taking experience is the only part of the Life in the United Kingdom process during which immigrants are required to interact with other people. As such, this experience is likely to have a strong impact on immigrants' overall experience of the civic immigrant education process. For at least one third of the research participants in the United Kingdom it seems that the test taking experience was a negative one.

Overall, British interview data showed that immigrants in the United Kingdom were not in agreement about whether the national identity depicted in the Life in the United Kingdom process was accurate or not. Eight interview partners found fault with particular depictions of history, while five others stated that they found the national identity depiction to be accurate. As it was the case in the German civic immigrant education process, every immigrant in the United Kingdom engaged with the material from their personal point of view and based on their

individual contexts and background. Experiences in daily life and the influence of political developments like Brexit furthermore influence the way that interview partners reflected on the United Kingdom. The test taking experience, if mentioned by interview partners, was seen as unfriendly or unpleasant.

5.2.3 Summary – Diverse backgrounds leading to diverse interpretations

There were two main similarities in the way that immigrants responded to depictions of the national identity that they encountered in the civic immigrant education materials in the two countries. First, immigrants in Germany and the United Kingdom took their daily experiences as reference points for what they learned for the Life in Germany and Life in the UK tests. This led to some statements about the knowledge they acquired "all being there" or the materials providing "good coverage". At the same time, some immigrants in both countries felt that they did not learn enough about current, daily life. This led to the feeling that the materials offered insufficient information about why certain issues that immigrants observed in their daily lives occurred. Experiences of racism and xenophobia as well as political developments like the British vote to leave the United Kingdom or the Windrush scandal prompted immigrants to question national identity narratives of ethnic and religious tolerance.

A second similarity between the two countries was that immigrant interview partners did not agree on what was either missing, incorrectly depicted, or superfluous in the civic immigrant education materials. One immigrant in the United Kingdom for example voiced surprise about the inclusion of Hindu holidays in the materials, while another, Indian immigrant thought that

there was not enough discussion of South Asian influences on United Kingdom society. It is reasonable to assume that a larger interview sample would have yielded additional examples of content that some immigrants would have liked to learn about while others might have found such content redundant.

In both countries, immigrants who had a more similar cultural background, like Australians or Americans in the United Kingdom or Polish immigrants in Germany, frequently highlighted what they were already familiar with or that they could easily recognise some of the content that was presented in the books. Such familiar content then included legal or political procedures, religious costumes, or popular culture and leisure activities.

The fact that immigrant learners had varied interests, backgrounds, and experiences, which led them to respond to identity depictions in different ways, was to a certain extent counter-acted in the German context. In all three observed Orientation Courses teachers used group discussions as an opportunity to adapt the course content to participants' interests. Furthermore, immigrants themselves could raise questions and bring up topics for debate in the Orientation Course that related to immigrants' lived experiences and went beyond the content covered in the textbooks. Moreover, the excursions included in the Orientation Course made the course content more accessible for immigrants and allowed for the linking of political and historical content to the daily life of immigrants. Nonetheless, the fact that immigrants with different cultural and educational backgrounds undergo the same civic education process, might be an obstacle to a more tailored and targeted approach to civic immigrant education. Work by Loring (e.g. 2013) has previously highlighted that the one-size fits all model of civic immigrant education in the

Unites States of America does not leave sufficient room for individual immigrants to engage with or fully benefit from what they learn.

The most significant difference between immigrants' responses to national identity depictions in the two countries was found in the way national history was treated by immigrants in Germany and the United Kingdom. While both countries dedicate a significant section of the books and test questions to their national histories, immigrants in Germany engaged with this module far less. Out of the 47 applications of the code "national identity (immigrants)" during observation research only two occurred when the courses were discussing the history module. Several immigrants mentioned having learned new things about German history that they did not previously know, but only in three interviews did the interview partner mention that the history section had helped them to better understand their lives in Germany.

In the British case eight immigrants mentioned finding the emphasis on Britain's past to be too extensive, leading one interview partner to judge that the United Kingdom was "stuck in the past". The fact that history plays such a central role in the depiction of British national identity is in line with the findings of previous academic work on the topic. Löwenheim & Gazit, (2009), Orgad (2010), and Sundström & Fernandez (2013) all found that history was the cornerstone of citizenship education for immigrants. It was particularly immigrants from former British colonies that took issue with the framing of national history. Immigrants from Jamaica, Nigeria, and India mentioned that the way the British Empire was treated in the Life in the United Kingdom book did not depict history accurately. These interview partners argued that colonialism deserved a more detailed and nuanced treatment in the official materials. Considering current debates about

the need for "decolonisation" of curricula in British schools and universities in order to reflect an ethnically diverse British population (e.g. Gebrial, 2018) as well as academic work on the limited treatment of imperial history in the national history curriculum (e.g. Wrenn, 2003; Bruns, 2014), it is unsurprising that such demands were echoed by immigrants from former colonies.

5.3. Immigrant identity depictions experienced by immigrants

The second code addressing the research question about immigrants' experiences of identity depictions was "immigrant identity (immigrants)". This code captured instances in observations (in the German case) and interviews (in both countries), in which immigrants responded to and shared experiences of the immigrant identities that they found depicted in the civic immigrant education materials. Such data could cover encounters of depictions of their own identity as immigrants in Germany or the United Kingdom, but the code also captured instances in which immigrants reflected on the depiction of immigrants more generally.

5.3.1 Germany: Deflecting stereotypes

When coding observation data collected during 48 hours of observations in Orientation Courses, the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" was applied 39 times. Data collected during more than six hours of interviews with 15 immigrants in Germany was coded for "immigrant identity (immigrants)" 49 times. This is more than twice as often as the code "national identity (immigrants)" was applied to the same 15 interviews with immigrants, suggesting that immigrants had more to share about the depiction of immigrant identities than national identities.

5.3.1.1 Observations

When applying the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" to observation data, it became evident that statements were made by two distinct groups of course participants; EU-immigrants and other immigrants, usually refugees. A difference between European and non-European immigrants had already emerged when coding the same data for "national identity (immigrants)", with European immigrants identifying similarities or familiarities between their

countries of origin and Germany. However, it was in the coding of data for immigrants' responses to the depiction of immigrant identities that the distinction between different immigrant groups became more pronounced.

In addition to coming from more similar cultural or religious backgrounds, EU-immigrants had often spent more time in Germany before enrolling in the Orientation Course. Other immigrants, mainly refugees from the Middle East, had usually arrived in Germany more recently and, when asked, had a less clear vision of what being an immigrant in Germany meant to them or what their medium to long term legal status might be. Tensions among course participants became evident in instances when EU-immigrants complained about the poor attendance of other course participants or when disagreeing on course content. One of the most passionate debates observed for this research was between a Polish and a Syrian woman discussing the limits of satirical expression when considering whether or not a cartoon mocking the Pope was acceptable (the Polish woman argued that it was). Generally European immigrants were less critical of stereotyped immigrant identity depictions in the Orientation Course materials. The potential influence of immigrants' personal backgrounds on their responses to identity depictions is further discussed when presenting interview data as, unlike observation research, interviews allowed for clarification and follow up questions.

Irrespective of the country of origin or legal status of the individuals involved, coded passages from observation data can be grouped under two main headings; i) comments in which interview partners spoke about themselves as immigrants in Germany and ii) statements that were made about other immigrants. Comments about other immigrants, either inside or outside the

Orientation Course context, were more common and occurred 24 times in comparison to 15 applications of the code when immigrants included themselves in their reflection of immigrants in Germany. Furthermore, 21 of the 39 observed passages were instances in which immigrants agreed with the identity depiction they encountered, while 17 instances were observed during which immigrants disagreed with or questioned the depiction of immigrant identities. Table 13 provides an overview of the 39 applications of the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" in the analysis of German observation data.

	Agree with identity depiction	**Disagree with identity depiction**	**Total**
Include themselves	8	7	15
Dissociate themselves	13	11	24
Total	21	17	39

Table 13. Overview of the 39 applications of the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" to observation data collected in Germany

Eight instances were observed during which immigrants seemed to agree with or be ambivalent about the statements that were made about immigrants in the textbooks and related the identity depictions to themselves. Three comments were made about characters in the textbook wanting to become German. One course participant from Syria for example stated that one "could not blame us for wanting to come to Germany if the alternative is dying on the street during the next bomb attack in Syria". In all three course groups that were observed, course participants and teachers discuss becoming German at least once. One immigrant explicitly mentioned not wanting to become German, while three others stated that they thought that at least their children would be German if they grew up in Germany.

Another instance in which a course participant related the immigrant identity represented in the Orientation Course materials to herself and agreed with it was during an exchange between a female course participant from Syria and a teacher. When discussing that child rearing practices in Germany do not include corporal punishment, the course participant responded:

> Well but you wait until you have the fourth and the youngest screams and the second screams and the third throws things and the oldest doesn't help. Sometimes giving a spank is good. It teaches them respect. (Course participant from Syria, female, late 40s)

This statement shows that at least this particular course participant was not offended by the repeated information about not hitting one's children or the fact that this content was covered in the Life in Germany test. At the same time, her response does not suggest that she was likely to change her behaviour upon learning that it was illegal in Germany to hit one's children.

Seven interactions or statements were coded for "immigrant identity (immigrants)", in which immigrants disagreed with the depiction of themselves as immigrants in Germany. One course participant from Iraq for example expressed irritation over the depiction of Muslim men's treatment of women and stated that:

> We all have our own problems. You don't pay women enough; we don't let them wear what they want. Maybe we best all attend to our own issues. (Course participant from Iraq, male, early 30s).

Three course participants took offense when the course read an exercise about a young man with an Arab name having joined an Islamist terrorist organisation in Germany. This exercise was responded to with a comment about finding this message offensive, to which two other course

participants, equally from Muslim countries, jokingly responded that the first course participant should stop the pretence and finally get out the bombs from his backpack. Another similar exchange occurred when discussing that working a non-registered job was harming the welfare state. To this textbook passage, an immigrant responded that she did not know anyone working illegally but that it became a lot more appealing after failing to obtain a job despite having extensive education and experience. Other course participants nodded or voiced their agreement with the woman's statement.

A total of 24 interactions or statements observed in the Orientation Courses were related to other immigrants in Germany. Eight cases were observed during which immigrants made critical statements about other immigrants inside the course or agreed with critical or negative depictions of immigrants in the textbook. When discussing the above cited exercise about electoral fraud, in which an image shows a black man telling a black woman how to fill out her ballot (Figure 11), one immigrant teased another course participant, who was from Mozambique, about electoral fraud being common practice in his country. The course teacher immediately reprimanded the course participant for his remark, so that the man from Mozambique did not respond to the fellow course participant's comment. In another interaction a course participant from a European country stayed behind after the course to report to the teacher that a Palestinian course participant had made antisemitic statements. She said that particularly after learning about the Holocaust, the man should have known better and that maybe the teacher should remind him about religious tolerance and non-discrimination. She stated that she had been saddened to see that such a "hammering home" of topics like religious tolerance, which she had thought to be unnecessary in a course for adult learners, did not seem to reach other participants.

However not all comments that showed agreement with identity depictions in the textbooks were negative or critical about other immigrants in Germany. There were also five statements of agreement with positive immigrant identity depiction during which course participants referred to people outside the course. In these cases, immigrants referred to friends, neighbours, or other immigrants who had been in Germany for a longer period of time. They cited these people as examples for immigrants being involved in their local community or having participated in an open-door event at their mosque. When discussing a multi-faith initiative for example one course participant exclaimed "that is like my friend Elif".

In addition to 13 comments in which, either positively or critically, immigrants agreed with the depiction of immigrant identities in relation to other immigrants in Germany, there were also eleven instances in which identity depictions of other immigrants were found to be wrong. The eleven observed instances of disagreement were all of immigrants taking issue with the depiction of immigrants in the official materials as being well integrated. When covering the test question on Turkish people being the largest guest worker immigrant population in Germany, a course participant tried to launch a conversation about why Turkish people were not better integrated if they had already been in Germany for so long. On several occasions, comments were made that it was inexcusable for immigrants, who had lived in Germany for a long time, to not speak better German. Participants also expressed a lack of understanding for immigrants of all backgrounds, who were not interested in learning more about Germany. The extent to which these were strongly held opinions or whether such statements were made with the intention to prove their

own commitment to participate in civic immigrant education could not be determined through observations.

5.3.1.2 Interviews

The code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" was also used for the analysis of interview data. As in the analysis of observation data, this code captured interview statements about immigrants in which the speaker included him or herself and statements, which were reflections on other immigrants. Unlike in observations however, where immigrants might directly interact with other immigrants or the course teacher, the one-on-one interviews provided the opportunity for the researcher to ask clarification and follow-up questions about whether or not a statement included the speaker or was referring to other immigrants. The code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" was applied 49 times during interview data analysis. This means that the 15 interview partners mentioned immigrant identities more than three times on average during an interview.

It had already become evident during observation research, that immigrants seemed to frequently distinguish their own person from other immigrants in Germany. Table 14 provides an overview of how often the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" was applied when immigrants made statements in which they included themselves and those kinds of statements, where they disassociated themselves from other immigrants. Furthermore, the table shows how often interview statements expressed agreement and disagreement with immigrant identity depictions.

	Agree with identity depiction	Disagree with identity depiction	Total
Include themselves	10	9	19
Dissociate themselves	25	5	30
Total	35	14	49

Table 14. Overview of the 49 applications of the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" to immigrant interview data collected in Germany

Ten of the 19 statements made during interviews, in which the speaker included him or herself, were made in agreement with immigrant identity depictions. Almost all of these statements were in reference to whether or not the depiction of immigrants being eager to integrate into German society and even to become German was accurate. One immigrant stated that after having been taken in as a refugee and receiving support from the state "I want to pay taxes and I want to be a good person here because I owe it to Germany". Another interview partner showed understanding for the existence of the Orientation Course, making the following statement:

> What else could they [the German state] do with us [immigrants]? This is okay, at least they help us learn (Ger- I8).

A similar sentiment was displayed by an immigrant, who stated that:

> We have to learn the language and we have to do the Orientation Course and that is also because we have to respect that we are here now (Ger- I9).

One interview partner even argued that making all immigrants engage in civic education was a matter of "equality and giving the opportunity to learn and make something of your life here". Such statements are in line with depictions of immigrants in the textbook, who want to become German or who speak about their gratitude towards Germany.

Immigrants however also disagreed with the depiction of themselves as immigrants that they encountered in the civic immigrant education materials on nine observed occasions. Six of the nine instances in which immigrants took issue with the depiction of immigrants were related to not wanting to learn what the course covered, and thus disagreeing with a depiction of immigrants as being enthusiastic about civic immigrant education and integration. It is noteworthy that all six of these statements were made by male course participants, who had come to Germany as refugees from the Middle East (five from Syria and one from Iraq) and who considered the course to be unsuitable for their contexts. One interview partner argued that "As a refugee I want to know if I will get my papers [to remain in Germany]. The course is not for refugees, it is for politicians". Another interview partner thought that the priority should be given to learning the language, to read and to write German, "and then later we can bother with politics and history". Given their uncertain legal status, it is understandable that refugees might be less inclined to learn about the political system or history of a country, in which they are not yet certain they will be allowed to remain. Furthermore, as we know from the findings presented in the previous chapter, stereotyped assumptions about Muslim men engaging in polygamy or getting involved with a terrorist group exist in the German civic immigrant education materials. It might therefore also be the case that male course participants from Muslim countries were more critical of the Orientation Course in response to feeling othered. In fact, all but one male interview partner from the Middle East made a statement criticising the Orientation Course, while female refugees or refugees coming from African countries did not make similar statements, thereby suggesting that it is not the legal status that prompts criticism of immigrant identity depictions.

The three other statements, in which immigrant interview partners showed disagreement with the depiction of immigrants in the civic education materials, related to assumptions that were made about immigrants. A young woman from Poland mentioned that she found it offensive to be told that she should not beat her children and that this was also a question on the Life in Germany test. A young man from Eritrea said that he would never marry more than one woman and that he thought it unnecessary to be told not to do so. He even joked that "the German state knows so much about us. As if we could do something like that if they do not want us to". The third interview statement that was coded as "immigrant identity (immigrants)" and during which the interview partner showed personal offense over the way that immigrants were depicted in the German civic education materials was made by a man from Italy. He stated:

> I was a bit sad when I read questions about leaving other people their opinion. That is as if we didn't know how to live in a good community with other people (Ger- I9).

Considering that the 15 immigrant interviews lasted for a total of over six hours and that the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" was applied 49 times, it is surprising that this only included nine instances of interview partners disagreeing with the depiction of immigrants on their own behalf and in response to assumptions about what behaviour immigrants might engage in. However, as became evident through observations and immigrant interviews, individual immigrants distinguished between their own person and other immigrants in Germany. As Table 14 showed, 30 of the 49 applications of the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" in the analysis of interview data in Germany were comments in which individuals disassociated themselves from other immigrants. Therefore, it might be the case that interview partners

avoided personal offence by relating the depiction of immigrant identities to other immigrants rather than to themselves. Each of the 15 interview partners made at least one statement that highlighted the difference between their own immigrant identity in Germany and the depiction of immigrants that they encountered in the civic immigrant education materials.

These statements about other immigrants were usually, but not always, a form of criticism of the behaviours and attitudes of others. Three of these 25 critical statements about fellow course participants were about people, who came from the same country as the interview partner. One Syrian man for example explained that:

> As said, the course is good and useful, but we don't just need a test and then "done" [hand gesture indicating quick processing, brushing one flat palm off the other], we need more support. Because many people didn't learn [participate in formal education] in Syria. They learned a manual job, or they didn't go to school at all or to university. And for them, they have to go to the course and they need the help of a teacher because they don't understand (Ger- I13).

Often, as in the statement below, such interview statements combined criticism of and understanding for the situations of other immigrants:

> Some people don't come here because they love Germany. They come here because they have no choice. So probably…. [smiles, glances to the side, 4 seconds silence] they might not be the most interested in learning about election system or such things (Ger- I1).

This statement was made by a young man, who was a refugee himself and was made when referring to people with whom he had taken the Orientation Course.

However, most often the statements made a distinction between the interview partner and immigrants of another demographic group. Such distinctions were made along national or cultural lines, as illustrated in this statement by an Italian immigrant about Arab course mates:

> There were many people in my course for whom some topics are off limits and they don't want to talk about them. But I think it is important to talk about that [homosexuality] (Ger- I9).

In several of the interviews, immigrants expressed understanding for the necessity of civic immigrant education because of the behaviours and attitudes of other immigrants. A woman from Syria stated:

> You don't necessarily need to like it [the course] to think that it is important. Obviously, I didn't really think that it was for me or that I should have to learn all these things I already know. But if you are an immigrant then you have to understand that Germany also needs to do these things because many people don't know and they need to learn (Ger-I15).

A similar argument was made by an interview partner, who argued that:

> There are many people that don't know Germany, they don't understand that there are many opportunities. But the people that do the Orientation Course, they understand better. If you only do the language course you don't understand the history, you don't understand why things are as they are (Ger- I2).

One Indian interview partner reported taking the course with two elderly women, who had come to Germany from Turkey in the 1990s. When the textbook spoke about the integration of Turkish guest workers, he wondered whether these women had come to Germany because of their husbands having worked in Germany as part of the guest worker programme. The interview partner then stated:

> You know, in some way it is crazy to think that these women have lived here for longer than you and I are alive, and they know nothing about Germany beyond Kreuzberg [a neighbourhood of Berlin with a high percentage of Turkish immigrants]. And then you wonder, why have they not learned? Why did they not bother? And then you look at your book [and read] about the guest workers and somehow you think: No, something went wrong there (Ger-I6).

It is likely that the women the young man from India was describing were required to enrol in the Orientation Course because the Office for Aliens (*Ausländerbehörde*) found them to be insufficiently integrated.[26] Since 2017, when the Office for Aliens was given the power to oblige long-settled immigrants to engage in civic education, an Orientation Course might have at least three distinct groups of immigrant course participants at the same time: immigrants who are from other EU countries and who have voluntarily resettled in Germany, refugees (mainly from Muslim countries), and immigrants who have lived in Germany since before the Orientation Course was first introduced in 2005. The effect that this diversity of course participants has on the learning experience of immigrants in Germany is further discussed in the next chapter.

Overall, the data from observations and interviews in Germany showed that immigrants had very complex reactions to the depiction of immigrants in the civic immigrant education materials, often related to their own personal backgrounds and experiences outside the Orientation Course. A distinction was made by immigrants between themselves and other immigrants, sometimes referring to others as being in need of civic education, while they themselves did not require it. The frequency of immigrant statements about the depiction of immigrant identities and the fact that every interview partner disassociated him or herself from other immigrants in Germany at

[26] This was introduced in 2017 under § 44a.1. 3 of the German Residence Act (see Chapter 1 - Introduction, Section 2.1)

least once during interviews speaks of them having a strong sense of the diversity of immigrant experiences in Germany.

5.3.2 United Kingdom: Calling on the state

In the British context, the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" was applied 26 times to immigrant interviews. It is not surprising that there were fewer instances of the application of this code in the British case than in Germany (n=49), as the British civic immigrant education process does not include a compulsory course. Immigrants in the United Kingdom are thus not required to regularly interact with a diverse group of immigrants during their preparation for the Life in the UK test. As this section illustrates, interview partners' experiences of immigrant identities in the United Kingdom were therefore limited to personal or second-hand accounts from other immigrants within their social group, and normative arguments about how immigrants should be seen and treated by the British state.

5.3.2.1 Interviews

When coding the 410 minutes of immigrant interviews in the United Kingdom for "immigrant identity (immigrants)", two main findings emerged. Firstly, 25 of the 26 coded interview passages were reflections on other immigrants, while only one statement including the speaker as an immigrant in the United Kingdom. Secondly, 18 of the 26 coded passages were demands for a more differentiated understanding and treatment of immigrants in the British civic immigrant education process.

The only interview statement coded as a reflection on immigrant identity depictions, in which the interview partner included themselves, was a Bangladeshi woman, who considered herself to be well integrated, as depicted in the Life in the United Kingdom book. She shared an anecdote about having made efforts to get to know her neighbours and having invited them to her mosque for events and Eid celebrations. She confided that she could not remember if it was the Life in the UK test preparation that inspired her to first invite a Christian, British friend to her home for Eid or if it was "just because she was nice and I thought she would like the food".

Even this interview partner however, who did recognise herself in the immigrant identity depicted in the Life in the United Kingdom book, drew a distinction between herself and other immigrants later on by comparing her own experience in the United Kingdom to that of other immigrants. She said that:

> We [her husband and herself] also lived in many parts of England and got to know a lot about British society through work and for example our daughters' schooling. But I can imagine that for people, who are not so well integrated, there could be more new information and that it might change how they see their life here (UK- I8).

All of the 15 interviewed immigrants in the United Kingdom thus reflected at least once on their own immigrant experience in Britain as separate from what other immigrants might experience. However, unlike in Germany, where many interview statements about other immigrants were critical, there were only two statements made by interview partners in the United Kingdom that showed a critical attitude towards other immigrants. The two research participants argued that certain normative content in the Life in the United Kingdom materials was necessary because of the practices of some immigrant communities. One woman made the following statement:

> I heard horrible stories about FGM [female genital mutilation] and it makes me so angry and it is good that people are reminded that it is illegal (UK- I12).

The only other statement that had a critical undertone when referring to other immigrants in the United Kingdom was the following remark by an Australian interview partner:

> There are some questions on the test, like "is it okay to beat your wife?", that are kind of free points because unless you are really stupid or from a completely different culture that isn't even a question (UK- 15).

While this statement does show a degree of cultural relativism by acknowledging that other cultures might adhere to different practices, it also suggests that this interview partner believed that some immigrants might require reminding of how to behave.

However, most statements about other immigrants were positive and in agreement with how immigrant identities were depicted in the Life in the United Kingdom materials. Three interview partners spoke about liking how multicultural the United Kingdom was and having the feeling that past immigrants had contributed a lot to British society. One interview partner even thought that the book "does not cover it enough" and could have done more to highlight the contribution of immigrants for example by providing figures of their economic contributions. Another interview partner talked about learning about the various religious holidays and then celebrating Diwali with a colleague's family a month before celebrating Christmas with her own family. She thought that this showed that the multiculturalism represented in the Life in the United Kingdom book did in fact exist and that she appreciated having learned more about other immigrant communities.

The second finding from the analytic coding of immigrant interviews in the United Kingdom was that, in light of the large diversity of immigrants in the United Kingdom, interview partners criticised the depiction of immigrant identities as too one-dimensional. This became evident in calls for a more differentiated treatment of immigrants, who, based on their different backgrounds and contexts, should receive more tailored civic immigrant education. 18 of the 24 interview statements coded for "immigrant identity (immigrants)" were calls for changes to the civic immigrant education process that would better capture the needs and backgrounds of the diverse demographic of immigrants in the United Kingdom. Such statements were made by all but one of the 15 interviewed immigrants.

For instance, one interview partner argued that some immigrants were more exposed to and experienced with British society than others and that immigrants in the United Kingdom were "not all the same". Asked if he considered the Life in the UK test to be useful, he stated:

> Maybe for some people. Certainly not for people who grew up here, have never lived anywhere else and who actually drink their ales and have their fish and chips, you know what I mean (UK- I13).

Another interview partner from Lebanon shared her experience of taking the Life in the UK test in London:

> Where I was taking the test, there were people who actually don't speak English and they were taking the test and really they were just visually memorizing the questions, like being taught to recognise the key words but they had no [emphasis], absolutely no idea what it was they were being asked. And that shouldn't happen because what is important is that they get the information and the current format and system doesn't actually ensure that – even when people have passed the test (UK- 114).

Asked for a clarification of whether she thought that the Life in the United Kingdom materials accurately depicted this group of immigrants she had encountered in London, her opinion was that the materials "might want to and kind of do get at those people" but she also thought that "how they try to do it just doesn't work".

Another immigrant who argued for more differentiation in what was expected of immigrants also referred to the diversity of immigrants in the United Kingdom and the fact that different immigrants would be better supported through tailored civic integration measures.

> I think what we need to think about is, if some people maybe need to do more. So, in some way the test could be a minimum requirement, and then for some people there should be more. For example, extra courses for people who don't have experience with formal education, or community engagement activities for people who don't get out of the house very much. And some just do the test because they know already and already have enough exposure to Britain in their daily lives (UK- I9).

One American interview partner, who had worked as a teacher for 40 years, also combined her call for more differentiation with criticism of the insufficient diversity of the immigrant identity depiction in the British civic education process. She summed up her account of the problem with the British treatment of immigrants in the following statement:

> I think for some it is more needed than for others. Really, they [the state] need to differentiate between different kinds of immigrants. Not in a discriminatory way, just that "citizenship education" [air quotes] can only work if you actually look at where learners come from rather than just making everyone go through the same process and thinking that everyone needs to learn the same things and that this one kind of immigrant that they seem to have in mind miraculously captures all hundreds of thousands of immigrants in the UK (UK- I10).

Overall, all immigrant interview partners in the United Kingdom differentiated between themselves and other immigrants in the United Kingdom. Only one interview partner also made a statement in which she referred to herself as corresponding to the well-integrated South Asian immigrant she saw in the Life in the United Kingdom book. Furthermore, interview data analysis showed that immigrants lamented a lack of diversity in the depiction of immigrant identities in the British civic immigrant education materials. By calling for a more tailored, differentiated approach to civic immigrant education, interview partners showed themselves to be aware of a diversity of immigrant identities that they found to be lacking in how the state depicted or conceptualised immigrants.

5.3.3 Summary – 'They' should or 'the state' should?

The code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" could be applied 39 times to German observation data and 49 times for German interviews as well as 26 times for interviews with British immigrants. Evidence from the two cases brought to light differences in the frequency as well as in the nature of interview partners' responses to immigrant identity depictions.

It is noteworthy that, with an equal interview sample size of 15, immigrants in Germany spoke about the immigrant identity depiction they encountered 49 times, while British immigrants only referred to it 26 times. This difference in the frequency of the code's application suggests that the depiction of immigrant identities featured less strongly in British immigrants' experience of civic immigrant education. While all interview partners in both countries made comments coded as

"immigrant identity (immigrants)" at least once, German data also showed a wider variety of engagements with immigrant identity depictions.

German immigrants reflected on the immigrant identities they encountered in the Orientation Course in four different ways (see Table 14 on page 245). Interview partners i) agreed with immigrant identity depictions more often (n=35) than they ii) disagreed with them (n=14). However, when looking at what identity narrative they showed support for, it became evident that interview partners iii) referred to other immigrants 30 times, while iv) relating the identity narrative they encountered to themselves on only 19 occasions. A deflection of negative attributes onto other immigrants is in line with some of the academic literature on processes of othering in immigration contexts (e.g. Anderson, 2013; Monforte et al., 2018). By finding faults with other immigrants' behaviour, immigrants are able to agree with stereotyped depictions of immigrants without having to relate such depictions to their own existence as immigrants in Germany. Conversations in Orientation Courses could even have facilitated such deflection of immigrant identities onto other immigrants. If, for example, a course participant voiced support for corporal punishment as a parenting method during a discussion in the course, it would become easier for immigrants to argue that, even if they themselves might not require value-based civics instruction, some immigrants did.

The interpretation that the deflection of immigrant identities onto other immigrants allowed interview partner to not take identity narratives personally is further supported when looking at those coded passages, in which identity depiction did cause personal offense. It was particularly Muslim men who showed irritation with the depictions of immigrant identity that they

encountered. This finding corresponds to the evidence presented in the previous chapter, which showed that immigrant identity depictions which had a normative foundation were often related to cultural practices associated with Islam, such as polygamy. As a significant number of participants in the Orientation Courses were from Syria and Iraq, the depiction of immigrant identities did more directly speak to these course participants than to course participants from a different religious and cultural background. The fact that particularly Muslim men felt misrepresented in civic immigrant education materials is furthermore in line with academic literature that suggests that it is especially Muslim immigrants that are negatively stereotyped across Europe (Fekete, 2009; Morey & Yaqin, 2011). If the stereotyped identity depictions in civic immigrant education materials are related to practices associated with Muslim immigrants, it is understandable that it is particularly immigrants from Muslim countries, who express personal offence at immigrant identity depictions, while immigrants who are not Muslim were able to detach themselves from the identity depictions they encountered.

In the British case, 25 of the 26 passages coded as "immigrant identity (immigrants)" were comments about other immigrants. In strong contrast to the frequent criticism of other immigrants in the German case, it only occurred twice in the British context that people thought a negative depiction of immigrant identities was justified, based on their own opinion of other immigrants. Most statements (n=18) were rather calls for a more complex and diverse depiction and understanding of immigrants in the United Kingdom. While demanding changes to the current civic immigrant education system, interview partners pointed out that the state should offer a more differentiated and tailored approach to civic immigrant education that reflected the needs and diverse backgrounds of those individuals, who are preparing for the Life in the UK

test. Authors like Loring (e.g. 2013) had previously warned of the danger of applying the same civic education approach to a learner group as diverse as adult immigrants.

The existence of Germany's Orientation Couse might be a factor that contributes to the difference between German immigrants criticising other immigrants for their behaviours and British immigrants criticising the state for insufficiently understanding the diversity of adult immigrants. Germany's civics course requires immigrants to not only engage with depictions of German and immigrant identities, but the course also exposes them to other course participants' responses to such identity depictions. This compulsory inter-personal and inter-cultural encounter through the Orientation Course does not exist in the United Kingdom.

5.4. Conclusion

Observation and immigrant interview data was coded for "national identity (immigrants)" and "immigrant identity (immigrants)" to address research question 2 about immigrants' responses to identity depictions. Table 15 provides a summary of the codes and the frequency with which they were applied in data analysis. Interview partners in Germany spoke more frequently about other immigrants, often critically, while immigrants in the United Kingdom voiced more opinions about the way that British national identity was depicted.

Code	Data sources German	Frequency	Data sources UK	Frequency
National identity (immigrants)	Observations (48 h) Immigrant interviews (n=15)	47 23	Immigrant interviews (n =15)	39
Immigrant identity (immigrants)	Observations (48 h) Immigrant interviews (n=15)	39 49	Immigrant interviews (n =15)	26

Table 15. Overview of the data sourses, codes, and the frequency of their application

In Germany the code "national identity (immigrants)" revealed a nuanced and varied engagement with national identity depictions in the Orientation Course. Immigrants brought their own backgrounds and experiences outside the course to bear when assessing the depiction of Germany that they were presented with. The fact that adult immigrants often drew on experiences from outside the civic education context is reflective of literature on adult learning (e.g. Knowles 1984; Rogers & Horrocks, 2010), in which the important role of daily life for adult learning is highlighted.

Reflections on Germany were furthermore brought about by exercise prompts in the book that asked immigrants to compare Germany with their countries of origin. It was mainly when

discussing Module 3 – Society and Culture that immigrants commented on Germany. While generally in agreement with the depiction of the German welfare state and rule of law, immigrants also shared some criticisms of Germany's self-representation, stating that some issues, such as gender equality or religious tolerance, were not quite as widely present in German society as was being portrayed in the civic immigrant education materials. Immigrants also complained about experiences of discrimination that they felt were in contrast to the supposed welcoming nature of German society.

In the British case the code "national identity (immigrants)" showed that immigrants were sensitive to historical narratives being a prominent feature of the national identity depiction. Eight immigrants thought that the emphasis on history came at the expense of more engagement with current social and political developments. It was particularly immigrants from former colonies that also asked for a more nuanced rendition of the history of the British Empire.

In both countries, there was no consensus about what specific aspects of Germany or the United Kingdom were missing. However, there were immigrants in both countries that expressed an interest in learning more about current political and social developments. In Germany, where compulsory civics courses exist, immigrants could discuss identity depictions with other course participants or teachers, thereby allowing for conversations that were more tailored to immigrants' interests and lived experiences. The fact that no courses exist in the United Kingdom meant that the civic immigrant education process could not be adapted to the individual backgrounds and interests of immigrants and that current issues like Brexit or the Windrush scandal could not be addressed.

The second code to address the research question about immigrants' experiences of identity depictions was "immigrant identity (immigrants)". This code looked at how immigrants experienced the depiction of immigrant identities in the civic education materials. In both countries, this code revealed that immigrants made a strong distinction between themselves and other immigrants.

During observations and interviews in Germany, a tension between different immigrant groups became apparent. Some immigrants agreed while others disagreed with the depiction of immigrant identities that they encountered. However, in most cases immigrant identity depictions were related to other immigrants rather than to the interview partners themselves. In line with what academic literature has found about tensions between immigrants (e.g. Anderson 2013; Brown, 2016; Monforte et al., 2018), German interview partners argued that even if they did not personally require value-based civic immigrant education, other immigrants did. On only nine occasions did immigrants show personal irritation with the way they found immigrant identities to be depicted. Six such statements were made by Muslim men, who, as previous research tells us, are often the target of stereotyped identity narratives about immigrants (e.g. Morey et al., 2019).

Unlike the depiction of immigrants in the German civic immigrant education process, the British depiction of immigrant identities seems to have been less contentious or strongly experienced by immigrants in the United Kingdom. Not only was the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" applied only 26 times in the United Kingdom and 49 times in Germany with an equally sized

interview sample, but it was also striking that statements by British immigrants were less critical of other immigrant groups. Rather than criticising other immigrants for their lack of engagement or specific cultural practices that were problematic (this only happened twice in United Kingdom interviews), immigrants in Britain called for a modified civic immigrant education process that should be more tailored to the contexts and needs of individual immigrants. Mirroring calls by academics like Griswold (2011) and Loring (2013, 2015), who warned of making diverse groups of immigrants undergo the same civic immigrant education process, immigrants demanded changes to the current Life in the United Kingdom process. 14 of the 15 immigrant interview partners in the United Kingdom found that the differences in peoples backgrounds and contexts were insufficiently recognised in a process based on "one kind of immigrant that they seem to have in mind" and who "miraculously captures all hundreds of thousands of immigrants in the UK" (UK- I10).

Germany has a civic immigrant education process that requires interactions between immigrants and with teachers. The United Kingdom on the other hand does not have a compulsory course, leading to the development of individualised experiences and informal pedagogies within social communities. Immigrants are either preparing for the test on their own or rely on friends and family for test preparation. The extent to which the difference between German and British immigrants' experiences of identity depictions that emerged from the data might have arisen due to structural factors like the absence of compulsory civics course in the United Kingdom, is explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 6 – Impacts of the structure of civic immigrant education on immigrants' civic learning

6.1. Introduction

The previous chapter has presented data showing that immigrants do reflect on and respond to the identity narratives they encounter in the civic immigrant education materials in Germany and the United Kingdom. Significant differences emerged in both the focus and nature of responses to identity depictions. Furthermore, it has been shown in the small body of previous academic research on civic education for adult immigrants that structural aspects of the civic immigrant education process, such as availability of support, duration of courses, and the test-taking experience itself affect immigrants' experiences (e.g. Bassel et al. 2017, Monforte et al., 2018). Such literature suggests that immigrants feel othered not only through identity depictions but also through the structure of the civic immigrant education process. Based on the findings presented in the previous chapter and on academic literature, the third and final research question asks what impact the structure of the civic immigrant education process has on adult immigrants' civic learning in Germany and the United Kingdom.

48 hours of observations (in Germany) as well as 30 immigrant interviews, and 11 teacher interviews from both countries were analytically coded to unpack how and what immigrants learned in the civic education process. Academic literature suggests that individuals undergoing civic education reflect on their relationship to the state and wider society, their interactions with other individuals, and their personal knowledge, attitudes, and position in society (e.g. Kerr et al., 2009; Byrne 2016; Brown 2016). The three codes used to address the third research questions were therefore i) "references to the country", which captured data on how immigrants related to

the state and wider society throughout the civic immigrant education process, ii) "group or interpersonal learning", which collected data on immigrants' interactions with other individuals that had a role in their test preparation, and iii) "individual learning", which captured observation or interview data on the cognitive and affective dimensions of immigrants' personal learning.

While the previous two research questions addressed the symbolic and behavioural levels of symbolic interactionism respectively, this research question focused both on the symbolic meaning of the structure of civic immigrant education and on the behavioural responses of immigrants.

This brief introduction is followed by sections in which data for each of the three codes is presented in turn. The chapter closes with a conclusion, in which all codes are compared and contrasted for the two country cases.

6.2. References to the country

The code "references to the country" was applied to observation data from Orientation Courses in Germany and interview data from immigrant as well as teacher interviews in both countries. "References to the country" captured data that illustrated how structural elements of the civic immigrant education process influenced immigrants' view of Germany or the United Kingdom. This code focuses on the symbolic as well as the behavioural levels of symbolic interactionism because it investigates how immigrants react to the structure of civic immigrant education, which is set up on the symbolic level.

6.2.1 Availability and allocation of state-provided resources in Germany

Germany has a state-provided civic immigrant education process, as it is the state that finances the courses and tests for most immigrants. It is also the state, or more specifically the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, which approves textbooks and accredits course providers of the Orientation Course. The code "references to the country" was applied 16 times for observations, 17 times for the six teacher interviews, and 25 times for immigrant interviews.

6.2.1.1 Observations

On one hand the analysis of observation data with the analytical code "references to the country" showed that immigrants engaged actively with the German state and society when undergoing the civic immigrant education process. On the other hand however, observation research also revealed instances in which immigrants did not engage with the civic immigrant education programme in good faith, such as when i) they cheated on the Life in Germany test, ii) criticised the Orientation Course, or iii) exercised the minimum effort necessary to complete the civic

immigrant education process. Neither the finding that some immigrants actively and positively engaged with the state during the Orientation Course, nor the findings that some immigrants did not do so can be extended to all course participants, let alone to all immigrants in Germany. Data presented in this section highlights that course participants were as diverse in their attitudes towards civic immigrant education as they were in their backgrounds.

Evidence gathered during observation research showed that immigrants did engage in debates about the state and all aspects of life in Germany that were presented in the Orientation Course. This became evident when immigrants asked critical questions, which showed independent thinking and went beyond the textbooks or information provided by the teacher. Eight such instances were observed from eight different immigrants. One immigrant for example brought a newspaper to the course and asked the teacher for an explanation about the reasons for a local referendum. On seven other occasions immigrants were observed relating information covered in previous sessions to the topic of the day. When talking about Germany's education system for example, a course participant asked if education was an element of the German welfare state.

There were however also several instances in which immigrants clearly did not take the civic immigrant education process seriously or were critical of the requirement to participate in civic education. An indicator that some immigrants had a critical attitude towards the civic immigrant education process was that two immigrants were attempting to cheat when taking the final Life in Germany test. One woman was keeping materials on her table, which had revision notes on them. The supervising teacher told her to remove all materials before the woman began the test. Another course participant was muttering the correct answers in Arabic while filling out his test.

The teacher instructed him twice to be silent, but the man only stopped after another course participant from Syria spoke to him in Arabic requesting that he stop his utterances.[27]

A further finding that emerged from the analytic coding of observation data was that immigrants were at times upset at how they were treated by the state. Such comments did not refer to the identity depictions discussed in the previous chapter but were related to the structure of the Orientation Course. On four occasions immigrants mentioned finding that the course took up too much of their time. Another two situations were witnessed in which immigrants showed that they found the civic immigrant education process to be too prescriptive. In a conversation between an immigrant and a course teacher the man from Iran mentioned, "first you [the state] tell us to do this, then to go here, and at the end to know this. What about when I am free and when I want to learn?". The teacher explained to him that it was not possible to accommodate everyone's timetables.

A third way in which negative reactions to the civic immigrant education process became evident during observations was that some course participants had developed an understanding of how to complete the civic immigrant education process with minimum effort or time spent in Orientation Courses and for test preparation. At the beginning of each session, course participants had to sign a registration sheet. 70% attendance in the course is mandatory as per course regulations (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2017). However, once immigrants had realised that most teachers allowed them to sign the registration sheet as long as they arrived in the first half of the four-hour session, certain participants began arriving later. Figure 15 below

27 I spoke to the second man after the test had been completed and he confirmed that he had asked the other course participant to be quiet.

shows the average attendance for ten of the twelve observed course sessions (two excursions that were observed are not including in the Figure). In most course sessions attendance was highest just before the break (between points 3 and 4 on Figure 15) and dropped towards the end of the lesson. It should also be noted that point 1 on the graph corresponded to 30 minutes after the official beginning of the course. Sessions with ten or 16 enrolled participants frequently began with only three or four people present. The thickest line on the graph, which rises to 93% attendance towards the end of the class, was the session after which this Orientation Course group took the Life in Germany test.

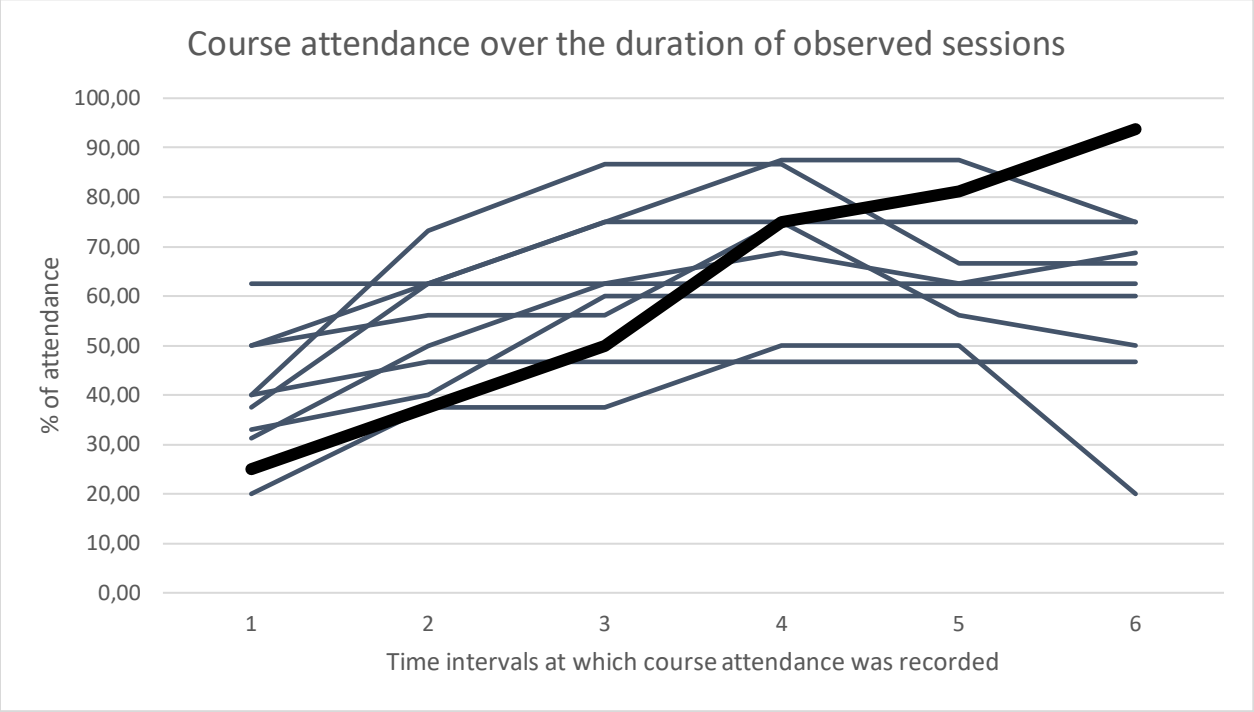


Figure 15. Course attendance over the duration of Orientation Course sessions (excursions not included). Attendance was noted down by the researcher every 30 minutes. Point 1 is 30 minutes after the official start time of the courses. Point 4 is just before the break, or about 120 minutes after the start time. Point 6 was 180 minutes after the beginning or 60 minutes before the end of sessions. The thick, dark line was the final session at the end of which that group took the Life in Germany test.

This observation about irregular course attendance is neither a judgement on whether or not course participants should have attended sessions more regularly, nor is this a criticism of teachers allowing immigrants to sign the registration sheet despite arriving two hours late. However, the graph does show that attendance was incomplete and that arriving late and leaving after the break were common occurrences.

6.2.1.2 Teacher interviews

Similar to observation data, the 17 coded passages from teacher interview data can be grouped into either positive or negative statements about how the structure of the civic immigrant education process affected immigrants' "references to the country".

The positive aspect brought up by all of the six teachers was that they found their courses to always include participants, who were interested and engaged from the beginning of the first session. Additionally, the existence of the compulsory Orientation Course allowed for immigrants to be "brought on board" through group work and personalised support. One teacher made the following statement:

> You will always have one, two, maybe three people, who come to the first session with this face that tells you 'I don't want to be here'. They don't have the books, don't even take out pen and paper, just throw down their bag, slouch in their chairs, arms crossed. But by the time we made it through the first section of the course, you can tell that they kind of got hooked a little bit. They start asking questions, start disagreeing with others – disagreeing in a positive way I mean. That is always a rewarding thing to see as a teacher (Ger- T4).

Course teachers did however also report issues or challenges that they had experienced in the Orientation Course. One of the issues raised by all six teachers was the quality of the textbooks,

which they called “a big problem”, “pretty bad”, “problematic and infantilising”, or “one-sided and preachy”. It is prescribed by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees to decide on one of the four state-approved textbooks for the Orientation Course, which course participants are then expected to buy. However, all teachers interviewed for this research reported that they used materials from all available books and also borrowed from other sources, mainly for videos or interactive exercises. When asked how the books could be improved the six interview partners gave a variety of answers that can be grouped into three main suggestions. Firstly, four teachers thought that textbooks should be more age-appropriate to avoid coming across as “belittling” to immigrant learners. Secondly, four teachers suggested that there should be a larger variety of exercises and activities proposed in the book. The third type of statements were suggestions related to content that should be included. No clear pattern emerged from these content-related suggestions, which ranged from more or different coverage of German history to leaving out specific content. One teacher for example suggested that content which she called “folklorical”, like textbook passages about traditional baked goods and dishes, could be omitted. Another teacher criticised the textbooks’ authors for not having a sufficiently clear and nuanced picture of the diversity of immigrants, “they are not all uneducated and they don’t all wear headscarves you know”, she said.

Another issue that five of the six interviewed teachers mentioned was that they did not always feel comfortable with how Germany was represented in the textbooks and through the Life in Germany test. Three teachers commented that they made a conscious effort to provide alternative or complementary explanations for content covered in the book. One teacher for example mentioned that, in an effort to help course participants to get a more complete picture of

Germany, she would make a point to speak about elements of German society she considered to be problematic, such as weak intergenerational links. The two other teachers said that, while they might not deliberately provide additional information, they remained vigilant for moments when they thought immigrants expressed concern over racism or discrimination. One teacher stated:

> With the election results for the AfD [Germany's right-wing, nationalist party] in that election, it just became really necessary to give people the opportunity to talk about being an immigrant in a country where so many people voted for that party (Ger- T3).

This statement showed that, more or less pro-actively, teachers used the Orientation Course as a platform to discuss content that was not directly related to the textbooks or the Life in Germany test and as an opportunity for immigrants to talk about their experiences in Germany. This was done in an effort to help immigrants to better relate to the German state and German society.

6.2.1.3 Immigrant interviews

Interviews with immigrants provided further insights into how the structure of civic immigrant education in Germany impacted the way that immigrants related to the state and wider society. The code "references to the country" was applied 25 times to the 15 interviews. Seven of the interviewed immigrants expressed that they were grateful or appreciative of the state providing, and in many cases paying for, civic immigrant education. One immigrant mentioned for example that he was eager to pay taxes because he considered the state to have made an investment in his future, which he now wanted to repay.

Three other immigrants referred to what they had heard about other countries and concluded that provision of support for immigrants to integrate were better in Germany. A young man from Syria reported that he had relatives, who had gone to Denmark and Hungary.

> In Hungary they just get nothing, and the people do not want them there. My sister in Denmark she says, it is not that bad, but also she gets no help from anyone and she never meets any people, so she is very unhappy (Ger- I13).

He went on to conclude that in comparison to such reports from family members, he thought Germany was doing a "good job" at taking care of immigrants and refugees. Whether in comparison to other countries or not, ten of the fifteen interviewed immigrants in Germany expressed that they felt supported by the state and consequently appreciated civic immigrant education.

The one problematic issue, for which passages from eight interviews were coded, was the feeling of pressure or inconvenience brought about by having to participate in civic immigrant education. Three immigrants stated that they felt a high amount of pressure to pass the Life in Germany test, as they felt that their future prospects in Germany would be significantly harmed by failing the test. The fact that the test could be retaken did not change their assessment of the level of pressure. Five other immigrants stated that they thought the course was either too long or too time intensive and that a 100-unit long civics course was unnecessary. One of these five statements also included the suggestion that more course time could be spent outside the classroom, making the course more practical and "less eternal".

One further finding that emerged from the data coded for "references to the country" was that immigrants understandably did not limit their assessment of Germany to what they learned or experienced in the civic immigrant education process. Seven statements made by immigrants displayed that they were building their impression of Germany and the German state more on experiences outside the Orientation Course, such as their interaction with immigration officials, language school staff, or people they met in daily life. Three immigrants also argued that the state should allocate its resources differently.

> Why do they pay for the Orientation Course but then I still have to live with three other guys in a room, waiting to get a better housing allocation (Ger- I4)?

This statement was made by a young man from Eritrea, who did not generally criticise the existence of the civic immigrant education process, but clearly felt that the German state should reconsider its priorities.

Drawing a brief conclusion for the code "references to the country" in the German context, the data showed that immigrants' level of engagement and interest in civic immigrant education varied significantly. Issues with attendance and participation were observed during lessons and course teachers also mentioned these in interviews. However, observations and both types of interviews also showed that two-thirds of immigrants related positively to the state through the Orientation Course and seven interview partners felt that the state's support was an investment in their future.

6.2.2 Diverse learners with diverse needs in British civic immigrant education

The code "references to the country" was used for the analytic coding of data from interviews with teachers, where it was applied 22 times, and immigrants in the United Kingdom, where it was applied 27 times. While civic immigrant education courses are not compulsory in the United Kingdom, teachers who taught such courses had rich, complementary information on the impact of the structure of civic immigrants education on immigrants in the United Kingdom.

6.2.2.1 Teacher interviews

Twelve of the 22 passages from the five interviews with teachers that were coded for "references to the country" drew attention to challenges or issues with the structure of civic immigrant education. These statements were either about inadequate support for immigrant learners (n = 7) or inappropriate content of the Life in the United Kingdom book or test (n=5).

All five interviewed teachers raised the issue of the insufficient support available to immigrants involved in civic immigrant education. One teacher reported for example that she received calls from people, who had not taken her course but had found her contact information as a course teacher online. These calls were usually questions about where to take the Life in the UK test or how to prepare for it. This interview partner thought that immigrants "really don't understand the whole process and the information that exists really doesn't seem to be easily enough accessible for a lot of people". Two other teachers spoke about what they perceived to be a "massive need for support" from the side of immigrants, who were trying to navigate a "hard to understand system" of naturalisation requirements and learning support. One teacher also raised the fact that there was no joining up of provisions because "different places [course providers] and colleges

are doing very different things". She thought that the lack of coordination between course providers and the fact that provisions were not centrally regulated made it harder for immigrants to access the support they need.

Three teachers argued that even immigrants wanting to use the course to integrate into British society might find it difficult to do so. Similar to arguments presented in the German case, two teachers thought that the test, and the pressure that arose from having to pass it, were a hinderance to immigrants engaging with the content more deeply. One teacher for example explained:

> What are we supposed to tell them? That it is in their interest to learn? Yes, of course we do that. But these are people that are also under a lot of pressure to pass that test because maybe their job or visa depends on it and so obviously what counts most to them is passing the test rather than really learning [emphasis on the word] about Britain (UK-T2).

Another teacher criticized the government for not engaging sufficiently with the daily lives of the immigrants undergoing civic education.

> Sometimes I feel bad for them because they try and it is so hard for some and costs a lot of money. But you see, the problem is also that the Home Office really doesn't know these people and what they are struggling with on a daily basis. It is nice and all to want them to come out of their communities, to mingle with others, to integrate, but if you don't give them any support, how do you expect a woman from Bangladesh, who never went to school in the first place to tell her husband that she is now going to get an education, learn English, pass the Life in the UK test (UK- T5).

Teachers' calls for a more nuanced understanding of the situations in which immigrants find themselves is reminiscent of the requests made by immigrants for a more diverse representation of immigrant identities, which was discussed in the previous chapter.

Another issue raised by four of the five interviewed teachers was what they perceived to be inadequacies of the current civic immigrant education materials or inappropriate content in the Life in the United Kingdom book and test. One teacher shared that she mainly used the book "as a foundation and then make my own exercises to go with it". At the same time, she highlighted that her clear objective was to ensure that students would pass the test. This meant guaranteeing that all content which could appear in the Life in the UK test would be covered in her course and that course participants would understand that learning this content was "not optional". In general, the four teachers that spoke about the Life in the United Kingdom book during interviews had negative opinions of it. One teacher thought that the book was "hard to understand" and consisted of "too many lists". Another teacher argued that the approach in the books was "too text-heavy" and that she had "a number of students, who can just not learn this way". All four teaches also agreed however that the diversity of learners would make it very hard to design a book that would suit the needs and interests of all immigrants.

Another point of criticisms that teachers levied against the Life in the United Kingdom book was that not all content was relevant to immigrants. Mirroring what interviews with immigrants have revealed for research question 2 in the previous chapter, two teachers thought that the treatment of Britain's colonial past in the civic immigrant education book was not sufficiently connected to today's world.

> Some [things in the book] are just random facts, but look, the British Empire is very fluffed over. What we want to know is why people are here. And why? Because a hundred years ago this happened. That is why we have immigration today. That is where our diversity comes from. And that information would be more useful. I think explaining a little bit about the Troubles in Ireland or how do the Welsh feel about being part of the UK or how do the Scottish feel (UK- T1).

Despite all five teachers speaking about problems and challenges, teachers also found there to be positive effects of civic immigrant education on immigrants' connection to the British state and society, such as people being interested in the content of the book or that the course helped immigrants to integrate. Ten of the 22 statements coded for "references to the country" contained positive judgements. One teacher explained for example that course participants' interest in the course that she had taught most recently went beyond the Life in the UK test. "Only about 1 or 2 of them were actually going to do the test. The others just wanted to learn about the culture and history and the course was the best way for them to get that kind of information".

Three teachers spoke about the various elements of additional support that a course was able to offer to immigrants. One teacher shared that:

> Students don't just want to learn about the history and culture, but they are also learning the language. Often, they don't know the language and then they read a part and end up having to cross-reference it with a dictionary and that impedes the absorption of that information as well. So, doing it in person is a lot easier and more effective (UK- T1).

Another teacher voiced the opinion that "value-based learning only happens through deeper engagement". She referred to young, male Muslim course participants, who she argued were not getting enough support to review and revise their opinions. Addressing the topic of acceptance towards homosexuality, she argued that:

> If they [Muslim immigrants] try to fit in with other British kids now, they need to learn that, otherwise they will always feel othered. Gay people are luckily very present nowadays and it is important they accept that. If they want to live in this county, they need to respect these views, they don't need to share them, but they need to respect them to fit in (UK- T3).

Like another interviewed teacher, this teacher thought that the objectives of civic immigrant education in the United Kingdom could only be achieved if immigrants were involved in a learning process that extended beyond test preparation and would include compulsory courses based on a participatory learning approach.

Another advantage of the course that was raised during an interview with a teacher was that courses allowed for discussions about current affairs and issues in British society. She argued that such discussions were likely to improve immigrants' understanding of and support for the British state and society. She said:

> We do talk about current affairs when it fits in. The tutor has to make sure that it does not go out of hand. But we encourage healthy debate but nothing out of hand. I think that is really important, they should know what is going on. Climate change, Brexit, local council affairs (UK- T4).

These last three statements from teachers all highlight that an in-person element in civic immigrant education would increase the benefits of civic learning beyond preparing immigrants for the Life in the UK test. Such benefits of participation in civics courses could include engaging more deeply with the content that immigrants learn for the Life in the UK test as well as improving immigrants' understanding of British society.

6.2.2.2 Immigrant interviews

When coding the 15 immigrant interviews for "references to the country", the 27 coded statements addressed three topics; i) twelve coded passages were complaints about the expense of the civic immigrant education process; ii) five immigrants shared stories of negative experiences with the state while preparing for and taking the Life in the UK test, iii) ten

statements made by immigrants argued that it was understandable that immigrants would have to learn about the country but that they considered the current process to be in need of reforms.

Out of the twelve immigrants, who mentioned that they considered the civic immigrant education process to be too expensive, seven explicitly stated that it gave them the feeling that the United Kingdom was discriminating against immigrants from less affluent countries. One man argued that:

> It is a bit muddled up. On one hand they say 'learn this and you are fine' but at the same time they say 'pay this or otherwise you don't get it'. What is it then? Meritocracy or capitalism? (UK- I12)

Not all grievances that addressed structural aspects of the civic education process were however related to monetary issues. One immigrant stated that he "felt a bit belittled by the entire thing". Another interview partner argued that the Life in the UK test was "a power play", which the state forced immigrants to submit to. Three immigrants specifically complained about the interactions at the test centres, which they found "rather alienating" and "really unpleasant". One immigrant's succinct summary was that "you don't come out of this experience feeling better about the state".

Ten of the 15 interviewed immigrants mentioned that they would have preferred a different format either of the test or of the entire civic immigrant education process. Interviews included statements like:

> I understand what the government is trying to do and that they want to have citizens that speak English and understand what is happening around them. That can interact with

> their neighbours and be involved in their communities. But really if the government wants to have engaged citizens, the test is not enough (UK- I14).

One man showed understanding for the state wanting "to make sure that everyone who lives here understands how things work". He argued that while the test might not be "the most useful for that", it also empowered those, who passed it. "If they say that is what it needs, then here you go, I got it", this man argued. Another woman argued that the course had helped her to learn more about British society and the functioning of the state but "it really depends on where you come from and who you are". She argued that, if the state really wanted to facilitate integration, "they need to pick people up where they are".

Overall, data from interviews in the United Kingdom suggests that immigrants as well as teachers felt a need for reforms that would improve the current civic immigrant education process and that changes, such as a wider provision of learning support through civics courses, could better address the needs of diverse learners.

6.2.3 Summary – Provided or demanded?

Evidence from both countries that was gathered under the code "references to the country" underlined the symbolic meaning that immigrants attached to the provision of state support for civic immigrant education. Ten immigrant interview partners in Germany, where the Orientation Course is provided by the state, commented that they felt respected or supported by the state in their efforts to integrate into German society. In the United Kingdom on the other hand, the test preparation and financing are the responsibility of individual immigrants. For naturalisation or

permanent residency, the state demands a certificate that the Life in the UK test has been passed without supporting immigrants in obtaining this certificate. The distinction between state-provided and state-demanded civic immigrant education has not yet been made in the academic literature on this topic, as far as could be discerned.

Observations and both types of interviews showed that immigrants in Germany related positively to the state through the Orientation Course and felt that the state's provision of learning support was an investment in their future. Teacher interviews confirmed that immigrants used the course as an opportunity to learn more about Germany and that even less motivated course participants could be "brought on board" over time. Immigrant interviews showed different ways in which immigrants related to the state or German society through civic immigrant education. While some appreciated the support and the learning opportunity, others felt that the course was too time consuming or that the state should rather support immigrants on other issues, such as housing. Observation data also brought to light issues with participation and engagement in Germany's civic immigrant education process. Several authors have called civic immigrant education a nation-building project (e.g. Orgad, 2011). Data from Germany suggests that in addition to wanting to build a nation through the content of civic immigrant education, states might also want to consider the symbolic power of investing in immigrants' integration by financially supporting their civic immigrant education.

Corresponding to what teachers in Germany mentioned, teachers in the United Kingdom argued in favour of Life in the United Kingdom courses, as these had benefits beyond test preparation, such as a deeper engagement with the content and connections to daily life. Increasing the

provision of courses in the United Kingdom could be one way of accommodating immigrants' calls for changes to the current civic immigrant education process in Britain, which were raised in immigrant interviews and discussed in the previous chapter. Besides raising the issue that the Life in the UK test was expensive, immigrants suggested that the support for learners should be increased. Three immigrants also spoke about negative experiences with the state when engaging in civic immigrant education, leading one to conclude that you "don't come out of this experience feeling better about the state". Evidence from Britain thus provides further support for the argument presented above that financial and intellectual support for the civic immigrant education process might foster immigrants' attachment to the state and connection to British society.

6.3. Group or interpersonal learning

The code "group or interpersonal learning" was applied to observations, teacher interviews, and immigrant interviews. The code captured instances, in which the effects of interactions with other individuals on immigrants' civic learning become evident. The individuals with whom these interactions could take place were mainly other immigrants, but could also be teachers, family members, or friends, who immigrants interacted with as part of their civic immigrant education. "Group or interpersonal learning" addressed both the symbolic and the behavioural levels of symbolic interactionism, as it focused on immigrants' behavioural responses to the structure of civic immigrant education, which is set up on the symbolic level.

6.3.1 The Orientation Course and group learning in Germany

The code "group or interpersonal learning" was applied 22 times in 48 hours of observations in German Orientation Courses, 15 times for the six teacher interviews, and 64 times for 15 interviews with immigrants in Germany. The compulsory Orientation Course makes civic immigrant education in Germany an inherently social process. As can be seen in Figure 16, teachers used different kinds of exercises, in which students worked in pairs or groups. In the picture below, one of the course teachers provides students with instructions for a group exercise.



Figure 16. Immigrants engaging in a group exercise during the Orientation Course

Observations and immigrant interviews mainly brought to light positive aspects of learners' interactions with each other during the civic immigrant education process. Interviews with teachers and immigrants however illustrate that challenges in group or interpersonal dynamics also existed.

6.3.1.1 Observations

Out of the 22 observed instances coded as "group or interpersonal learning", 17 had a positive connotation. Four of these 17 instances were observed during which immigrants took the initiative to help other course participants in their learning. These instances went beyond course participants helping fellow course participants with the German language but rather included

deeper elements of learning, such as providing additional explanations about the course content or clarifying the teacher's instructions.

A further positive element of the interpersonal learning that took place in the Orientation Course was that immigrants received help from teachers, which went beyond the content of the course or the Life in Germany test. Six such situations occurred in the twelve observed course sessions. One teacher for example helped a student after class to draft a response to a letter he had received from the local authorities. Another teacher was observed offering a student help with an internship application he was preparing. This teacher followed up with the young man from Syria about the status of his application the next time this course was observed.

Another positive effect of the group or interpersonal aspects of civic immigrant education in Germany were the seven observed instances in which seven different course participants showed that they had established social contacts through the Orientation Course. One woman for example mentioned that her and another course mate had decided to sign up for further language classes together upon completing the Orientation Course. Three other examples were observed in which immigrants brought items from their homes to share with or pass on to other immigrants, such as children's cloths and an electric drill. Other observed instances included moments when course participants made plans with other people in the course to meet up to watch a football match or to go shopping together.

There were however also five instances observed during which tensions between course participants were evident. These situations highlighted, as can be expected among any large

group of individuals, that interpersonal tensions existed, which at times needed to be managed by the teacher. As tensions between immigrants have been discussed in the previous chapter under the code "immigrant identity (immigrant)" it is not discussed further at this point.

6.3.1.2 Teacher interviews

All of the six interviewed teachers confirmed that students in their courses did make new social contacts and that for some immigrants it seemed in fact to be an important opportunity to meet people. One course teacher stated:

> Particularly for the refugees, who are sometimes traumatised, they don't know a lot of people and then it often happens that the course is an opportunity for them to meet others, make friends and stuff. This is less so for immigrants, who have lived here longer or the ones that are here for work or because of their families (Ger- T2).

Despite agreeing on the potential benefits of the Orientation Course, it was also common among teachers to speak about negative aspects of the group or interpersonal learning that immigrants engaged in. Five of the six teachers made such critical statements for a total of eight times. They stressed that there was not one archetypical immigrant to Germany but that within one course there would be people with a wide variety of backgrounds, abilities, interests, and motivations. Three teachers attested that in order to do justice to those course participants, who were truly interested in learning about life in Germany, one had to occasionally leave aside those, who were less motivated. Another teacher spoke about the additional stress for teachers that arose when course participants engaged in arguments. Framing such situations between course participants as a challenge for teachers, one woman said that "nothing could do justice to such a diverse group of people".

Another challenging aspect that five teachers spoke about was the impact of changed course demographics on the group dynamic. With the large influx of refugees from the Middle East to Germany, Orientation Courses now consist of more Arabic speakers than before.[28] One teacher made the following statement:

> Where there used to be two Arabic speakers, one Russian, one Polish, two Spanish and so on, now you have ten of them speaking Arabic and that means that a lot of the times you have a little side show going on because they just talk amongst themselves and I can't even cut them off so easily because I don't understand what they are saying (Ger- T4).

This teacher thought that the large number of participants who had a shared native language also made other course participants feel excluded. Nothing to confirm this statement about language issues could however be observed during sessions or was mentioned in immigrant interviews.

6.3.1.3 Immigrant interviews

The 15 immigrant interviews were the data source to which the code "group or interpersonal learning" could be applied most frequently. Out of the 64 coded interview statements, 34 highlighted positive aspects of learning in groups and 30 were comments on either the teacher or other course participants.

All 15 interview partners mentioned that they appreciated the Orientation Course as an opportunity to meet other immigrants or to exchange opinions and experiences with them.

28 According to official BAMF statistics for all of Germany, 34.6% of Orientation Course participant were from Syria and an additional 9.4% of course participants came from Iraq, both Arabic speaking countries ttps://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Downloads/Infothek/Statistik/Integration/2017/2017-integrationskursgeschaeftsstatistik-gesamt_bund.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

Twelve participants explicitly mentioned that they either made friends during the course (n=7) or referred to people during the interview that they had met in their Orientation Course and who had become their friends (n=5).

Seven of the interviewed immigrants mentioned that interactions with other course participants had given them the opportunity to put their own experience as immigrants in Germany into perspective. One woman from Poland stated:

> When you see some people every day for a little while you kind of get a feeling for them, even if you don't particularly like them, and then you realise that for some it is so much harder to be here than for yourself. That made me feel like I should try a bit harder because I was in a good position (Ger- I12).

This statement showed that the encounter with other immigrants in the Orientation Course could lead course participants to be more motivated to take full advantage of their comparatively comfortable situation.

All 15 immigrant interviews did however also include moments when immigrants spoke about other course participants engaging in behaviour that the interview partners considered to be inappropriate or when interview partners talked about differences in opinions and attitudes with other immigrants. As such instances were already reported in the previous chapter under the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)", they are not further discussed here.

It should also be noted that all 15 immigrants mentioned whether or not they liked their Orientation Course teachers. While the interview schedule included a question about their experience of the Orientation Course, no specific question about teachers was included.

Immigrants' comments about their teachers were thus proactive and indicate that interactions with teachers were an important part of immigrants' learning experience in German civic immigrant education. 14 immigrant interview partners commented positively on their teachers, while one interview partner felt discriminated against by one of the teachers in the Orientation Course he had attended.

Overall, data from observations and interviews with teacher as well as with immigrants showed that there were several positive aspects of the group or interpersonal elements of civic immigrant education in Germany. These positive aspects included course participants in the Orientation Course forming new social contacts or the help that teachers were willing and able to provide to immigrants beyond civic immigrant education. However, group or interpersonal interactions also included altercations, differences of opinion, or judgements on the (mis-)behaviours of other immigrants. Teachers' work in managing group dynamics in Orientation Courses was therefore important.

6.3.2 Personal and informal learning communities in the United Kingdom

In the analysis of teacher interviews the code "group or interpersonal learning" could be applied 18 times and coded passages covered a variety of problems teachers had identified in regard to group or interpersonal learning. The 15 immigrant interviews were only coded as "group or interpersonal learning" 16 times and included no negative statements made by immigrants. This is a strong contrast to 64 applications of the code in the German case, where the interview sample was equal in size. The less frequent application of the code is likely due to the fact that

the structure of British civic immigrant education does not include a compulsory civics courses and that only one of the 15 interviewed immigrants in the United Kingdom had taken a Life in the UK test preparation course.

6.3.2.1 Teacher interviews

Interviews with teachers in the United Kingdom brought to light several benefits of learning in groups but also highlighted similar issues with the management of group dynamics that teachers in Germany had raised. Three of the teachers reported challenges with the nature of group dynamics in their courses. One teacher found that there was limited interaction between immigrants in her courses. "A lot of them come, dump as much as they can into their brains and leave right after", she reported. Two other teachers said that it required an active effort on their part to ensure that course participants would mingle. Both teachers related the immigrants' wish to sit with people from their communities to issues with language and confidence.

> There is a bit of an issue about, say if I have for example 3 learners from Turkey, they want to sit together. They need that confidence. But after a couple of sessions that changes. We make them do a lot of group activities. At times they can sit together and help each other but at the same time they do lots of activities with others (UK- T4).

One teacher also spoke about the challenges of having to keep together a group of immigrants with diverse backgrounds and interests.

> There are learners from European countries that are very aware and understanding of their privilege. But there is still this east-west thing. There is the poverty angle. For some it is their one shot and others are just fed up with the situation at home … and then you have the refugees. They all have such different situations (UK- T3).

However, despite three teachers' reports about challenges with the extent to which immigrants interacted during their courses, it was more common that teachers spoke positively about the nature of social interactions. Four of the five interviewed teachers reported that students in their courses engaged with others in a friendly and constructive manner, which improved the learning atmosphere. Asked about how participants in her courses interacted, one teacher reported:

> They don't form groups. Well if you look at Russians and Lithuanians and Latvians, and this is by no means a characterization, we observed it in class, they like to tell others "No, that's wrong, that is not what she said ". Which to them is okay because they think they are helping, and they don't understand that in the British culture they should turn it down. But other than that, no, not at all (UK- T1).

Three other teachers mentioned that their course participants became friendly with each other over the duration of the course. One reported of her course participants often wanting to organise a party to which they would invite family members and friends at the end of the course. Similar to findings from the German case, teachers argued that friendly interactions among students were helpful for immigrants' motivation and to guide their learning.

> It is nice to see them standing outside of class together, joking, helping each other with things they don't understand. I think they really benefit from each other. Not always, but in many cases (UK- T3).

All five teachers, even the one teacher, who had not commented positively on the group learning aspects of civics courses, agreed that the course offered immigrants several benefits beyond test preparation. Two teachers spoke specifically of helping students to relate the content of the Life in the United Kingdom book to current socio-political developments. A more direct connection of the Life in the United Kingdom book to daily life was is in fact one of the aspects that several immigrants had found to be missing as part of the civic immigrant education process, as outlined

when presenting data for the second research question. One teacher also highlighted that there were instances, in which immigrants brought issues to the course that they seemed to want to talk about.

> I bring up questions and they discuss, or they bring it up themselves. Like one of our Russian students spent ages talking to us about Putin. We were talking about British opinions towards Russians and so I thought, yes this is relevant because she was talking about her experience here. And she was saying "Don't worry, I am not going to make anyone tea and I won't poison anyone" (UK- T1).

This incident took place briefly after Russian spies had been accused of poisoning two people in the British city of Salisbury.[29] Three other teachers spoke about "creating an atmosphere in the classroom so that they feel that it is a country that is accepting and open" or about providing additional help to their students, which was not related to the course. Speaking about issues with mental health or legal matters, one teacher reported that:

> Sometimes students might come and disclose things to the tutors, not necessarily concerning other students, about their own problems. And then we try to work with the right support from the relevant professionals (UK- T4).

The same teacher also highlighted the value of a course in helping more isolated immigrants to engage with their new lives in the United Kingdom and in allowing them to establish social contacts.

> I think that we have certain communities here, certain women that can be fairly isolated and I think the Life in the UK is the first step to being part in a community potentially. So it is not that we exact a commitment from immigrants but it is more helpful for immigrants, I think, to be able to have a look at the culture in which they arrived (UK- T4).

29 https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-43315636 (Accessed 29/11/2019)

Another teacher said that being part of a course was helpful to immigrants "if only for making friends" and thereby "boosting their confidence". Beyond personal benefits like new social contacts and confidence, teachers also pointed to the fact that enrolling in a course could help immigrants to improve their English. One teacher stated that without the course immigrants could "otherwise just sign up for the test without every actually speaking English to anyone". Two other teachers thought that value-based education was most effective when concepts were discussed and engaged with rather than just read in a self-study approach. One teacher thought that those moments in her course when participants engaged in discussion with each other where when "people actually get it", while "just reading it probably wouldn't help very much".

However, as all teachers confirmed, it was predominantly immigrants who struggled with or had in the past failed the Life in the UK test that enrolled in their courses and therefore only a particular group of immigrants engaged in in-person test preparation. The benefits of course participation that were described by teachers are thus not necessarily part of every immigrants' experience. The following section reveals however that immigrants did have a variety of social interactions when preparing for the Life in the UK test, even if they did not enrol in a course.

6.3.2.2 Immigrant interviews

Out of the 15 immigrant interviews in the United Kingdom, 16 passages were coded as "group or interpersonal learning". These statements were either related to the help immigrants received from other people when preparing for the Life in the United Kingdom test (n=2) or to informal learning networks through family, friends, or their communities that immigrants relied on for test preparation (n= 14).

Only one of the 15 interviewed immigrants had completed a Life in the UK test preparation course. Her account was similar to reports from immigrants about the Orientation Course in Germany. She said:

> I liked the courses. That was quite nice to meet other people and talk to them about what they do. Because most of my friends here are my husband's friends and by now I know some other mothers through my children's' schools. But in the course, I met some other nice people; two of them I still see sometimes (UK- I11).

Another immigrant, who had not taken a course, stated that she was given time off work by her British boss to prepare for the test. She said that while she did not receive any help in preparing for the test from British colleagues, the fact that she was allowed to take time off work made her feel like her colleagues wanted her to succeed.

Fourteen immigrants spoke about the informal learning networks that they had used to prepare for the test. Such networks were either i) learning with family members or partners (n=5), ii) learning with friends or colleagues (n=8), or iii) learning within their ethnic or religious community (n=1).

Three people reported having been in relationships with or married to British people when preparing for the test and studying with their British partners' support. Another man, a refugee from Syria, reported about learning for the test with his parents and sister:

> We bought the book and studied together, quizzed each other. My sister and I speak good English, we studied in school and speak a lot of English here. But for our parents it was hard, they do not speak English that well […] So we also had to help them with their English test, my mother had to take it twice (UK- I6).

More common than studying with family was however to study with friends. Eight immigrants reported that they prepared for the test with other immigrants, either in groups (n=5) or through one-on-one arrangements (n=3). One woman from Spain reported that she had several immigrant colleagues, who worked in catering with her and who were all preparing for the Life in the UK test together.

> I learned with some friends of mine. We kind of made a joke of it. You know, like a little competition. Who is best with the dates? Who knows most dead British people and such? I got to do it with my friends from work and it was even a bit of fun. One of the guys, he is from Venezuela, he prepared like a pub quiz for us every other week or so. We realised later that it was just the questions you could find online [laughs] but still it was really nice and the person who got least questions right had to buy the next round of drinks. I only had to buy drinks once (UK- I12).

One woman from Nigeria reported that she had attended some sessions in her community centre for test preparation. “It was nice, but I think I just didn’t need it that much, so I only went a couple of times”.

All fourteen immigrants, who spoke about the informal, personal learning networks that they used for test preparation highlighted the benefits they derived from it. Such benefits may have related to their content learning but also extended to socio-emotional aspects like enjoyment of the test preparation process or increased motivation. “It is just more fun doing it with others”, one woman said.

Data from immigrant interviews as well as data from teacher interviews showed that, where group or interpersonal learning took place, it had positive effects on immigrants’ learning

process and that immigrants were able to draw on each other as support when preparing for the Life in the UK test. Teachers in Britain highlighted similar benefits and challenges to civics courses as teachers in Germany had raised.

6.3.3 Summary – Course or community?

Teachers in Germany and the United Kingdom were in agreement about the potential benefits that participation in civic immigrant education courses could have. This included the support that teachers were able to provide to immigrants in test preparation, such as when teachers tailored the course content to students needs and interests or managed course dynamics to create an atmosphere conducive to learning. However, teachers also provided help with job applications, language learning, or communication with the authorities or law enforcement. Observations and teacher interviews also revealed that in both countries, civics courses allowed immigrants to draw on each other for support and to make new social contacts. These findings are in contrast to previous research (e.g. Brown, 2016) that has highlighted the challenges of in-person civics courses but did not spell out the benefits that immigrants can derive from these courses.

The code "group or interpersonal learning" operated on the symbolic and behavioural levels of symbolic interactionism, as it reflected how immigrants engaged with others within the structure set up by the state for civic immigrant education. In Germany, the civic immigrant education process requires immigrants to interact with fellow immigrants from other backgrounds. These interactions in the Orientation Course can result in new friendships and an improved understanding of other immigrants' lives. At the same time, this mandatory interpersonal

encounter with diverse immigrants also resulted in frictions and a form of deflection of stereotypes of some immigrants onto other immigrants (as was discussed in the previous chapter). Immigrants in Germany had personal encounters with other immigrants, which authors supporting the contact hypothesis argue helps integration and the reduction of prejudices (e.g. Allport, 1979; Savelkoul et al., 2011). In contrast to such arguments about the value of intergroup contact, immigrants' state-mandated encounters with other immigrants in Germany did in fact often result in an antagonistic relationship, more similar to what Anderson (2013) and Monforte et al. (2018) describe in their studies. Overall "group or interpersonal learning" was a much more prominent feature in German immigrant interviews, where the code was applied 64 times, than in interviews with immigrants in the United Kingdom, where it was only applied 16 times.

The British model of leaving immigrants to their own devices when preparing for the Life in the UK test resulted in most immigrants preparing for the test within their own communities. The group or interpersonal learning that existed in the British interview sample was therefore predominantly created by the immigrants themselves through personal, already established social contacts. Only one interviewed immigrant had participated in a course, while the large majority had prepared for the test with family or friends. Such community-based learning resulted in British immigrants not encountering other newcomers to the United Kingdom in civics courses. However, it also has to be mentioned that, unlike in Germany, none of the immigrants in the United Kingdom reflected negatively on the group or interpersonal dimensions of their learning experiences. Monforte et al. (2018) have argued that immigrants adopt a distinction between "deserving" and "undeserving" immigrants. However, evidence gathered for this study, showed

that British immigrants' understanding of and engagement with other immigrants is limited, resulting in less criticism but also less awareness of their behaviours and experiences.

6.4. Individual learning

The code "individual learning" collected instances from observations and interviews where immigrants' personal developments through civic immigrant education became evident. Such instances might be reflections on what immigrants learned or how their attitudes evolved through the civic immigrant education process. The code again operated on the symbolic and behavioural levels of symbolic interactionism, as it focused on immigrants' attitudes, actions, and behaviours as a result of the structure of civic immigrant education.

6.4.1 Evidence of learning and linguistic challenges in Germany

In the German case, the code "individual learning" was applied ten times for the analysis of observations, 13 times for teacher interviews, and 21 times for immigrant interviews. As it was the case with the previous code "group or interpersonal learning", data from teacher interviews addressed challenges or problematic aspects that data from observations and immigrant interviews did not address. It should be noted that all 15 immigrant interview partners had passed the Life in Germany test at the time that they participated in interviews.

6.4.1.1 Observations

All ten observed instances in Orientation Courses that were coded as "individual learning" were evidence of students using previously covered information in subsequent classes. On seven occasions students referred back to what had been covered in other course sessions and an additional three instances were observed when students referred to information discussed on the course excursions. One student from a course that had visited the old Jewish neighbourhood in Berlin, reflected on religious diversity in Germany when the group discussed Module 3 – Society

and Culture. In the following statement another student connected the first module on laws and basic rights in Germany to the third module when discussing religious communities.

> Is freedom of religion in Germany supported with money? Because you say that you have the Catholics and the Protestants and the Muslims and such. Do they get money from the state to practice their religion? (Course participant, male, late 20s from Syria)

Such statements suggest that course participants retained the knowledge that they gathered in the civic immigrant education process and were able to apply it when appropriate. As above mentioned, the attitudes and levels of engagement with civic immigrant education displayed by different immigrants varied significantly. It is thus likely that those immigrants, who participated less actively or attended the Orientation Course less regularly, would have learned less in the process of civic immigrant education. It has to also be acknowledged that observation research is inherently less effective in gathering evidence of those students, who had not learned much from the Orientation Course, as this would likely have been expressed in such course participants remaining silent. The less observable elements of individual learning could however be brought to light through teacher and immigrant interviews.

6.4.1.2 Teacher interviews

Interviews with the six Orientation Course teachers in Germany were coded for "individual learning" 13 times. While these statements were outsiders' reflections on immigrants' civic learning, the length of experiences that these teachers were able to contribute complemented the other two sources of data. Overall teacher interviews revealed two benefits for individual learning stemming from the structure of civic immigrant education; i) long-term integration and

ii) a sense of achievement. Teachers highlighted immigrants' German language proficiency as a problem.

The first benefit listed by three teachers was found in the accounts they shared of course participants' longer-term trajectories and successful integration. All three mentioned having at times received information about past course participants and their achievements or developments after the Orientation Course had ended. One teacher said;

> Sometimes students get in touch months or years later, or you see them in school doing a different course or something, and they tell you what they have learned and how happy they are that they got off to a good start. It is really sweet actually (Ger- T5).

In addition to such evidence of longer-term successes of learning through the Orientation Course, four teachers also thought that the Life in Germany test had significant emotional benefits for immigrants. While they agreed that their students were stressed about the high-stakes test, these four teachers thought that the pride and sense of achievement after passing the test should not be underestimated.

> Many of them just know learning as something that has to have a test and if there is no test at the end it is somehow worth less. So, I think the certification "Life in Germany" gives them a good feeling, makes them proud (Ger- T1).

Such testimony of the emotional value of passing a naturalisation test confirms findings from existing academic literature about the emotional benefits of citizenship tests (e.g. Fortier, 2013).

In addition to the seven passages from teacher interviews that addressed benefits of the structure of civic immigrant education for individual learning, one problem was raised by all six interview

partners. All teachers pointed out that for most course participants German language proficiency was an issue. They found it "slightly contradictory" or "badly thought through" that the demanding content of the Orientation Course should be discussed with immigrants, who had only just passed German level A2.[30] One teacher stated:

> There is an inherent problem there, right? Because on one hand you want to make sure that immigrants know what life in Germany is like and that they get this kind of help early on. But on the other hand, it is simply ridiculous to expect them to have a discussion about human rights in a language they really only speak at a basic level (Ger-T2).

This teacher further shared that it was particularly refugees, who were often on an accelerated track of civic education that progressed to the Orientation Course "before they even have their A2 certificate". This repeatedly led to students sitting in her course, who "really shouldn't be there yet" because they were unable to follow the course.

When asked for the language proficiency level at which they thought the Orientation Course should take place, the six interviewed teachers could not agree. Two teachers thought that no ideal time existed, when one considered all circumstances. The other four teachers thought that immigrants should enrol in the Orientation Course after completing language level B1 or B2, to ensure "that you are not dumbing down this really important stuff too much". Despite insufficient language proficiency being mentioned by all teachers, the issue of language proficiency was not raised during immigrant interviews, as the following section shows.

30 For a classification of Language proficiency levels please refer to https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages/level-descriptions

6.4.1.3 Immigrant interviews

18 of the 21 immigrant interview passages which were coded as "individual learning" were positive reflections on what immigrants had learned or affective changes they had undergone through the civic education process. 13 of 15 interview partners provided exact examples of content that they had learned during the preparation for the Life in Germany test. Taking into account that all interviews took place between three month and ten months after immigrants had passed their test, this suggest that the referenced information had been retained long-term rather than it having been merely memorised for the Life in Germany test. Most immigrants spoke about having learned about German history (n=9), while three provided examples of law-related information and one immigrant spoke about having learned more about Germany's geography. The two interviewed immigrants, who claimed to not have learned anything specifically from the Orientation Course or their preparation for the Life in Germany test, were a Polish woman with a university education, who claimed to have been familiar with all covered content beforehand, and a young man from Syria, who reported that his learning had taken place outside the civic immigrant education context.

The remaining three interview passages coded as "individual learning" were immigrants' reflections on their personal position in Germany that had been inspired by the civic immigrant education process. All three immigrants mentioned feeling that they were "relatively lucky" and that the course had given them faith that their lives in Germany would be happy ones. One man from Eritrea mentioned:

> It was not easy to come here but now I am here and I feel that it will be good. It is not always easy but I am supported and with that I know that I can do it (Ger- I4).

In summary, the data coded as "individual learning" for the German case confirms that immigrants did acquire new information about Germany, as had become evident in observations and interviews. Module 2 on Germany's history seemed to be the content area in which most immigrants acquired new knowledge. At the same time, interviews with teachers also suggested that German language proficiency was a hindrance for deeper engagement with the content of the Orientation Course. Language issues were however not mentioned as a problem by immigrant interview partners.

6.4.2 Room and need for individualised learning for Life in the United Kingdom

The code "individual learning" was also applied to teacher and immigrant interviews in the United Kingdom case. Eight passages from teacher interviews addressed two specific elements of individual learning related to civic education; i) personal development during the learning process and ii) the sense of achievement after having passed the Life in the UK test. The 26 coded passages from immigrant interviews are all reflections on what immigrants thought they had gained through civic immigrant education, either in the form of content knowledge or affective dimensions of learning.

6.4.2.1 Teacher interviews

All five interviewed teachers cited at least one example of what they thought immigrants gained from participating in civic immigrant education. Three teachers spoke about personal

developments they had observed in their students during the duration of the course. One teacher spoke about the act of learning itself being empowering for immigrants.

> You know we often have, especially women, children are at school and now they finally get to learn and they do flourish. (UK- T3)

Two other teachers shared the opinion that the increase in knowledge about the United Kingdom was a source of confidence for immigrants, who were preparing for the Life in the UK test.

All five teachers could agree that immigrants derived personal benefits from having successfully passed the Life in the UK test. Based on almost ten years of experience working with immigrants, one teacher summarised the effect that successfully completing the civic immigrant education process had on immigrants with the following words:

> They feel they belong; they feel they are making progress; they have learned and been tested. Confidence I suppose is really what they get from it. (UK- T5)

Accounts of teachers in the United Kingdom reporting that immigrants gain confidence and a sense of achievement, as well as their suggestion that increased knowledge was helpful to immigrants in their daily lives in the United Kingdom, is reflective of evidence from the German case study. Furthermore, such evidence confirms findings in the academic literature that immigrant education can foster a sense of belonging (Byrne, 2016). This finding also raises the questions if and how the social evaluation use of assessments (Newton, 2007) could be featuring more strongly in immigrants' civic education experience.

6.4.2.2 Immigrant interviews

Coding the 15 immigrant interviews for "individual learning" brought to light two facts. Firstly, interviews showed that a majority of twelve interview partners felt that they had acquired new knowledge about the United Kingdom. Secondly, there was evidence that interview partners did experience affective as well as cognitive benefits of participating in civic immigrant education.

Immigrants were fairly evenly divided over what topics they had learned most new information about when preparing for the Life in the UK test. Four people cited political or legal information, five immigrants referenced information from the history section as having been new, and another three immigrants talked about content covered under the culture and society section. Three immigrants felt that they had not learned anything new while preparing for the Life in the UK test. Two of these three immigrants had lived in the United Kingdom for almost two decades before taking the Life in the UK test and another interview partner, who had gone to an English medium school in India, had found that it was not the information as such but the interpretation of events that were new to him.

The second finding that emerged from immigrant interviews is that all but one immigrant benefitted affectively through the civic education process but that the extent to which this was the case dependent on immigrants' countries of origin. Eight immigrants, mainly from less developed countries, felt an increased sense of belonging and accomplishment after having passed the Life in the UK test. For six other immigrants, predominantly immigrants from developed countries, the Life in the UK test preparation provided an opportunity to reflect on questions of identity and belonging.

A woman from Nigeria found the civic immigrant education process to have been helpful in relating to her British friends:

> To be honest I ended up enjoying it more than I thought. At first, I was a bit annoyed at having to do it and thought that it was just another way that the Home Office was getting money from us and giving us a hard time. But then I kind of got into it. And I enjoyed talking to friends about it. Like the stuff that they had learned in school or something, it was actually quite interesting to hear what they had learned and thought about Henry VIII or the Reform Act. It kind of helped me to connect to them in a new way (UK- I5).

Another interview partner from Lebanon reflected on her increased sense of belonging that resulted from civic education and naturalisation:

> I remember that during the entire time that I was studying for the test and then when I got my passport and swore the oath it was a very emotional time actually and I did really develop an attachment to the UK. Like now when people abroad ask me where I am from, I will say Lebanon, because that is always true, but I will also say that I am also from the UK, because that is also true now (UK- I14).

A man from Syria stated that him and his wife were very proud of having passed the Life in the UK test:

> My wife she took so many pictures and sent them to all the family everywhere "Now we are British" she put on her Facebook and everything (UK- I7).

These statements are a testimony to the emotional nature of the civic immigrant education process and the resulting naturalisation experience.

In contrast to these statements made by immigrants from developing countries, immigrants from North America, Europe, or Australia rather spoke about the Life in the United Kingdom process

as an opportunity to reflect on their own privileges. A man from Australia remembered arriving at the Life in the UK test centre and seeing "these people freaking out about it and that made me aware how lucky I was that it was so easy for me". European immigrants from Germany, France, and Spain spoke about their experience in relation to the British referendum to leave the European Union. One man from France said:

> I have been here for so long and obliviously it makes me sad – no actually it makes me mad – that they are being so stupid. But then it was actually quite interesting to read the book and to be reminded that they are such proud people. It made me understand Brexit a bit more in some odd way (UK- I4).

Overall, interview data from teachers and immigrants in the United Kingdom revealed that there was a variety of individual-level benefits that immigrants may derive from civic education, such as gaining new information and feeling a sense of achievement or belonging after passing the Life in the UK test. Unlike in Germany, where immigrants also reflected on the learning process, interview partners in the United Kingdom focused mainly on the outcome of civic learning when reflecting on what they had gained from the Life in the United Kingdom process.

6.4.3 Summary – Process or outcome?

In both countries, immigrants acquired new information about Germany or the United Kingdom while preparing for the tests. This was the case for 13 immigrants in Germany and for twelve immigrants in the British case. Teachers in both countries addressed issues with language proficiency, however, this was a more frequently cited problem among teachers in Germany, where courses are compulsory and currently a significant number of course participants were refugees, who had arrived in Germany fairly recently.

When applying the code "individual learning" to data from Germany and the United Kingdom an important difference became apparent. In Germany, on one hand, participation in the process of civic immigrant education is a requirement, with immigrants having to sign attendance sheets for the Orientation Course. The structure of German civic immigrant education thus places an emphasis on the learning process, which is supervised and monitored through the compulsory Orientation Course. However, as previously discussed, the level of dedication with which immigrants in Germany approach the civic education process varies significantly. It is therefore likely that there would be substantial differences in the personal benefits different course participants derive from the Orientation Course.

In the United Kingdom, on the other hand, proof of the outcome of civic immigrant education, in the form of a Life in the UK test certificate, is considered sufficient evidence of civic learning. Since no comparable course to the Orientation Course exists in the United Kingdom, immigrants are expected to prepare for the Life in the UK test independently with the state checking their learning through a test at the outcome stage. This focus on learning outcomes is in line with a testing regime in British education, where educational outcomes, in the form of test scores, are used for school accountability purposes (e.g. Coe, 2010). This difference between the process-focused approach in Germany and the outcome-focused British approach was also evident in teacher and immigrant interviews. German interview partners reflected more strongly on the learning experience and process, while British interview partners more often mentioned the sense of achievement or belonging that they derived from completing the Life in the UK test.

While British immigrants are potentially losing out on the benefits of civics courses, which teachers in both countries have pointed to, the absence of compulsory courses in the United Kingdom also has an advantage for individual immigrants. As immigrants in the United Kingdom can study independently, they are able to prepare for the test as they see fit. Only one of the interviewed immigrants had enrolled in a course and, as teachers reported in interviews, it was mainly those immigrants that struggled with the test, who sought the additional help through courses. The remaining 14 immigrants had found courses to be too expensive or time consuming or thought that learning through courses was not necessary for them. As such, allowing adult immigrants to prepare for the Life in the UK test independently is more in line with suggestions from adult learning theory (e.g. Knowles, 1984; Merriam & Grace, 2011) that emphasise the importance of autonomy and agency in adult learning.

Furthermore, immigrants interview data from Britain shows that immigrants do reflect on their test experiences in ways that can be related to academic literature on test purposes. According to Newton (2007) the social evaluation purpose of tests is that it signifies to the test taker and to peers the social value or social capital that test takers have acquired through their education. The fact that immigrants feel an increased sense of belonging furthermore calls to mind academic literature about the constructive power of testing (Stobart, 2008; Shohamy, 2014), which argues that tests have the power to impact the way that test takers see themselves and are seen by others. Moreover, while the German or British state do not provide explanations for the purposes of the Life in Germany or Life in the UK test that are in line with the possible test purposes identified by educational assessment researchers (Newton, 2007), the two tests do mirror the qualification

purpose of assessments that Newton (2007) describes as identifying to the bureaucracy "whether a person is sufficiently qualified for a […] role in life" (p. 164).

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter presented data that addressed the third research question about the impact of the structure of civic immigrant education on how and what immigrants learn. Table 16 below provides a summary of the three codes presented in this chapter and the frequency with which they have been applied in observation and interview data analysis. The most significant difference arose between the frequency with which the code "group or interpersonal learning" could be applied to an equal number of immigrant interviews in Germany (n=64) and the United Kingdom (n=16). This difference in the frequency of code applications is most likely due to the fact that the British civic immigrant education process does not include a mandatory course, thereby reducing the interpersonal components of immigrants' learning experiences.

Code	Data sources German case study	Frequency	Data sources UK case study	Frequency
Reflections on the country	Observations (48 h) Teacher interviews (n=6) Immigrant interviews (n=15)	16 17 25	Teacher interviews (n =5) Immigrant interviews (n=15)	22 27
Group or interpersonal learning	Observations (48 h) Teacher interviews (n=6) Immigrant interviews (n=15)	22 15 64	Teacher interviews (n =5) Immigrant interviews (n=15)	18 16
Individual learning	Observations (48 h) Teacher interviews (n=6) Immigrant interviews (n=15)	10 13 21	Teacher interviews (n =5) Immigrant interviews (n=15)	8 26

Table 16. Overview of the data sources, codes, and the frequency of their application

The first code, which operated on the symbolic level of symbolic interactionism, was "reflections on the country". The code captured information on how immigrants related to the state or wider

society as a result of the structure of civic immigrant education. The analysis of observation and interview data from the two countries revealed an important difference between the largely state-provided civic immigrant education process in Germany and the state-demanded civic immigrant education process in the United Kingdom. While most immigrants in Germany have to enrol in courses that are subsidised or fully financed by the state, immigrants in the United Kingdom prepare for the Life in the UK test independently and without state-provided support. Any additional support that immigrants might want to access, such as additional learning materials or participation in a test preparation course, has to be paid for by the immigrant themselves, in addition to the fees for the Life in the UK test.

Observation data from Germany analysed for "references to the country" showed that some immigrants responded positively to the Orientation Course, using it as a learning and socialising opportunity and engaging with the content proactively. However, as Figure 15 showed, issues with course attendance and participation also indicate that not all immigrants were eager to participate in the Orientation Course. Interviews with immigrants confirmed that two thirds of immigrants considered state-provided civic immigrant education as an investment by the German state in their development, while others felt that the course was too long or time consuming. Previous research (e.g. Fortier, 2013; Bassel et al., 2017) has mainly focused on the demands made on immigrants through civic education without addressing potential benefits that they may derive from engaging in civic learning.

As had already emerged from data analysed for research question 2, teacher and immigrant interviews in the United Kingdom revealed a demand for more support for civic immigrant

education. Twelve immigrants criticised the expense of the civic immigrant education process and ten thought that, while some form of civic education was necessary, the current format was in need of reform. Research evidence from Germany and the United Kingdom therefore underlined the important symbolic meaning of providing state support for civic immigrant education. Such state support can signal that the rhetorical welcome extended through civic immigrant education is combined with practical support for integration.

For the second code "group or interpersonal learning", the main difference that emerged was that learning in Germany was course-based, while immigrants in the United Kingdom mainly relied on their communities and existing social contacts when preparing for the test. Immigrants in Germany benefitted from the compulsory group or interpersonal elements of civic immigrant education in two ways. Firstly, course participation allowed immigrants to form new social bonds and to gain a deeper understanding of immigrant lives in Germany. Secondly, course teachers in Germany were able to tailor the content of civic education more to the students' needs and interests, to provide additional support beyond course-related issues, and to manage group dynamics at times of interpersonal tensions. However, as already mentioned in the previous chapter, the encounters with a diverse group of immigrants also led to increased tensions and, at times, unfavourable judgements of other immigrants. This is in line with the findings of Anderson (2013) and Monforte et al. (2018), who highlight that civic immigrant education can divide immigrant populations rather than fostering joined learning and integration.

In the British case, data from teacher and immigrant interviews provided evidence of the positive effects of group or interpersonal learning for immigrants' civic learning. Unlike in the German

case, immigrants did not reflect negatively on other immigrants that they met while preparing for the Life in the UK test but rather reported having studied with family and friends in informally arranged learning communities. As the absence of state-provided courses in the United Kingdom led immigrants to prepare for the test within their existing social and cultural communities, it is questionable if the objective of helping immigrants to integrate into wider British society is most effectively supported through the current structure of civic immigrant education in the United Kingdom.

The final code presented in this chapter was "individual learning", which like the previous codes addresses the symbolic and behavioural level of symbolic interactionism. In both cases immigrants seemed to have acquired new information about Germany and the United Kingdom. The main difference between the findings for the two cases was that the structure of the German civic education process places an emphasis on the learning process, while the focus lies on the learning outcome in the British case. While the requirement to attend 70% of the Orientation Course is an attempt to ensure that immigrants engage in a process of civic learning, the Life in the UK test can be taken at the immigrants' own digression and suffices as proof of civic learning. Irrespective of whether the focus is placed on the learning process or the learning outcome, 25 of 30 interviewed immigrants in both countries reported having acquired new content knowledge and/or having derived socio-emotional benefits from passing the final test, as was suggested in existing literature (e.g. Byrne, 2016). This evidence suggests that the "social evaluation use" of assessment, according to which "individual results are used to evaluate the social value of personal educational achievements" (Newton, 2007, p. 163), should be considered as one of the potential uses and benefits of civic immigrant education.

While immigrants in the United Kingdom stand to miss out on the various learning and social benefits of participating in a test preparation course, the advantage of the outcome-oriented structure of civic immigrant education is that it allows immigrants to prepare for the test as they see fit. This autonomous approach to civic learning is more in line with suggestions from adult learning theorist, who suggest that adults engaging in education should be allowed to take more agency over when and how they learn (e.g. Knowles, 1984).

Chapter 7 – Discussion of findings

7.1. Introduction

In our age of migration (Castles et al., 2014), in which people move across national borders to establish their lives elsewhere, how do states manage the integration of adult immigrants? This study set out to answer three research questions about civic immigrant education in Germany and the United Kingdom. Firstly, how are national and immigrant identities represented in the materials used for civic immigrant education in the two countries? Secondly, how do adult immigrants, who participate in these educational processes to obtain residency or citizenship, respond to the identity depictions they encounter? Lastly, what impact does the structure of the civic immigrant education process have on immigrants' civic learning?

Seeking to make an educational research contribution to the small body of empirical academic literature on civic immigrant education, this study used three qualitative methods (document analysis, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews) to access the symbolic and the behavioural levels of civic immigrant education and to explore how identity narratives and structural aspects are presented and responded to. The following section summarises and discusses the findings for each research question in turn, while also relating novel findings to existing literature on the topic. After the research questions have been attended to, the last section outlines the study's implications for further research, practice, and policy.

7.2. Identity representations in official civic immigrant education materials

The first research question, findings for which were presented in Chapter 4, explored how national and immigrant identities are represented in German and British civic immigrant education materials. For the German case the four state-approved textbooks (a total of 576 pages) and the 310 Life in Germany test questions were analytically coded for "national identity (state)" and "immigrant identity (state)". The 180-page Life in the United Kingdom book and 408 official practice questions for the Life in the UK test were analysed using the same two codes. These codes were employed to investigate data that speaks to the symbolic level of symbolic interactionism at which the two countries' civic immigrant education processes are set up. The main differences between the two countries' depictions of national and immigrant identities were not in the frequency of their application but in different framings of national history and multiculturalism evident in German and British civic immigrant education materials.

The data related to the representation of national and immigrant identities in the two countries' civic immigrant education materials bears reference to two theoretical concepts introduced in the Literature review chapter. Firstly, the socially constructed identity narratives of Germany/the United Kingdom and of immigrants in the two countries reflect the power inequality between the states and immigrants. By portraying Germany or the United Kingdom as liberal and democratic on one side and immigrants as illiberal and insufficiently experienced with the rule of law on the other side, identity depictions in civic immigrant education materials follow the identity construction process described by de Beauvoir (for the case of male and female identities) and Said (Eastern and Western identities). The state, like men and the West, is in a position of dominance and has the exclusive control over the construction and representation of identities.

Secondly, the value-based content coded under "immigrant identity (state)", such as polygamy or religious extremism, ventures into the private life of immigrants (as has also been pointed out by e.g. Joppke, 2008). Such attempts to manage the private behaviour of immigrants is reminiscent of Foucault's concept of biopower, according to which governments try to manage their citizens' behaviour, for example through education and prescriptive rules (Foucault, 1976).

7.2.1 The representation of national identity by the state

In the German case, the code "national identity (state)", which gathered data on the official depiction of what is central to the nation's identity, was applied 22 times for the analysis of four state-approved textbooks and 29 times for 310 test items. In the British case, the same code was applied 20 times to the Life in the United Kingdom book and 28 times to the 408 test items. In both countries, the civic immigrant education materials cover the political and legal system, national history, and culture and society. Text passages and test questions in Germany and the United Kingdom stress that Christianity is foundational to national identity. These finding about the content of national identity depictions seconds existing literature on the content usually found in civic immigrant education (Wallace Goodman 2010; Michalowski, 2011). By comparing the national identity depictions presented by the two countries, this research was however able to identify that a more significant difference between Germany and the United Kingdom lies in the framing of national history rather than in the content of national identity depictions, as is outlined in the following.

The history module for the German Orientation Course is called "History and responsibility" in the course's federal curriculum (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2017). In line with

the federal curriculum, all four textbooks and the Life in Germany test only cover German history from the beginning of national socialist rule in the 1930s. In all four textbooks, the representation of history as a source of perpetual responsibilities for the defence of the rule of law and the fight against any form of antisemitism or racism is made explicit. 20 of the 90 history questions in the Life in Germany test are related to Hitler, World War Two, and the Holocaust, thereby placing a significant emphasis on the twelve years of German history between Hitler's ascent to power in 1933 and the end of World War Two in 1945. This finding is in line with previous academic literature on the crucial role of 20th century history for Germany's national identity (Olick, 2007). A "past which refuses to become history" (Fulbrook, 1999, p. 103), continues to be of fundamental importance for Germany today, because "young Germans, born several decades after the end of World War II, still face the question almost daily of whether it is acceptable to be German" (Miller-Idriss, 2009, p. 171). This fundamental role of recent history for German national identity was underlined in a 2017 speech by German president Frank-Walter Steinmeier, who declared that:

> There are things that are part of Germany. And among those is the responsibility of our history: the lessons of two World Wars, the lessons of the Holocaust, the responsibility for the safety of the state of Israel, the rejection of every form of racism and antisemitism. This responsibility has no end, not for descendants and not for those who came here after. They are non-negotiable – for everyone, who lives in Germany and everyone who wants to live here.[31]

31 http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/DE/Frank-Walter-Steinmeier/Reden/2017/12/171215-Chanukka-Empfang.html (Accessed 01/11/2019)

In this statement President Steinmeier explicitly included recent immigrants to Germany who, if they wanted to become residents or citizens, would have to participate in civic immigrant education. Furthermore, President Steinmeier's statement illustrates the political intention behind the German approach of teaching national history as a source of responsibility that Brown (2014; 2016) had previously identified. The data presented in this study provide further empirical support for Brown's findings.

The British case on the other hand is more representative of the carefully curated, favourable narrative of national history that authors like Griswold (2010) and Sundström & Fernandez (2013) have previously pointed to as a centre piece of civic education. The 55-page history chapter in the Life in the United Kingdom book presents national history as "long and illustrious". Despite being the longest chapter in the book, it does not address issues like colonialism and only mentions the "serious long-term consequences" of encouraging English settlements to Ireland in passing (Home Office, 2013b, p. 32). Authors like Sherwood (2003) and Burns (2014) have previously criticised such national history narratives in the context of school teaching. Recent debates about decolonising the curriculum (e.g. Gebrial, 2018) have furthermore highlighted the desire for a more nuanced and ethnically diverse account of national history from British citizens with an immigrant background. However, the particular perspective of immigrants on such accounts of British history in the civic education process has thus far been unexplored.

7.2.2 The representation of immigrant identities by the state

The code "immigrant identity (state)", which gathered data on how immigrants were depicted in official civic immigrant education materials, was applied nine times to the analysis of the four German textbooks and six times for the 310 Life in Germany test items. In comparison, the code was applied four and six times when coding the Life in the United Kingdom book and 408 test questions respectively. The two key findings emerging from the data gathered for this study were that i) value-based civic education relies, to a certain extent, on stereotyped depictions of immigrants as the other, and that ii) Germany represents immigrants as still arriving and becoming a part of German society while the United Kingdom represents immigrants as already having become a part of multicultural Britain.

In both countries, value-based civic education approaches are used particularly when presenting content on culture and society. Book passages and test questions about the illegality of polygamy, female genital mutilation, or forced marriage are in line with what some authors have identified as a stereotyped depictions of Muslims in the West (Fekete, 2009; Morey & Yaqin, 2011) or "intolerance toward the intolerant" within civic immigrant education (Brown, 2016). This study therefore confirms what Joppke (2010) called "a notable tightening of individual behaviour and personal integrity requirements" (p. 60), which request immigrants to not only change the cognitive and active, but also the affective dimensions of their behaviour as they become residents or citizens.

The main difference between the two countries' representation of immigrant identities was found in the extent to which they embrace multiculturalism. In the German case on the one hand,

immigrants were shown as a new part of society, with the textbook *miteinander leben* (Feil & Hesse, 2017) stating that "Islam is arriving in Germany" (p. 199), thus indicating an ongoing process. In the British case on the other hand, there was a deliberate effort to show that Britain was a country "proud of our record of welcoming new migrants" (Home Office, 2013b, p. 7). Some immigrant traditions, like religious holidays, are depicted as already part of British life and British athletes with an immigrant background are included in lists of great Britons (ibid., p. 86). This difference in approaches to depicting immigrants is further underlined by the fact that there are neither any questions about individuals with an immigrant background in the Life in Germany test nor are there any questions that represent non-Christian traditions as part of German life. In the Life in the UK test on the other hand, questions about Hindu religious holidays are asked alongside questions about Christmas, Halloween, and Valentine's Day.

Even if Germany is only gradually waking up to the fact that it is an immigration country, as Chancellor Angela Merkel stated in 2015[32], the introduction of the Orientation Course in 2008 makes it obvious that the educational management of difference has been on the political agenda for more than a decade. The four German textbooks include images of mosques and stories of immigrants who are eager to become German nationals (such as the fictional refugee Samir in *100 Stunden Deutschland* (Butler et al., 2017)). However, if the German civic immigrant education process is to signal to immigrants that they can become fully integrated members of German society, the inclusion of success stories and the acknowledgement of the influence of immigrant communities on German society might be helpful in removing elements of othering from the welcome extended through civic immigrant education.

32 https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/europa/angela-merkel-sieht-deutschland-als-einwanderungsland-13623846.html (Accessed 01/11/2019)

In the British context, civic immigrant education materials signal that immigrants have become a part of British society. However, the Life in the United Kingdom book also includes the warning that "all residents, regardless of their background, are expected to comply with the law and to understand that some things which may be allowed in other legal systems are not acceptable in the UK" (Home Office, 2013b, p. 140). Combining this warning with questions about FGM, polygamy, and forced marriages suggests that immigrants to the United Kingdom are under the general suspicion that they might engage in such behaviours, and that they are only welcome to join British society if they refrain from such practices.

7.3. Immigrants' experiences of identity representations

The second research question, findings for which were outlined in Chapter 5, investigated the way in which immigrants experienced and responded to the identity depictions in civic immigrant education materials. 48 hours of observations in three German Orientation Courses as well as 15 interviews with immigrants in Germany were coded for "national identity (immigrants)" and "immigrant identity (immigrants)". While observation research was not carried out in the United Kingdom case, 15 interviews with immigrants were also analysed here. Research question two focused on the behavioural level of symbolic interactionism, at which immigrants responded to the identity depictions they encountered in the civic immigrant education processes in the two countries. Clear differences between Germany and the United Kingdom emerged from the data, both in the frequency of the codes' applications and in the nature of immigrants' responses to official depictions of national and immigrant identities. German immigrants were more positive about the state and more critical of other immigrants, while immigrants in the United Kingdom had a stronger response to national over immigrant identity depictions.

The findings related to immigrants' experiences of identity depictions call to mind two theoretical concepts discussed in the Literature review chapter; Husserl's idea of lifeworld as well as Hegel and Sartre's notion that individual encounters lead to disassociation. Husserl suggests that the totality of lived experiences that an individual has in their social environment influences their understanding of themselves and their position in the social world. As observation and interview data showed, immigrants frequently drew on their experiences outside of the civic immigrant education context when reflecting on the identity depictions they

encountered. Secondly, the findings produced by this research also cast doubt on stipulations by Hegel and Sartre, who propose that humans will inevitably disassociate themselves from other individuals they encounter in an attempt to establish their dominance. Against this stipulation stands data from observations and interviews, which showed that some immigrants, even if they voiced criticism, were also understanding of the reasons for the behaviours of other immigrants as well as for civic immigrant education policies enacted by the state.

7.3.1 Immigrants experiences of national identity representations

The code "national identity (immigrants)" was used 47 times when coding 48 hours of observations and 23 times when coding more than six hours of immigrant interviews in Germany. With an equal interview sample size of 15, the same code was applied 39 times for the analysis of immigrant interviews in the United Kingdom. The three main findings were that i) immigrants engaged critically with the identity narratives they encountered, often drawing on their personal backgrounds and experiences, that ii) immigrants' engagement with national identity representations did not necessarily correspond to the focus set in the civic education materials, and that iii) immigrants in the United Kingdom took issue with the prominent role or account of British history.

Firstly, in both countries, adult immigrants brought their personal contexts and backgrounds to their engagement with civic immigrant education, as is described in the adult education literature to commonly be the case (e.g. Knowles 1984; Rogers & Horrocks, 2010). Another finding in both country cases was that immigrants engaged critically with the national identity depictions they encountered, scrutinising and at times criticising accounts of issues like gender equality or

racial and religious tolerance. Experiences of interactions with state bureaucracy or colleagues at work, and references to current political developments were cited when immigrants questioned national identity depictions of equality and tolerance. Overall, German immigrants were more accepting of national identity depictions, while immigrants in the United Kingdom showed a stronger reaction to the particular narrative of British national history.

Secondly, as has been discussed in the literature (e.g. Brown, 2016) and as is demonstrated by German President Steinmeier's statement, assuming responsibility for past crimes is a central part of German civic education. Observations and immigrant interviews show that the discussion-based Orientation Course offered the opportunity for immigrants to challenge those aspects of national identity that they disagree with and that excursions furthered the understanding of German history. However, the data also showed that despite the emphasis on recent history in the textbooks and on the test, the history module was not the module to which German immigrants responded most strongly. In fact, only two instances were observed during the history module that prompted immigrants' reflections on German national identity, while 29 such reflections were observed during Module 3 - Society and Culture.

Thirdly, in the British case, history played a much more important role in immigrants' experiences of national identity depictions than in Germany. Nine of 15 immigrants found the long coverage of history in the book to be insufficiently connected to current developments, thought that it showed that the United Kingdom was backward-looking, or criticised the version of history presented in the Life in the United Kingdom book. It was particularly immigrants from former colonies that lamented a lack of nuance when it came to Britain's treatment of her

colonial past. Considering previous academic work that described British identity and blackness to be difficult to reconcile (Burns, 2014) and recent calls from parts of British society to "decolonise the curriculum" (Gebrial, 2018), it is not surprising that non-white immigrants raise concerns over historical accounts. Furthermore, Kelly & Byrne (2007) have previously suggested that the treatment of empire, or rather the lack of engagement with the darker sides of empire, are particularly problematic in the immigrant education context. This research also contributes the insight that in the absence of compulsory courses like the Orientation Course, where immigrants in Germany commented on national identity depictions 47 times, British immigrants' opportunity to discuss British identity depictions are limited.

7.3.2 Immigrants' experiences of immigrant identity representations

A substantial difference emerged between the frequency with which the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" could be applied to the German and British data. Even when setting aside the 39 applications of the code in the analysis of observation data in Germany, 49 statements were made about immigrant identity depictions in interviews in Germany. In comparison, only 26 statements by the British interview partners were coded in this category. This difference in the frequency of the code's application occurred despite an equally sized interview sample. In addition to differences in the frequency of code's application, a main finding emerged when comparing the nature of coded interview statements in the two country cases. Immigrants in Germany were significantly more critical of other immigrants when discussing immigrant identity depictions, while immigrants in the United Kingdom called on the state to broaden its understanding of immigrant identities to better reflect the diversity of individuals who come to the United Kingdom.

Through observations and interviews in Germany it became apparent that although immigrants sometimes related immigrant identity depictions to themselves (n=15 during observations, n=19 during interviews), research partners more frequently relate such identity depictions to other immigrants from whom they disassociated themselves (n=24 during observations, n=30 during interviews). 54 out of 88 total applications of the code "immigrant identity (immigrants)" to observation or interview data were related to "other people" rather than to an immigrant community that the speaker found themselves to be a part of. These distinctions were either made along ethnic and religious lines or served to distinguish EU-immigrants from refugees. This finding is in line with what Monforte et al. (2018) have described as a discourse of "deserving immigrants", in which immigrants agree with a politicised depiction of integration and naturalisation as goals that not all immigrants can reach. While this study is not exclusively focused on Muslim immigrants, the issue of deservingness was particularly relevant in relation to immigrants from the Middle East. In observations as well as in interviews it was primarily male immigrants from Muslim countries that related the immigrant identity depiction to themselves and objected to it (4 out of 7 code applications to observations and 6 out of 9 applications to interviews). Considering that most passages from textbooks and test questions that had been coded as depicting immigrant identities did relate to practices often associated with Muslims, such as polygamy and religious extremism (e.g. Fekete, 2009), it is not surprising that it was particularly Muslim immigrants that felt othered by such identity narratives, while immigrants with a different background could more easily deflect stereotypes onto their course participants.

In comparison to Germany, where immigrants sometimes included themselves when talking about immigrant identities, 25 of the 26 coded interview segments for "immigrant identity (immigrants)" showed that interview partners in the United Kingdom distinguish between themselves and other immigrants. However, unlike in Germany, where this distinction at times revealed a level of animosity or disassociation, immigrants in the United Kingdom saw a need for the state to develop a more complex vision of immigrants' lives that would better reflect the diversity of immigrants and their experiences. Only two of 26 coded passages suggested that other immigrants required value-based re-education, while 18 coded passages called on the state to provide more support for civic immigrant education. The account of Britain as a multicultural society willing to welcome rule-abiding immigrants and the fact that British immigrants do not directly interact with other immigrants through civics courses resulted in immigrants focusing their reflections of identity depictions primarily on the British state and its shortcomings rather than on other immigrants. Calls by British immigrants for increased state support for civic learning illustrate the symbolic power of a state-provided or subsidised welcoming of immigrants through civic education.

7.4. Impacts of the structure of civic immigrant education on immigrants' civic learning

The final research question, data for which was presented in Chapter 6, shifted the focus from how national and immigrant identities are depicted and experienced to the impact that the structure of the civic immigrant education processes had on immigrants' civic learning in the two countries. Previous academic work on civic education for adult immigrants has found the focus of civic learning to be i) in relation to the state or wider society, ii) interpersonal or community-level changes, or iii) personal developments, like the acquisition of new knowledge or affective changes (e.g. Byrne 2016; Brown 2016). Based on this body of literature, data was analytically coded for "references to the country", "group or interpersonal learning", and "individual learning". This research question combined the symbolic and the behavioural levels at which civic immigrant education takes place. The structure of the civic immigrant education process that is set up by the state carries symbolic meaning in itself (for example by the state subsidising civic learning), while the impact the structure has on immigrants' learning is a behavioural-level response.

48 hours of observations, six teacher interviews, and 15 immigrant interviews were analysed for the German case. Data for the British case consisted of five teacher interviews and 15 immigrant interviews. The coding revealed that i) immigrants in Germany had a more favourable assessment of the state after completing the civic immigrant education process than immigrants in the United Kingdom, that ii) group or interpersonal learning in Germany took place in heterogeneous groups, while immigrants in the United Kingdom relied on pre-existing social and

cultural communities, and that iii) the German structure places a focus on the learning process, while the British system emphasises the learning outcome.

As with the two previous research questions, the findings related to the third research question bear relevance to several theoretical concepts introduced in the Literature review chapter. Firstly, Heidegger introduced the concept of being-in the-world, which proposes that the process of self-understanding requires individuals' willingness to interact with their social environment. This study revealed that immigrants' level of engagement with civic immigrant education varied significantly. This calls into question the extent to which some immigrants were willing to engage in civic immigrant education in a state of being-in-the-world. Secondly, Buber's distinction between I-Thou and I-It can be applied to compare aspects of the German and British approach to civic immigrant education. Through the German Orientation Course, the other (be it the state or fellow immigrants) becomes a concrete "thou" that individuals can engage with directly. The non-personal British process leaves the other on an abstract, theoretical level of "it". Thirdly, as Mead points out, human experiences of other people, objects, or actions form part of a constant process of self-understanding and re-evaluation. As immigrant research partners shared in interviews, their experiences in the civic immigrant education process led them to re-evaluate their position in German and British society.

7.4.1 Relating to the country

When analysing the German data, the code "references to the country", which gathered data on how immigrants related to the state and wider society, was applied 16 times for observations, 17 times for teacher interviews, and 25 times for immigrant interviews. In the United Kingdom,

teacher interviews were coded 22 times and immigrant interviews 27 times for the same code. A key finding that emerged from the data was that in Germany, where civic immigrant education is free or subsidises for most immigrants, references to the country were generally more favourable than in Britain, where immigrants have to personally carry the full financial burden of civic immigrant education.[33] This more favourable attitude in Germany was evident in i) two thirds of German immigrants feeling valued by the state through the support they receive and ii) immigrants in the United Kingdom criticising the state for not providing more support for some immigrant learners.

While previous research (e.g. Bauböck & Joppke, 2010; Bassel et al., 2017) has discussed the practical and symbolic issues around requiring immigrants to engage in civic education that they are required to pay for, the data presented here contributes the finding that state-support for civic immigrant education could help to foster immigrant's willingness to participate in it. This should not be considered as buying immigrants' cooperation but rather as realising the German state's definition of integration as a bilateral process. The 'duty to participate' (*Mitwirkungspflicht*) in the integration process is facilitated through financial support by the state. However, the data also shows that not all immigrants see Germany's state-provided civic education as an investment in their future. As observations revealed, course attendance and participation differ significantly between immigrants. While some immigrants were actively engaged from the beginning and others were "brought on board" as the Orientation Course progressed, there were also immigrants who thought that the course was too long or who excused themselves from

[33] Life in the UK handbook: £12, Life in the United Kingdom: Official Practice Questions and Answers: £8, The Life in the UK Test fee: £50. Any travel costs have to be borne by test takers. In addition, naturalization: £1,330 plus Nationality registration as a British citizen – adult: £1,206, Citizenship ceremony: £80. Indefinite leave to remain: £2,389

course sessions whenever possible. This is in line with academic literature that highlights that civic education requirements can be seen as a burden placed upon immigrants (e.g. Piller, 2001; Bassel et al., 2017).

In the British context, passing the Life in the UK test is the only demanded proof of immigrants' engagement in the civic education process. While all those wanting to obtain permanent residency or citizenship have to provide this proof, the state does not offer assistance or support to complete the Life in the United Kingdom process, irrespective of immigrants' socio-economic or legal status. As Morrice (2017) points out, the lack of financial support for civic immigrant education has a "largely unacknowledged gender bias which makes women particularly vulnerable to exclusion because they not only have the lowest literacy levels, but tend to occupy the most vulnerable migrant statuses, are less likely to be able to access ESOL [English for Speakers of Other Languages] classes, have fewer financial resources" (p. 606). State subsidies could mitigate such discriminatory effects, while also signalling to immigrants that they are not only welcome to facilitate their own integration but that the state is providing them with support to do so.

In addition to practical implications of the current structure, there is a strong symbolic dimension of who has to pay for civic immigrant education, which did not escape immigrants in the United Kingdom. As already uncovered through data addressing the previous research question, British immigrants saw the current structure of the Life in the United Kingdom process as 'insufficient' and the lack of support as 'discriminatory'. Twelve of the 15 interviewed immigrants particularly referred to the financial burden they encountered. Both teachers and immigrants widely shared

the opinion that reforms to the current process were needed to allow for the objective of civic immigrant education, namely integration, to be achieved.

7.4.2 Learning with others

The next code gathered data on "group or interpersonal learning", which considered with whom and how immigrants prepared for the Life in Germany and Life in the UK tests. Observation data from Orientation Courses was coded 22 times, while teacher interviews were coded 15 times, and immigrant interviews 64 times for "group or interpersonal learning" in Germany. The five interviewed teachers in Britain made 18 statements about group or interpersonal learning. In stark contrast to data from Germany (n=64), immigrants in the United Kingdom only mentioned interpersonal aspects of their learning experience 16 times. Three main findings could be identified; i) immigrants in Germany benefited from the Orientation Course in a variety of ways, ii) the heterogeneous learning communities created in Germany however also led to increased tensions between immigrants, while iii) immigrants in the United Kingdom mainly learned within their existing communities.

Immigrants in Germany derived two main benefits from the group aspect of civic immigrant education. Firstly, the Orientation Course provides them with the opportunity to establish new social contacts. Secondly, the fact that the Orientation Course is a discussion-based, teacher-led course meant that course content could be adapted to the groups' interests and needs. Furthermore, all three data sources showed that teachers were providing support to course participants that went beyond the Orientation Course or Life in Germany test preparation. Teachers were for example observed to be helping immigrants with bureaucratic matters.

However, as already mentioned when discussing the second research question, tensions between immigrants, both within the Orientation Courses and beyond, became evident. This finding is in line with research presented by Anderson (2013) and Monforte et al. (2018), who highlight that civic immigrant education can divide immigrant populations rather than fostering social cohesion and joint integration. The findings of this research do however not confirm Brown‘s findings on the relationship between teachers and immigrants (2016). She argued that teachers involved in civic immigrant education in Germany were facing a challenging task, which could at times result in tensions between teachers and immigrants. While all 15 immigrant research participants spoke about their Orientation Course teachers during the interview, only one of them viewed their teacher negatively.

Unlike in the German case, where learning in courses also led to tensions between and negative reflections on immigrants, immigrants in the United Kingdom mainly stayed within their existing social communities, preparing for the Life in the UK test with their families or friends. If the purpose of civic immigrant education in the United Kingdom is to facilitate the process of integration into British society, as is claimed in the Home Office White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven- Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain* which introduced the idea of the Life in the UK test (Home Office, 2002), then it is questionable if this objective is best served by a structure that results in immigrants staying within their existing communities. At the same time, the fact that there is no compulsory course for Life in the UK test preparation means that immigrants are at liberty to decide when, how, and with whom they want to learn. The British civic immigrant education structure is thus more in line with academic work on adult education which highlights the need of self-directed learning in the adult education context. Adult learning

researchers (Knowles, 1984; Merriam & Grace, 2011; Rogers & Horrocks, 2010) argue that older learners, because of their individual motivations, backgrounds, and lived realities, are better served in a more independent educational set up in which they can make autonomous decisions about their learning.

The findings from the two case studies present conflicting results about the usefulness of in-person civics course, as course participation brought a variety of benefits like new social contacts and additional support from fellow learners. Furthermore, the course allowed teachers to tailor the course to the needs and interests of learners and to provide additional support on issues beyond civic immigrant education. At the same time, compulsory courses in Germany were not appreciated by all immigrants and heterogeneous learning groups did result in immigrants deflecting stereotyped depictions of immigrants onto their fellow course mates. The British self-study approach resulted in immigrants being at liberty to choose their own learning approach and remaining within their existing social communities. Unlike in Germany, British immigrant interview partners did not reflect negatively on other immigrants. At the same time, the benefits of courses that teachers in both countries attested to and the symbolic potential of supporting immigrants' civic learning through subsidised courses is not fulfilled in the United Kingdom.

7.4.3 Dimensions of personal learning

Unlike with the two previously discussed codes for the third research question, the code "individual learning" appeared similarly often in the data from the two country cases. Ten instances in Orientation Course observations, 13 statements from teacher interviews, and 21 statements from immigrant interviews in Germany were coded as relating to individual learning.

Teachers working in the British civic immigrant education process made twelve statements that related to immigrants' personal learning, while immigrants themselves made 26 such statements. Findings suggested that i) immigrants in both countries acquired new knowledge through the civic immigrant education process, that ii) the process-oriented German approach brings various benefits but increases the time immigrants are required to commit to civic immigrant education, that iii) the outcome-oriented approach in the United Kingdom allows for immigrants to exercise more agency over their learning process, and that iv) immigrants in Britain experience the constructive power of tests more strongly than immigrants in Germany.

Firstly, in both countries all interview partners mentioned the acquisition of new content knowledge as well as the socio-emotional benefits of civic immigrant education as part of their personal learning. While immigrants acknowledged having forgotten much that they had learned for the test, almost all interview partners in both countries (25 out of all 30 interviewed immigrants) were also able to provide examples of new knowledge that they had acquired through test preparation. Such examples of new knowledge covered all aspects of German and British civic immigrant education with immigrants talking about information related to politics, history, and culture. Those immigrants that did not provide examples of what they had learned, claimed to have known most things covered in the tests beforehand.

Secondly, Germany's process-oriented approach to civic immigrant education is outlined in the policy documents that provide an official definition of integration ((Bundesregierung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 2016) as well as in the fact that immigrants do not only have to pass the Life in Germany test but also have to attend 70% of the Orientation Course sessions.

The fact that participation in the civic immigrant education process is compulsory shows where the focus of the German approach lies. Teachers reported having been able to motivate initially reluctant course participants to engage more actively as the Orientation Course progressed, thereby further underlining that civic immigrant education in Germany is a process. In addition to 13 German immigrant interview partners reporting that they had learned new information, three immigrants also stated that the civic immigrant education process allowed them to reflect on their position in German society.

Thirdly, civic immigrant education in the United Kingdom is outcome-oriented as the emphasis lies on immigrants producing evidence of their knowledge of Life in the United Kingdom in the form of a test certificate, rather than having to show that they participated in a learning process. While immigrants in the United Kingdom might forego benefits of participating in a test preparation course, such as engaging in discussions or accessing additional support through the teachers, the advantage of the outcome-oriented structure of civic immigrant education is that it allows learners to prepare for the test as they see fit. However, considering that civic immigrant education in general contains elements of value-education (e.g. Sundstöm & Fernandez, 2013) and that both German and British policy documents speak of important value-based aspects of civic education for adult immigrants, the suitability of this outcome-oriented approach is questionable. The academic consensus is generally that affective dimensions of citizenship education are most successfully addressed through debates and personal learning interactions (e.g. Kerr et al., 2009), which are limited in the British case.

In line with the British focus on the test as the learning outcome eight immigrants in the United Kingdom reported that they felt a sense of achievement or belonging after passing the Life in the UK test, while immigrants in Germany reflected more on the learning experience. The socio-emotional benefits that eight out of 15 immigrants felt after passing the Life in the UK test calls to mind academic literature on the social evaluation purpose of assessments (Newton, 2007), according to which assessments can indicate the social value of educational achievements to the test takers and to peers. This study also provides support for the notion that assessments have the power to define and communicate achievement to wider society (Shohamy, 2014) and to contribute to the test taker's sense of self (Stobart, 2008). The data gathered for this study does not indicate if the socio-emotional benefits that some immigrants experienced would be stronger or more widely shared if immigrants did not, at times, feel othered in the civic immigrant education processes they underwent.

Findings presented in this study provide further evidence that immigrants learn new content as well as deriving socio-emotional benefits from completing the civic immigrant education process, which previous research has already alluded to (e.g. Kelly & Byrne, 2007; Fortier, 2013; Byrne, 2016). Evidence for the acquisition of new knowledge and a sense of achievement upon completing the civic immigrant education process could be found in both countries and from a variety of immigrants. In fact, even the six male refugees from the Middle East that had criticised the German depiction of immigrant identities on personal grounds, later on provided evidence for having acquired and retained new knowledge through the Orientation Course. This suggests that irrespective of the structure of civic immigrant education and whether or not immigrants feel

personally othered through the immigrant identity depictions that they encounter, civic immigrant education has benefits for immigrants' civic learning.

7.5. Implications

Having compared the civic immigrant education processes in Germany and the United Kingdom in terms of i) how national and immigrant identities are represented, ii) how these identity representations are received, and iii) the impact of the structure of the civic education process on immigrants' civic learning, this section highlights the study's implications. Suggestions for further research on the topic are presented first, followed by implications for the practice of civic education for adult immigrants, as well as implications on the policy level.

7.5.1 Emerging issues warranting further research

While this study produced new knowledge on civic immigrant education, the scope of the research was limited to the examination of two countries. Considering the influence of contextual factors like national history or current immigration policies on the findings presented here, it is likely that further country cases would reveal additional findings. Issues like the benefits and challenges of heterogeneous immigrant learning groups, teacher involvement, and the framing of national history deserve further investigation in other country contexts.

Furthermore, while the small interview sample used in this study allowed for conclusive findings to emerge, a larger interview sample would potentially have unpacked the issue further. For example, the significant difference in interview responses from refugees and EU immigrants in Germany and from Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth interview partners in the United Kingdom provides first indications of an emerging typology of immigrant communities' responses to civic immigrant education. Further research involving adult immigrants might allow for the academic understanding of this diverse group of individuals to move beyond descriptive

demographic information about their country of origin, educational qualification, or legal status. A better understanding of adult immigrants as learners in civic education, which particularly research participants in the United Kingdom have demanded, could help to transform the process they undergo into a more meaningful and helpful one.

More generally, the topic of civic education for adult immigrants currently falls between the cracks of political science, migration, and educational research. The findings presented in this study show that educational assessment research has important insights to contribute to civic immigrant education. When for example conceptualising the various potential uses of assessment, Newton (2007) identified the "social evaluation use" of assessment, under which "results are used to evaluate the social value of personal educational achievements" (p. 163). Another relevant contribution from educational assessment research is Newton's (2017) call for purpose plurality in assessment design. Assessments' *information perspective* as basis for decisions, the *expertise perspective* as tool to accumulate knowledge and social capital, and the *engagement perspective* as having institutional and social recognition all apply to citizenship tests and should therefore be considered when discussing the Life in Germany and Life in the UK tests. Applied to the two tests investigated in this study, Newton's three perspectives also highlight that issues of the purposes to tests are relevant to educational institutions and the bureaucracy, to test takers, as well as to wider society. This multi-perspective nature of tests calls to mind Kane's (2016) call for a stronger consideration of the "interpretation/use argument" of tests. Developing an "interpretation/use argument" for the Life in Germany and Life in the UK tests could improve the connection between the design of the tests, the uses to which they are put, and the acceptance of wider society of the tests as valid instruments. Lastly, the constructive

power of tests to define not only valuable and valid knowledge but to also potentially influence the sense of self of test takers (Stobart, 2008), is highly relevant in the context of the Life in Germany and Life in the UK test, which were introduced by governments to help immigrants become members of German and British society. Further research from educationalists could utilise the state of the art in education research to better understand and potentially strengthen the two countries' civic immigrant education processes.

7.5.2 Teaching and testing immigrants; practical implications

The findings presented in this study are by no means a criticism of the immigrants and teachers currently involved in civic immigrant education, who are operating in high-pressure, high-stakes contexts, which are highly politicised. Much rather, the implications discussed here should be understood as providing suggestions, based on empirical research, for how the civic immigrant education process could be made more meaningful for immigrants and for the kind of changes and support teachers might benefit from. Two main practical implications of the findings presented here are i) the need for a holistic consideration of the instances of othering between immigrants evident in observations and interviews in Germany, and ii) the request for further, more differentiated support for civic learning, which was voiced from immigrants and teachers in the United Kingdom.

Firstly, evidence from observations and interviews in Germany showed that immigrants regularly reflected critically on other immigrants with whom they were undergoing the civic education process. Particularly where textbooks presented stereotyped immigrant identities, derogatory comments about other course participants occurred. Removing images from textbooks where for

example two black people are shown to engage in election fraud might be a good beginning to reduce the potential for tension between immigrants. Furthermore, when altercations between immigrants occurred and when immigrants showed irritation with the immigrant identity depictions they encountered, teachers had to intervene and manage the group dynamic. It seems to be inevitable that a discussion-centred and value-based course with a heterogeneous group of learners might occasionally experience differences of opinion. However, if teachers were to receive specialised training, they might be able to turn such situations into opportunities for dialogue. At the time of research, teachers had the option of signing up for a voluntary, 30-hour "additional certificate" training programme for the Orientation Course (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2017, p. 20). This training programme could be extended and made compulsory or subsidised to provide additional incentives for teachers to participate.

Secondly, in the British context, the practical implications of this research are less straight forward. Immigrants and teachers were united in their calls for reforms to the civic immigrant education process. It was evident that immigrants took issue with the strong focus on and framing of British national history. However, developing an account of British history that is inclusive of everyone is likely to be a challenging task and a long process (Saggar & Somerville, 2017). Teachers and immigrants were also united in their call for better support provisions for civic immigrant education. However, as highlighted by immigrant interview partners and academic literature (e.g. Bassel et al., 2017), immigrants already face a significant financial burden and many immigrants who participated in this study did not require additional support to prepare for the Life in the UK test. Providing additional, state-sponsored support for those immigrants requiring it, for example because of inadequate English language skills, could be a

way to support civic learning without increasing the financial burden. Such measures would be an opportunity for the state to combine the rhetorical welcome extended to immigrants with more practical support.

7.5.3 Civic immigrant education policies

The three main implications that arise for civic immigrant education policy are i) the question of compulsory courses in the United Kingdom, ii) the need for further considerations of the symbolic power of state-subsidised civic immigrant education, and iii) the question of how the benefits of civic immigrant education could be secured and strengthened for all immigrants.

Firstly, considering the findings on the learning and social benefits of in-person civic immigrant education courses, would it be advisable to introduce such courses in the United Kingdom? Despite evidence of learning benefits, three arguments can be made against a general introduction of compulsory courses. Firstly, not every immigrant might want to spend more time and money on civic immigrant education. Only one immigrant interviewed in the United Kingdom for this research had enrolled in a course. The remaining 14 interview partners all passed the Life in the UK test and many mentioned that for them a course would have been unnecessary. Secondly, under the current model the financial burden of civic immigrant education is entirely carried by immigrants. To not disadvantage specific immigrant groups further (see Morrice, 2017), additional support like civics courses would have to be paid for or subsidised by the state. Thirdly, while immigrants in Germany benefited from the Orientation Course in various ways, one of its effects was also an increased level of tension between immigrants. To avoid potentially disruptive altercations between immigrants and to not foster

resentments between immigrant communities, learning materials and teachers ought to be prepared for a positive management of difference. Considering these three arguments, an introduction of compulsory civics courses in the United Kingdom would have to be carefully planned and prepared to fulfil potential benefits.

Secondly, having carried out this research with a symbolic interactionist lens, the signal sent by financial support for civic immigrant education emerges as important. Findings presented here showed that two thirds of the immigrants interviewed in Germany saw state-provided civic immigrant education as a sign of the state investing in their new residents. The British state-demanded and outcome-oriented approach to civic immigrant education on the other hand largely led to immigrants reflecting critically on the state and its attitude towards immigrants. While a test-focused approach to education is common in the United Kingdom, where school accountability is a policy priority, the focus on immigrants having to provide proof of their learning without receiving any support from the state stands in contrast to the claim made in the Life in the United Kingdom book that "We are proud of our record of welcoming new migrants who will add to the diversity and dynamism of our national life" (Home Office 2013b, p. 7). With the civic immigrant education process currently in place, this pride does not translate into any financial or educational support to help immigrants to integrate into British society.

The third implication arising from this research for civic immigrant education policy is the question of how the benefits of civic education could be secured and strengthened for all immigrants. Evidence has shown the benefits of civic immigrant education to include cognitive and affective changes as well as potential additional benefits from course participation. 25 of 30

interviewed immigrants provided examples of what they had learned and two thirds of the immigrants interviewed in Germany also spoke about feeling that the German state invested in them. However, this study has also shown that issues with both countries' civic immigrant education programmes exist. These were evident in complaints about the duration or cost of civic immigrant education, tensions between immigrants in Germany, and that immigrants in the United Kingdom remained within their existing social communities, thereby negating the supposed social integration effect of civic immigrant education. Securing these benefits and addressing these challenges is a complex undertaking that would require extensive planning and political commitment within the individual country contexts. However, this research has shown that beyond being an experience that burdens or offends immigrants, to whom civic immigrant education might underline differences, civic immigrant education also has the potential to support immigrants in their integration and to augment a merely rhetorical welcome to a fully extended helping hand.

In both countries a reconsideration of the purposes of civic education for adult immigrants and of citizenship tests along with the resulting implications for the design of the learning processes might be helpful. British Home Secretary Sajid Javid's announcement of reforms to the Life in the UK test and his declared intention of making it "a British values test"[34] present an opportunity for such conceptual work to be carried out. The expertise of academics from the fields of citizenship education, educational assessment, and migration should be consulted in any such reform process.

34 https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/sajid-javid-immigrants-home-secretary-british-values-citizenship-conservative-conference-speak-a8564821.html (01/11/2019)

7.6 Conclusion

This study investigated how national and immigrant identities are represented in the civic immigrant education processes in Germany and the United Kingdom. It was found that the main difference between the depictions of national identity in Germany and the United Kingdom lay in the framing of national history. While both countries present their national identities as liberal, based on the rule of law and democratic principles, Germany places a heavy emphasis on the recent history of national socialism and World War Two. Britain on the other hand presents history as a source of national pride. The study furthermore identified a difference in the two countries' representation of immigrant identities. Immigrants in Germany are depicted in the process of becoming a part of Germany while the materials used in the United Kingdom show that well integrated immigrants have long played an important role in British society. In both countries however, immigrant identities are partially based on assumptions about Muslims engaging in practices like polygamy that are generalised to an image of all immigrants holding less liberal values than German or British citizens.

The second research question investigated how adult immigrants undergoing the civic education process in Germany and the United Kingdom experience and respond to the depictions of national and immigrant identities by the state. The data showed that immigrants in neither country accepted the depiction of national identity unquestioningly. However, it was particularly immigrants in the United Kingdom that took issue with the strong emphasis on the state-dictated, positive narrative of the country's past. In response to immigrant identity representations, research partners in Germany showed understanding for the need of value-based civic education, arguing that while they personally might not require it, other immigrants would. It was mainly

Muslim men from the Middle East, who showed personal offence with the depiction of immigrant identities. In the United Kingdom on the other hand, immigrants were generally more critical of the state and demanded that more support for civic education should be provided. Comments that reflected negatively on other immigrants were rare and, in the cases where such comments were made, they were presented as a reason for why the Life in the United Kingdom process ought to be reformed.

A final research question explored the impact that the structure of the civic immigrant education process has on adult immigrants' civic learning in the two countries. This study found that immigrants in Germany were more positively inclined towards the country than immigrants in Britain. Furthermore, civic learning in Germany took place in heterogeneous groups, which led to occasional tensions between immigrants, when differences in opinions occurred. Teachers were very important in managing classroom dynamics and in providing help in test-preparation and beyond. Immigrants in the United Kingdom remained in their previously existing social groups when preparing for the Life in the UK test. Lastly, it was found that the German civic immigrant education structure places the focus on the learning process, with immigrants being required to attend 70% of the Orientation Course. The British system on the other hand emphasises the learning outcome, with the test certificate the only required proof for civic learning.

The findings presented in this study show that the two countries' civic immigrant education systems can bring benefits to immigrant learners but that these benefits are currently not fully harnessed, which gives rise to a number of implications. Firstly, further research, with a bigger

sample of research participants and focusing on different country cases, could investigate the potential advantages and challenges of civic learning in heterogeneous groups, the role of teachers, and the framing of national history in the context of the diverse backgrounds of adult immigrants. Secondly, on a practical level, the management of tensions between immigrants in German Orientation Courses deserves attention, for example through the further professionalisation of teachers. In the United Kingdom, interview partners' requests for further, more differentiated learning support could only be addressed through changes on the policy level. Potential changes to the civic immigrant education processes in both countries could benefit from considering the symbolic power of state-subsidised civic immigrant education and the expertise of educational researchers.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

According to policy documents in Germany "integration is an offer, but also a duty for efforts" to be made by immigrants. Integration is furthermore defined as a "bilateral process" requiring "the domestic populations' willingness to receive, but also the willingness of immigrants to respect the people, society, and the rules of the host country and to actively seek integration" (Bundesregierung des Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 2016, p. 1). Germany's civic immigrant education process reflects this understanding of integration as a process in which immigrants have to do their part to become members of German society. Britain's civic immigrant education process has the objective "to ensure that we sustain the positive contribution of migration to our social well-being and economic prosperity", because "we need to manage it [immigration] properly and build firmer foundations on which integration with diversity can be achieved" (Government of the United Kingdom, 2002, Foreword). While highlighting Britain's understanding of herself as a multicultural, diverse nation, these policy statements also point to the necessity of state intervention to ensure social cohesion. This study explored the civic immigrant education processes in Germany and the United Kingdom, which are set up in a tension-filled space between welcoming immigrants into German or British society and othering immigrants, who are required to undergo a civic education process that is based on the assumption that immigrants are in need of value-based instruction to facilitate integration.

This research project presented a new adaptation of the theory of othering as a dialectical process of identity formation. Building on the ideas of various philosophers and theorists like de Beauvoir and Said, this study conceptualises othering as an expression of social power, in which

a dominant narrative of the self is juxtaposed to a usually inferior, other identity. Applying the theory of othering to the civic immigrant education context, the power that the state wields over immigrants is expressed in depictions of national and immigrant identities, over which immigrants themselves have no control.

Symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1969) was used as a social constructivist lens to operationalise this research project on the welcoming and othering of adult immigrants though civic education. Denzin (2017) suggests that there are two levels of social interactions, the symbolic and the behavioural. In the civic immigrant education context, the state sets up a process of civic education, including its content and structure, on the symbolic level. The symbolic power of civic immigrant education programmes was evident when immigrants in Germany saw, for example, financial support for civic education as an investment in their future or when immigrants in the United Kingdom claimed that the state did not do enough for immigrants because it did not provide more support for civic learning. Immigrants experience and respond to the civic immigrant education process on the behaviour level, through actions, thoughts, and words. Behavioural responses to civic immigrant education were evident in immigrants wanting to more actively participate in their own integration because they felt respected by the state or when immigrants showed irritation and offense over the immigrant identity depictions that they encountered in civics textbooks and tests.

Three research questions produced original findings about civic immigrant education in Germany and the United Kingdom. Firstly, this study found that both countries place an emphasis on historical narratives in depicting national identities with Germany portraying

"history as responsibility" and Britain describing a "long, illustrious history". Immigrants in Germany are depicted as still in the process of becoming a part of German society, while a narrative of multiculturalism represents well-integrated immigrants in the United Kingdom as playing an important and appreciated role in British society. In both countries, civic immigrant education is partly based on stereotyped views of immigrants as likely to engage in illegal and illiberal behaviour like polygamy or religious extremism.

Relating these findings of research question one to the theoretical concepts discussed in the Literature review chapter, the depiction of national and immigrant identities in civic immigrant education materials illustrates how socially constructed otherness can be a manifestation of power inequalities. De Beauvoir stipulated that women are a counter-image to men. Said outlined how Oriental identities are framed as a lesser opposite to Western identities. Neither women nor Orientals have agency over how their identities are constructed. Similarly, in the context of this study, immigrants are presented with identity depictions the creation of which they have no agency over. Furthermore, the value-based, prescriptive nature of some of the elements of immigrant identity depictions are reminiscent of Foucault's concept of biopower. In covering topics like female genital mutilation, polygamy, and child rearing the content of both countries' civic immigrant education materials ventures into the governance of personal behaviour that Foucault describes as biopower.

Secondly, this study showed that immigrants do not unquestioningly accept the identity narratives they encounter, neither those of the Germany or the United Kingdom nor those of immigrants in either country. Immigrants in Germany did not react strongly to prominently

displayed historical component of national identity, while immigrants in the United Kingdom either found accounts of British history to be too long or immigrants disagreed with the framing of Britain's past. A significant difference emerged between immigrants in Germany, who themselves held negative opinions of other immigrants, and immigrants in the United Kingdom, who saw the state under the obligation to evolve their view of immigrants to encompass the diverse and complex identities and needs of immigrants in Britain.

When relating these findings about immigrants' responses to identity depictions to the study's theoretical framework Husserl's concept of lifeworld becomes relevant. With the notion of lifeworld Husserl describes the social environment in which individuals find themselves, the experience of which is foundational to the process of understanding the self and others. As this study has shown, the lifeworld of immigrants, their lived experiences outside the civic immigrant education context, features strongly in immigrants' reflections on identity depictions. However, findings also call into question other theoretical concepts, such as Hegel and Sartre's suggestion that the development of a sense of self requires the disassociation from others. Even when criticising the state or other immigrants, research participants did at times show understanding for the reasons behind criticised actions. When for example lamenting that the state required participation in civic immigrant education, some research partners pointed to the social and political causes that they believed to be the rationale behind the state's policies.

Finally, this study provided evidence that immigrants in both countries acquired new knowledge and derived socio-emotional benefits from civic immigrant education and for some immigrants it helped them to reconsider and reconstruct their identity as members of German or British

society. This finding was independent of whether immigrants had a positive or negative opinion of the identity depictions that they encountered and irrespective of the structure of the countries' civic immigrant education process. Despite some immigrants in Germany taking issue with the content or length of compulsory civic education, research participants in Germany were appreciative of the state providing them with the opportunity to learn more about the country in which they now lived. Compulsory civics courses in Germany allowed for discussions about identity narratives and current events, but also led to tensions between course participants and to negative reflections on fellow immigrants. In the United Kingdom immigrants and teachers demanded reforms to the civic immigrant education system, particularly in the form of increased support for civic learning. The more autonomous learning process in the United Kingdom enabled immigrants to decide for themselves when, how, and with whom they want to prepare for the Life in the UK test. This autonomy resulted in immigrants staying within their communities rather than interacting with different members of British society.

As with the previous two research questions, the third research question's findings can be related to previously introduced theoretical concepts. Heidegger's notion of being-in the-world for example requires the willingness of individuals to be open and receptive to interactions with their social environment. As this research has shown, immigrant did not always engage with the civic immigrant education process in the mindset of being-in-the-world. Buber's distinction between I-Thou and I-It can be applied to compare the German and British civic immigrant education processes. In the German case, where direct interactions with other individuals take place, the other becomes a concrete "thou", whereas the non-personal British process leaves the other on an abstract level of "it". Lastly, immigrants' accounts of reflecting on their own relative position as

immigrants in Germany or the United Kingdom calls to mind Mead's suggestion that the development of a concept of self and other is an interminable process that can be brought about by interactions with people as well as with socially relevant objects and actions. Rather than identity formation taking place at an isolated moment in time, it is an ongoing process that can be impacted by a variety of factors.

Overall, this study has shown that civic immigrant education can have multiple benefits for immigrant learners, but that the systems currently in place in Germany and the United Kingdom do not support these benefits to their full potential. The compulsory Orientation Course does not manage differences between immigrants as constructively as possible, particularly when drawing on civic immigrant education materials that do, on rare occasions, portray stereotyped immigrant identities and invite course participants to compare between countries. In the United Kingdom immigrants are given a conditional welcome to British society, of which they can become a part if they adhere to British values. This conditional welcome is however not underlined through state support for civic learning. The tension between welcoming rhetoric and othering practice of civic immigrant education produces a mismatch between the symbolic level, at which the civic immigrant education processes are set up, and the behavioural level, at which civic immigrant education takes place, thereby preventing civic learning from being a more powerful tool for integration.

Acute political crises like the influx of refugees to Germany since 2014, or the Windrush scandal and the ongoing tug of war about Britain's departure from the European Union seem to have overshadowed the deeper, structural issues of immigration and integration in recent years.

However, if there is no return from the “restrictive turn” (Joppke, 2008) - and at this point there is nothing to suggest that there would be - then civic immigrant education ought to be appreciated as an opportunity to facilitate long-term integration. Sadly, the systems currently in place only partially support this goal and thus the stated policy objectives of civic immigrant education in both countries.

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