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Cultural citizenship:

Understanding the natural states of freedom, participation and equality in light of societies self-awareness, -contemplation and -reflection through culture and cultural evolutionary learning by mode of media.

Exemplified with a small selective sample of the int. post-grad. student population at NTNU.



Master's Thesis in Globalization – Global Politics and Culture

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Tolerance does not equal Understanding.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this master's thesis solely to my father, Holger Duncker, who took his own life on Thursday, 29th of January 2015 at the age of 53 years, following my grandfathers, his fathers, example. A example that should never repeat itself.

Acknowledgements

In light of the immense mental as well as physical struggle that the writing of this thesis has presented to me, I'd like to give a brief thanks to all those who supported and keep on supporting me in my own process of cultural learning throughout life. They know who they are, but by mentioning them specifically I'd like to give due credit for their contributions and support.

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I'd also like to thank my brother for being my best friend and teaching me to take life a little less serious. My father for teaching me basic knowledge of mechanics as well as a interest in technological development and instilling in me a deep love of sports as a teacher of lessons of life, as I struggled to instil pride of me in him and he struggled to instil pride of him in me, as well as teaching me, in his own way, that nationalism is an out-dated idea. As he struggled to cope with his own way of understanding political organization and culture while it was being supposedly threatened by increasing influxes of migrants into his home country.

Credit for this also goes to my grandfather, his father, who also taught me a love of bicycling and gave me an idea of what the horrors of war can do to the individuals mental and physical health, as he fought as a 16 year old at the Eastern front of World War II in 1945 for the cause of National-Socialism.

My family, as I perceive it and have been taught about it by its individual members, was born into National-socialism, lived through 40 years of Socialism and ultimately, when finally given complete freedom, struggled to cope with its possibilities, the proportions of which scare us all as they threatened the limits of our own understanding of life, the world and the universe in light of the possibility of the infinity of our world and the conceivable finiteness of our planet.

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Abstract

The presented study represents a holistic approach to citizenship theory in general and cultural citizenship in particular, with specific focus on their inherently evolutionary nature and challenges as well as dilemmas facing them in the face of globalization. As such it has distinct relevance for the subject of citizenship as a whole. In addition it includes a specific and qualitative study of the cultural make-up of the international post-graduate student body at *NTNU*, with detailed regard to their enactment of citizenship as highly educated migrants.

Initially establishing a hold on contemporary citizenship theory by deliberating the concepts of citizenship, the state, nationalism and democracy as well as relations between them. The study goes on to give a brief account of citizenships historic development while keeping mind its evolutionary nature. Subsequently establishing a theory of cultural citizenship, with particular regard to contemporary experiences and enactments thereof. The presented study goes on to establish how individual citizens culturally learn through the use of media and their tools, with a specific attention to the emergence of the internet as perhaps the most modern of all media.

Finally and after outlining the projects methodological approach, the presented work goes on to analyse the data gathered through qualitative interviewing of a purposefully and conveniently picked non-probability sample of the international post-graduate student body at *NTNU*. Concluding with an explanation of how individual citizens, illustrated by the sample, make sense of their natural states of freedom, participation and equality all the while culturally learning to cope with the challenges this poses on a individual, mutual and collective level through self-awareness, -contemplation and -reflection by the use of media and their tools, thereby becoming cultural citizens.

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1. Introduction

Cultural citizenship as an idea and a concept is fairly new and studies thereof are therefore understandably dis-integrated and fragmented, particularly when we take into consideration that citizenship studies in general began at the very latest in Ancient Greece and might have even been considered before. Though some scholars instead place its inception in the late 20th century (Isin & Turner 2002). Regardless of this however, the question is, how do we holistically approach contemporary experiences of citizenship, with the cultural kind perhaps but not necessarily being the most modern of these experiences, all the while trying to grasp its historic evolution? Historic considerations must play a role of course when looking at the evolution of our citizenship. But how do we approach evolution when it is not actually a collectively accepted truth? Just for the sake of making this argument, let's believe it is.

Dobzhansky (1973) states: “*Nothing in Biology Makes Sense except in the Light of Evolution.*” (title), let us believe in him. Richerson & Boyd (2010) in turn state: “*Nothing About Culture Makes Sense Except in the Light of Evolution*” (237), let us believe in them as well. What does this mean for the evolutionary development of citizenship? Might it mean that we have evolved from individual citizens to the states we have built ourselves today and are we in fact moving towards a global state?

El-Ojeili & Hayden (2006) state: “*Cosmopolitanism means 'world citizenship' and implies membership on the part of all individuals in a universal community of human beings.*” (113) We will revisit the idea of cosmopolitanism later on, but extrapolating from this quote, what can we discern with regard to citizenship in general and cultural citizenship in particular? Perhaps, the latter it is but another evolutionary step on our development as citizens while we face the challenges of globalization? But then what is globalization? This paper will not make an attempt at defining the phenomena, but posing questions with regard to globalization and its effects on citizenship and the individual is unavoidable, so let's begin.

Why is 1848 an important year for globalization? In fact, why is or was any part of history an important day for globalization? Because everything that we have done up to today is what made us who we are, today. Contemporary circumstances are founded in historical occurrences and these occurrences need researching. The year 1848 is a particularly interesting one for me personally, because that year's May marked the date that

a first democratic German National Assembly was called to order (Vick 2002). But it is also of importance globally, as *Karl Marx* and *Friedrich Engels*, who for some reason is often forgotten, published their *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* or *Communist Manifesto* as its known today, in February of that same year (Marx et al. 2012 [1848]) and thereby giving a first and still most compelling description of global capitalism (Osterhammel & Petersson 2005), i.e. the acquisition, safe-keeping and most importantly growth of wealth in general and the economic kind in particular.

As such, one could argue, that they lay the ideological groundwork for what was to happen over the course of the next 150 years and in fact is still happening today. A battle for global political, social, cultural and economical supremacy between capitalism and socialism, between individual-centric and socio-centric world views. Through processes of evolution, of which both war and globalization are one, these ideologies have become increasingly similar, converging, as they struggle for definitional monopoly on the, presumed to be, ideas of freedom, participation, equality and exclusive hold over usage of legitimate force around the globe and in national contexts. At the same, it seems, they are diverging politically as international cooperation looks to be defined by mutual, individual and collective competition (Arrighi et al. 2003; Kitschelt et al. 1999; Ralston et al. 1997; Schumpeter 2003 [1943]).

This ideological battle between states, democratic or not, capitalist or socialist, is a direct evolution of those we fight between each other, as individuals, as citizens and extrapolate, in a individual, mutual and collective manner, from this most basic evolutionary level, the individual citizen, to those that are the contemporary highest evolutionary levels or spheres of socio-political organization in institutions, i.e. countries, continents and the globe. The idea of nationalism or the nation, either perpetuated by socialism, capitalism or a possibly infinite amount of other ideologies, as well as ideas of class war are merely means to and end for initially ascertaining hold over legitimate force by the state, whatever form it may take, and subsequently establishing ideas and concepts of freedom, participation and equality based on ideologies such as amongst, again, a possibly infinite amount of others patriotism, nationalism, capitalism, socialism, fascism or national-socialism, all of which seem to be based on the idea of competition between individuals, in order to provide cohesion among the sum of all individual citizens (Tilly 1978; Tilly 1990; Tilly 1997; Tilly 2002).

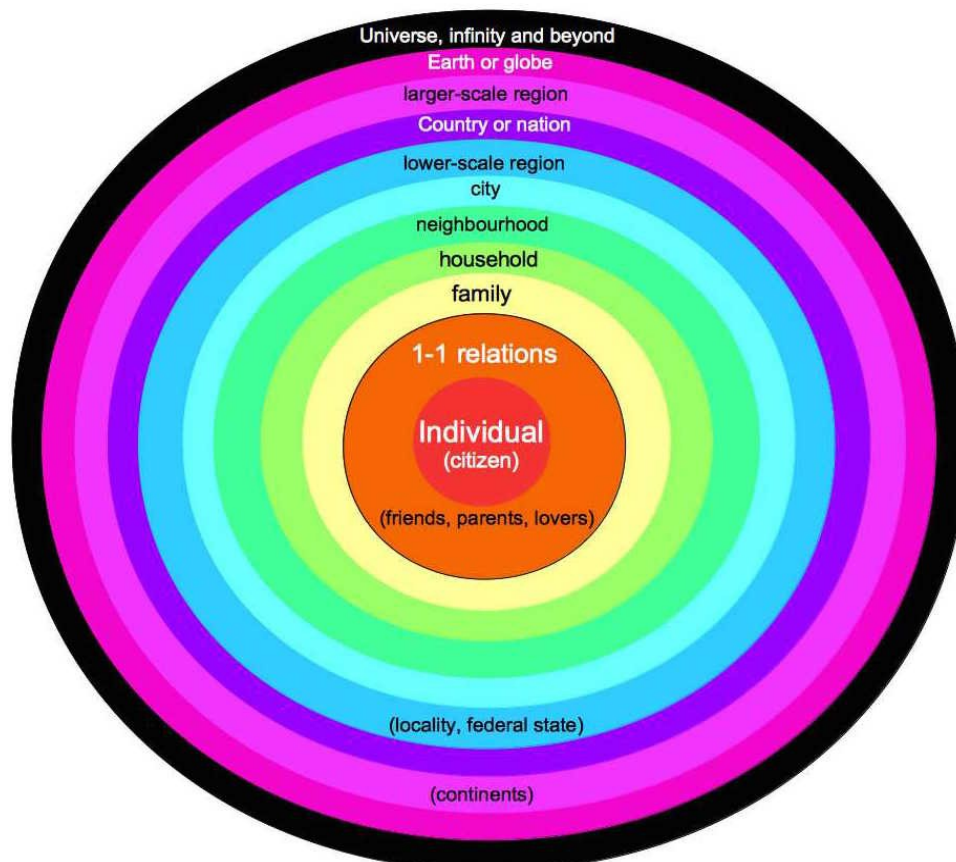
Which brings us back to my personal relation to the year 1848. You might consider these happenings separate from each other, as the former happened in Frankfurt am Main, Germany and the latter in London, United Kingdom, on two different dates, but in the same year, the same continent and perpetrated both by Germans. Yet the violent struggle that Germany's history from that first moment of national-democracy in 1848 to its last moment of actual national-democracy in 1989/90 represents and in fact is being continued today, as we watch national-socialist ideas die hard (Schmitz 2001), shows that they are very much inter-related. What is national-socialism but the perfect combination of “*love for the nation*”, individually, mutually and collectively institutionally established in Germany in the *Paulskirche* in 1848, combined with the supremacy of the whole over the individual, founded on the ideas of two Germans. With the addition of racism on a state level in 1933, interestingly based on the ideas not of a German, but an Austrian, between which there is really no difference, this took on a inhumane dimension ultimately resulting in individual, mutual and collective death (Neumann 2009 [1944]).

It is then also in this final consequence, death, where we can perhaps find what is really of value when studying our own socio-political organizations and constructs and the socio-cultural ideas we base these on, i.e. citizenship. As the former provides individual, mutual and collective security and the latter the cohesive ideas through which we, as individual citizens, make sense of our natural states, not ideas, of freedom, participation and equality. As we are all born and die as individuals, citizens, free, with the right and responsibility to participate and to be and to treat others as equals. Some of us might define these states through religious, nationalist, patriotic or fascist ideas or in fact through a combination of these and a possibly infinite amount of others. But, what connects us all as individual citizens is that we try, individually, mutually and collectively and that we learn from our failures to do so in a peaceful manner, individually, mutually and collectively as citizens of a city, a nation or whatever socio-political construct we have decided to submit to in search of individual, mutual and collective security and cohesion or solidarity while still being individually, mutually and collectively free, participating and equal citizens.

What creates a struggle, a battle, violence, terror, war and subsequently death, as perhaps the final moment of individual evolution and complete freedom, are in fact not our natural states themselves and as they just have been named, but our own socio-cultural ideas trying and failing to make sense of these natural states and subsequently building

socio-political organizations or constructs, whatever form they may take, through which we then in turn collectively fight out differences amongst socio-cultural ideas of our natural states, a vicious cycle, evolution.

In which direction does this vicious cycle move? In circles of course, but not only around or rather forward in a infinite circular manner, but also outward, concentrically. As we build our own individual world from ourselves, the individual, the citizen to our friends, parents, siblings, lovers and a possibly infinite amount of other *1-1 relations*. While we connect through media such as the internet using its tools to communicate and interact individually, mutually and collectively. All this in order to make socio-cultural sense of our own socio-political constructs, providing security and cohesion. Which then, as they institutionalize our natural states, go on to threaten the most basic idea of complete freedom, i.e. anarchy. Such constructs are the family, the household, the neighbourhood, the city, the locality, the country or nation, the continent, the earth or globe and finally, as the most evolved sphere of citizenship, the universe.



Ill. 1: Simplified evolutionary spheres or levels of citizenship enactment

Now the question stands, what does all this contemplation have to do with cultural citizenship? It illustrates where we need to begin, with the individual. As such, we will pose the following research question: *What effect has technological development of media and their tools, especially the virtual digital kind, had on how we make sense of our natural states through culture, i.e. cultural citizenship?*

Focusing further on the individual by researching the experience and perception of as well as attitude towards citizenship by the individual through qualitative interviewing of a selective sample of international post-graduate students at *Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet* or *NTNU* by asking: *How do international post-graduate students at NTNU make sense of their natural states as they become citizens in Norway?*

2. Citizenship Theory

Before we begin our examination of the again, quite extensive, somewhat dis-integrated and thereby highly fragmented, field of citizenship theory, I'd like to first remind the reader of what we actually mean when we speak of theory. The now used English term “*theory*” stems from the Greek word “*theōria*”, which in turn derives from late Latin, meaning, in its original form, contemplation or speculation (Soanes & Stevenson 2006). Of course, with regard to modern challenges merely contemplating and speculating will not hold, but this does already illustrate what Asimov (1989) called the “*relativity of wrong*” (title), i.e. the incompleteness of every theory as soon as it's published.

Going back to Soanes & Stevenson (2006), which is in fact the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, we can make another attempt at understanding what it means to establish a theory, but this time perhaps in a more modern sense. As they state that a theory includes: “*a supposition or a system of ideas intended to explain something, especially one based on general principles independent of the thing to be explained.*” (1495) But with regard to citizenship and cultural citizenship in particular this perhaps holds less truth, as we have already established the circular nature of culture and thereby the lack of the general principles explaining a thing, being independent of the thing being explained, as the general principles, the socio-cultural ones in particular, have constructed and continue to construct the thing being explained, i.e. citizenship.

Where does this lead us? Soanes & Stevenson (2006) include another definition of the term theory in their contemplation, as they state, that theory in the mathematical sense

means: “*A collection of propositions illustrating the principles of a subject.*” (1495) This perhaps has more truth with regard to citizenship and certainly with the attempts made explaining it in this project. Yet, still it seems unsatisfying, particularly with regards to a supposed relationship between the propositions made and illustrating a subject, and the subject itself. Perhaps we need to go even closer to modernity to find a satisfying definition of the term theory and its meaning.

As Wacker (1998) points out with regard to operations management, a theory consists of four distinct yet inter-connected parts, these are: (1) definitions of terms or variables (more likely to be terms and concepts in our case); (2) a domain where the theory applies (i.e. citizenship); (3) a set of relationships of variables; (4) specific predictions. While he sees the very latter as being equivalent with factual claims, with regard to social science, and in fact in general, as stated above, we can of course not make this claim, as the social world is instantly changing and constructed by individuals we can only make claims to partial or temporary factuality.

With this in mind, let us begin.

2.1 Citizenship, the state, nationalism & democracy

As we gain “*Perspective through Retrospective*” (Walter 2003, 7, translated from German), we shall begin, with this quote in mind, what could be a quite comprehensive look into citizenship theory with a brief look into its historic development. Lending mostly from Heater (2004) the following section of the paper will briefly outline the development of citizenship as an idea, concept, practice and experience from ancient Greece, and before, up to and including the 20th century, before we move to more modern and post-modern conceptions of our main topic.

Outlining five main forms of socio-political identities (Feudal, Monarchical, Tyrannical, National & Citizenship), Heater (2004), while maybe over-simplifying the distinction between the former four and the latter, makes quite an interesting observation that has some implications regarding the historic development of citizenship. He describes the main difference between a national identity and that of a citizen as being the recognition of oneself as a member of a cultural group for which nationalism, i.e.: “*love of the nation and a consciousness of its traditions*” (2004, 2) is a exclusive requirement for membership, while the civic identity is defined rather by the individuals relationship to the

idea of the state.

But contrary to the aforementioned pre-national identities, nationalism has a distinct connection to citizenship rooted in the first developments of the nation-state in America and Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries (Guibernau 1996; Brubaker 1990). This connection was established mainly due to the fact that initial attempts for state-building, as in nation-state in this most recent historic case, but this mode of thinking could theoretically be applied to any form of socio-political organization, i.e. family, household, city and so forth, largely focused on consolidation of power by a select elite for the purpose of gaining and maintaining hold over exclusive use of legitimate force in a geographically closed off area, no matter its size, while they themselves utilized then considered illegitimate force for reaching this goal (Tilly 1975; Tilly 1985; Tilly 1994; Tilly 2003).

Nationalist ideas were later utilized to unify the populous and establish this geographically closed off area in which the state, that one could argue is inherently democratic, but in these early stages was at best semi-democratic excluding certain social groups due to gender, heritage, economic status or else, could exact its monopoly on the use of legitimate force (Leibfried & Zürn 2005; Weber 1946 [1921]).

While we now call this area nations, we used to call it the family, but it could conceivably also be a region or the planet as a whole, the terminology is already in place, only the socio-cultural ideas haven't caught up. Today, these older ideas or ideologies, e.g. nationalism, are no longer necessary, as citizens rights, such as human rights, as well as global, international and supranational polities guarantee the sovereignty of the state and democracy on a national level and the security of the individual, to varying degrees of success of course. What this means for the development of the state and democracy as ideas, concepts and polities is fairly obvious. They has in fact moved beyond the national level to a regional and global level and also backwards to the lowest levels of socio-political organization (Caldwell et al. 2009; Greig et al. 2007; Hoffmann 2004; Lister 1997; Siim 2000).

This has led to an interesting development where domestic populations seem to insist on referring back to nationalist ideas and ideologies of the state and democracy in an attempt to culturally reconnect with their respective polity as the provider of individual mutual and collective security, be it physical, mental or else, as well as cohesion, in light of

that security and cohesiveness being supposedly threatened by increasing influxes of migrants and refugees which have now taken on immense proportions, particularly across Europe (Aisch et al. 2015; Higgins 2015). On the face of it, this fear of loss of one's socio-cultural identity and thereby historically grown socio-political construct or polity seems to be a recent occurrence, but finding historical examples of the same process could be worthwhile.

As the rise of groups like "*Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident*" or *Pegida* and others in Germany and all across Europe illustrate this fear. These groups work to combat 21st century issues with 20th century ideology and policy. While seeing a drop in membership and participation after their initial rise, they have now regained traction coinciding with the most recent surge of refugee influx into Europe, as they bank on the fear of domestic populations regarding nationalisms cultural degradation and cultural interchangeability (Geiges et al. 2015; Vorländer et al. 2015).

While these groups call in their constitutional right to freedom of speech and claim to welcome every individual or rather human, no matter nationality or religion, most likely regarding the two as being different from each other. They disregard the fact that the state, in its democratic form, and the nation are not one and the same. It is perhaps rather religion and nationalism that are one and the same as socio-cultural ideas or ideologies for the purpose of consolidation of power and use of legitimate force in a socio-political construct, i.e. the state, whatever form it may take.

As German political scientist Dietrich Hermann put it in a recent newspaper interview on the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* webpage: "*Many of these people stem from the service industry, small and medium-sized businesses [...]. People, that despite good economical conditions feel threatened and interchangeable. That prefer simple solutions, that do not read mainstream-media any longer and live in a informational bubble of conspirational webpages and pertinent blogs. That still do not understand democracy, mistake themselves for the people as a whole and take all politicians for betrayers of the people.*" (Klimeniouk 2015, 2, translated from German)

It is interesting to note how this occurrence is comparable with the situation in Germany after World War I. More or less 20 years after the end of a war of unprecedented proportions, i.e. World War I and the Cold War respectively, nationalist ideas and the individuals perpetuating them utilize a national minority, in the former case the Jewish

population, in this recent case islamic refugees, to amass a following and gain power by blaming contemporary issues on their very existence or arrival and thereby exploiting the, very real, understandable and serious, fears of the domestic population as stated above, but in particular their individual, mutual and collective national security and cohesion as well as supposedly the safe future of their children, all the while equating nationalism with citizenship.

The, for political purposes exploited, newcomers or refugee's however, often times have very different ideas of what it means to be a citizen or, as some might not actually be familiar with the concept, a socio-political actor or individual, which they are by default. While the domestic population tries to maintain their idealistic concept of the nation-state as a historically grown polity on its own with distinct national cultures and traditions, the reasoning being that it has the character of a socio-cultural equilibrium, which it actually has not. The migrants might instead derive their identity as a political actor from their relationship to a political leader, another ideology or a religion as the idea of a nation was a distinctly European occurrence which was then exported (Blank & Schmidt 2003; Flora et al. 1999; Giddens 1985; Marcussen et al. 1999; Milward 2000).

In addition, some of those that have been part of Europe's most recent influx of refugees, might actually not connect to any of these concepts and in fact reject them entirely. Rather, one could argue, they derive their socio-cultural identity from the enormous journey and struggle they had to embark on in search of peace or rather security, provided by the state, and freedom, which is the most fundamental pillars of citizenship, or indeed reconnect with the original space for citizenship, the family or household. This conflict of how to culturally connect to the state and democracy is often times resolved by imposing nationalist ideas on migrants or even foreign countries, which in the eyes of this researcher is futile, exemplified in external state-building efforts in the former Yugoslavia and elsewhere (Fukuyama 2004; Fukuyama 2006; Haug 2010; Malešević 2012; Rotberg 2003; Strohmeier 2001; Taylor & Botea 2008).

What can happen if nationalist socio-cultural ideology and socio-political organization, and by extension and perhaps as the worst form of socio-cultural ideology, National-socialism and its side-kick Racism, is utilized as a mode for removal of a considered to be unjust government and actually enforced by the people, is exemplified in the case of Germany from 1814-1989 and in fact in any country currently or previously

divided by socio-cultural ideology, i.e. former *Warsaw Pact* states, South Korea, Vietnam and so forth., with the distinction of regionally specific socio-cultural ideological developments. Examples of this can be found localized throughout history all over the globe in what Riesenber (1992) calls “*perfect moments*” of citizenship, a concept which we will get back to at a later stage. But not in those who won these socio-cultural ideological battles, but those who lost.

Countries such as France and the USA, presumably winners of these battles and collectively thought of as having been freed by the people, as we individually, mutually and collectively perpetuate this falsehood, use themselves as examples, when actually they were not freed by the people, but by a select-elite of socio-political individuals or actors trying to make socio-cultural sense of the idea of equality in the face of a considered to be unjust government (Skocpol 1979; Suny 1993; Tilly 1978; Tilly 1985; Tilly 2003). The socio-cultural utilization of the idea of nationalism by the people is in turn best exemplified in those countries that we now consider the losers of the socio-cultural battle between what Heater (2004) called tyrannical and nationalist socio-political identities, which are in fact socio-cultural identities, such as Germany. They instead are now perhaps build on a culture of collective mutual guilt on the national level founded on the atrocities perpetrated by their presumed “*Nation*”, as peer-pressure on a far larger scale than we have even begun to contemplate is turning into habit.

Due to the collective prevalence of the idea of “*history is written by the victors*” (Benjamin 1968 [1940]; Simonton 1994), the opportunity for the establishment of a new constitution, state, democracy and thereby subsequently new idea of citizenship with the 21st century in mind was missed and instead incremental jurisprudential reform continued (Congleton 2011; Kommers & Miller 2012). With regards to the example of Germany this case can be made for both 1945 and 1989/90 as historic caesuras of socio-cultural identity development with regard to citizenship and the lost opportunity to redefine the concept. Same can be said for the Scottish independence referendum in 2014 and the question of why, of the reasons, remains. Perhaps a collective realization of the socio-cultural outdatedness and futility of national citizenship, in whatever dimension, and in light of already existing and potential future global and continental polities played a role here.

In any case, there is a argument to be made for reconsideration of fundamental constitutional questions as the individual citizen, at least partially, seems to have accepted

that we have reached a socio-cultural equilibrium in Nationalism, when in fact we reached a socio-political equilibrium in the state and democracy a long time ago and keep struggling to make socio-cultural sense of their most basic building blocks, individual, mutual and collective freedom, participation and equality, with the state itself providing the security and culture the cohesion. This can be exemplified with the current condition of the *United Nations* (UN), a intergovernmental and presumably supranational organization founded in 1945 on 20th century ideas and an ideology, in nationalism, that several wars have been based on. But while the UN was founded after World War II to prevent this precedent form ever occurring again it uses the same exact terminology in its very title.

The concepts and ideas of citizenship, the state and democracy on the other hand are independent of these struggles as they are a inherent in human nature, which we will go on to prove. They are the sole connecting factor between us all. We are all individuals, citizens and subjects of the state, whether we want it or not and independent of how we culturally make sense of the ideas and concepts represented by the state, democracy and citizenship itself. The different socio-cultural approaches, whatever form they may take, of identifying oneself with the state and democracy, or rather the freedom, participation and equality as well as security they provide, as a citizen, are simply modes for the insurance of cohesion among the total sum of all citizens of a respective polity through culture. Be that polity the family, the neighbourhood, the city, the nation, the region or the globe. Accordingly we currently witness a turn back to the smaller socio-cultural communities and those not connecting to the state, or more specifically the nation-state as a contemporary false-equilibrial construct of socio-political organization, with the individual at its centre and the family, or in fact simply raising a child, naturally conceived or adopted, as the first and most important socio-cultural building block.

If we assume this to be true, then maybe it is worthwhile to take a look into the paternally defined culture or socio-cultural ideologies we have been perpetuating for ages. As the idea of the "*Vaterland*" or fatherland exemplifies, not unsurprisingly a fundamentally German idea, which we now see degrading as current Chancellor Angela Merkel has received the nickname "*Mutti*" or mommy. Subsequently a examination of whether a maternally defined culture or socio-cultural ideas might not be more feasible with regards to making sense of the natural states represented by the state, democracy and citizenship, as the idea of the motherland exemplifies (Dudink et al. 2012; Feshbach 1987;

MacLean 2009).

While nationalism, as a at least partially paternal idea, and as a means to the end of the state and democracy, was the chosen mode in Europe, in other regions it might have been another ideology, a religion or else. In fact, one could argue based on the evolutionary nature of citizenship, which we will revisit later on, nationalism has yet to arrive in some localities. But, what connects all these is the longing for political and cultural freedom, social equality and personal security as well as participatory rights and responsibilities on part of the individual, the citizen. These are guaranteed by the state and democracy, not by the nation, a religion, a particular leader or another ideology. The state and democracy as socio-political constructs are thereby autonomous from these socio-cultural concepts or ideas and they are merely a mode for culturally fuelled political centralization, consolidation of power and insurance of cohesion among the citizenry.

With this in mind, one could even argue that religion, ideology, in whatever form, and/or nationalism as the most “*modern*” ideology are one and the same. So, when we might criticize those who leave their home country, be it voluntarily or involuntarily, for their lack of understanding of citizenship, we are in fact talking about their lack of understanding of the host countries specific brand of nationalism as, in the mind of the “*indigenous*” populous, the nation is synonymous with the state and democracy, which it actually, as we will prove, is not. The argument behind this being that the nation or nation-state, and nationalism as its respective socio-cultural ideology, is just another step on the socio-political and subsequently socio-cultural and vice-versa, evolutionary scale that began with the family or household, the local community and will ultimately end with a global state, for which the only membership requirement is that of being a human being or in fact any living organism on planet earth, i.e. *cosmopolitanism* (Delanty 2001; Delanty 2006; Delanty 2012; Hull et al. 2010; Isin & Nielsen 2008; Isin et al. 2008; Isin & Turner 2010; Linklater 2002; Stevenson 1997; Stevenson 2003).

Regardless of the terminology however, as *cosmopolitanism* is perhaps the emerging cultural ideology for and empirical experience of global citizenship, this is a utopian concept that requires significant and highly critical evaluation against the realities of life, just as the concept of citizenship can not be explained in such simple terms. Therefore an attempt must be made at giving a brief but comprehensive overview of the, here postulated to be evolutionary, historical development of citizenship as well as

citizenship theory.

2.2 *A brief history of citizenship*

One of the most important and influential contemporary works regarding our subject is T.H. Marshall's "*Citizenship and Social Class*", a collection of lectures outlining what he perceived to be the three basic dimensions of citizenship in 1949. Though his work has drawn some criticism for its sole focus on the experience of Great Britain, while making quite extensive generalizations, a feature which it has in common with the presented project, it shall nonetheless serve as our starting point, although of course this in no terms demarcates the beginning of citizenship in practice. In his own words, he outlines the three dimensions as follows: "*I shall call these three parts, or elements, civil, political and social. The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom [...] By the political element I mean the right to participate in the exercise of political power [...] The last is of a different order from the others, because it is the right to defend and assert all one's rights on terms of equality with others and by due process of law.*" (Marshall 2006 [1950], 30)

These three dimensions remain valid today with regard to citizenship as a set of rights but disregard, at the very least, what Stokke (2013) calls the overlapping spheres and stratified forms of political citizenship. In his conceptualization of the politics of citizenship, expression as rights is merely one part of a four part model, with the other three being legal status, membership and participation. Though this does not devalue Marshall's conclusions, it does illustrate, that Marshall's basic dimensions, while still valid in a general sense, need clarification and specification when it comes to more intricate expressions of citizenship. But not only that, while Marshall provides a extensive depiction of social citizenship as the most recent dimension of citizenship experience and enactment, emerging with the introduction of welfare laws across Europe in the late 19th and early 20th century, he himself as well as his contemporaries had yet to realize the role of culture in citizenship as a provider of cohesion among a group of socio-political actors and socio-cultural individuals.

If we look at the subject in a more historical context, we can identify many different landmark periods for the development of citizenship. Referring back to Heater (2004) we can in fact identify four distinct periods that could be regarded as caesuras considering the

development of contemporary or modern citizenship. Often regarded as the cradle of democracy, the ancient greek idea of the *zoon politikon* or rather men as a social and political being initially developed by Plato and later refined by Aristotle, provides a fine jumping off point to begin our review.

As they examined the greek polis, meaning either the greek city states such as ancient Athens, simply a body of citizens or in fact citizenship in general. They put forward that inherit in every individual citizen is a so called “*Telos*” or intrinsic motivation to strive towards a personal equilibrium which, with regards to the socio-political part of life, can only be achieved through organization in the polis or state. Aristotle himself, in his “*Nicomachean Ethics*”, later relativized his assumptions by stating that rather than the polis or state, it was the family, household or indeed the simple relationship between two individuals, be it paternal, maternal, friendship or else, that is the main projection point of ones “*Telos*”. In addition, he rejected a determination of the development of ones intrinsic purpose, meaning that it is part of mens natural state on a metaphysical level rather than part of a evolutionary process (Cesarone 2015; Tunçel 2012).

Today we might examine this intrinsic motivation differently, as the emerging field of anthropology has pointed towards a more evolutionary model. Gintis et al. (2015) for example point towards the evolutionary features of citizenship that saw men evolve from social dominance hierarchies to a egalitarian, i.e. democratic, political system with the emergence of bipedalism, cooperative breeding as well as the use of weaponry and fire among others and the subsequent development of new socio-political organizational structures based on leadership models utilizing persuasion and motivation for accomplishment of consensual decisions. They move on to state that: “*The heightened social value of nonauthoritarian leadership entailed enhanced biological fitness for such traits as linguistic facility, political ability, and, indeed, human hypercognition itself.*” (Gintis et al. 2015, 327) This represents a basic disagreement with Aristotle's rejection of the possibility of determination of the development of ones “*Telos*.”

Instead pointing towards what they call *Gene-Culture Coevolution*, but what is sometimes also referred to as *dual inheritance theory*, as a replacement or rather an elaboration of previous models of political behaviour, such as the *Homo economicus* self-interest maximization model which was partially derived from Aristotle's concepts, prevalent in economics and political science, as well as the cultural hegemony model

whereby individuals are simple adherers or followers of a pre-dominant and in fact pre-determined political culture supplying norms and values rather than constructors of that culture, largely utilized in sociology. Both of which disregard the fundamental idea, that culture and thereby citizenship is constructed by individual, mutual and collective experiences, actions and interactions of individual citizens within their own socio-political structures as well as in everyday life, particularly with regard to socio-cultural learning and subsequently idea- and ideology-building.

This concept is based on the idea of two interacting evolutionary processes, genetic and cultural, the premise being that just as with the former, the latter has a Darwinian component to it as individuals, as constructors of culture, acquire, through socio-cultural and -political learning, behaviours and information that then build and improve contemporary culture. These traits are then inherited and further developed by each generation giving culture a fundamentally evolutionary dimension (Aoki 2001; Beja-Pereira et al. 2003; Boyd & Richerson 1976; Feldman et al. 1985; Feldman & Zhivotosky 1992; Feldman & Laland 1996; Gintis 2003; Gintis 2011; Henrich & McElreath 2003; Kendal 2013; Kumm et al. 1994; Laland et al. 1995; Richerson & Boyd 1978; Richerson et al. 2010; Rushton et al. 1986).

With regard to this Richerson & Boyd (2010) point out the following when illustrating the connection between human genetic biology and cultural evolutionary processes: *“The ways we think, the ways we learn, and the ways we feel shape culture, affecting which cultural variants are learned, remembered, and taught, and thus which variants persist and spread. Parents love their own children more than those of siblings or friends, and this must be part of the explanation for why marriage systems persist.”* (238) If we assume the evolutionary nature of culture as it is postulated in these theories, and as has been verified by others with regard to evolutionary economics (Walter 2003; Dosi & Nelson 1994) and the role of inventions, i.e. basic technological advancements, and innovations, i.e. cultural implementation of inventions, then not only does this quote illustrate the importance of learning for the building of culture and by that also of citizenship, as the fourth dimension beside the civil, political and social, it in addition puts emphasis on the family or household as the most fundamental building block of socio-political organization, socio-cultural experience and interaction and thereby cultural evolution, which in turn puts the individual at the centre of its studies, which was our goal.

Returning to Aristotle and his *zoon politikon*, we can point out, that it is in fact not the relationship of the individual to the *polis* or state that is the defining space for the enactment of citizenship, at least not the cultural variety, but rather inter-individual or *I-I relations* that shape how we culturally connect to contemporary forms of socio-political organization. We might consider differently with regards to civil and political citizenship, were the state is perhaps still the central point of relation for the individual, as well as regarding social citizenship, though here inter-individual relations are also of importance as questions of equality arise. With regards to cultural citizenship however, as the sole provider of cohesion, it is largely the relationship from individual to individual that is determining. As we learn how to individually interact with each other as well as mutually and collectively interact with our polities and other socio-political constructs, we learn to develop and maintain our natural states of freedom, participation and equality, all the while establishing individual security within these constructs through the state. Of course, these modes of socio-cultural interaction ultimately building culture are then projected onto the state which in turn utilizes them in order to provide social cohesion.

As such one could argue, that following the ancient greeks mankind or the European people as the most culturally and evolutionarily advanced at the time, put the cart before the horse so to speak as they focused on civil and political ideals initially before considering social and cultural implications of citizenship. Which brings us back to citizenships historical development. Before we examine social, as regarding questions of equality and more importantly cultural, as regarding questions of cohesion, citizenship, we need to take a further look into its civil and political expressions as postulated by Marshall.

If we consider ancient Greece as the first caesura in citizenships historic development, then the Roman Empire must be the second. As again Heater (2004) points out, the main distinction between these two periods is the recognition of the citizen as a legal entity, as having a binding relationship with or perhaps more appropriately be a subject of the state. Quoting J.G.A. Pocock he attributes this to the emergence of jurisprudence, that is the study of law, and as such the Roman citizen was rather a subject to the state than an individual, which subsequently made him part of a community of law or of those who obey by the law. If we equate the greek idea of the political animal organizing itself in constructed polities of a smaller scale with Marshall's civil element of citizenship, that is the rights necessary for individual freedom, such as personal liberty and

freedom of speech, thought and faith as well as property rights and rights to justice, then possibly we could also make the same connection between the Romans focus on legal status and Marshall's political element of citizenship, though he himself delineates this to have occurred not until the 19th century.

Nonetheless, as said element includes the right to participate, either as a member of the socio-political construct of the time or as a member of the electorate electing the members of said construct, it becomes even clearer that there might be a connection between the evolutionary historic development of citizenship and Marshall's elements of citizenship. Especially when we also take into consideration, that Marshall himself regarded the social element of citizenship as having emerged only recently and thereby effectively giving citizenship a evolutionary potential.

As mentioned above, he names the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century as a timeframe for the emergence of social citizenship or more specifically the welfare state. While this holds true with regard to the latter, the rise of the social element of citizenship could and should be set at an earlier point if we consider its fundamental feature, the question of equality. With this in mind one could argue the beginning of this period should rather be set in the Age of Enlightenment or at the very latest at the end of the 18th century with the outburst of the French and American revolutions.

As Riesenber (1992) agrees, he divides the development of citizenship in two distinct parts. First a period of small-scale societies that saw a lot of fluctuation in the success of citizenship as several “*perfect moments*”, e.g. Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire, were followed by prolonged periods of decline, e.g. middle ages. The vital turning point in his concept, which moved citizenship from its early stages to what it has become today, are the late 18th century revolutions, as we pointed out above. While one might not entirely agree with this rather simple distinction, it does highlight a third caesura in the development of citizenship and in fact what could be considered the most important one, as it was accompanied by the emergence of democracy and the democratic state, as the predominate mode of socio-political organization.

Referring back once more to Heater (2004) we can make this distinction even clearer as we examine what most scholars call the civic-republican and liberal-individualist traditions of citizenship. These rather clearly demarcate the same historical line of division between pre-18th century citizenship and the modern concept of citizenship that developed

following the decline of religiously based cultural means of supplying cohesion among the citizenry.

Now, of course, this is by no stretch of the imagination a clear-cut equation, but for illustrative and purposes of better understanding, we can none the less make and attempt.

Traditions in citizenship	Elements of citizenship (T.H. Marshall)	Historic developmental caesuras in citizenship
civic-republican	Civil (freedom) Political (participation)	Ancient Greece Roman Empire
liberal-individualist	Social (equality) Cultural (cohesion) (<i>added</i>)	Enlightenment, American/ French Revolutions Contemporary, Modern, Post-Modern

Table 1: Historic dimensions of citizenship

As the table above illustrates, there is a evolutionary dimension to citizenship that began with the idea of freedom and protection thereof by the construction of small scale socio-political institutions in ancient Greece, indeed perhaps even before that (Weber 1967 [1917-1919]), and, through ensuring democratic participatory rights and responsibilities as well as a basic level of equality among all citizens of a respective polity, continues with a ideological cultural battle of which the individual citizen is at the centre of, while the different countries around the globe, still connected to nationalism, try to cope with the challenges of globalization in the face of having to continuously provide cohesion among its citizenry.

2.3 Dilemmas facing citizenship in light of challenges posed by globalization

As such it is only logical when Heater (2004) states, referring back to Riesenberg (1992), that we are currently facing an impasse rather than what the latter described as “*perfect moments*” of citizenship. Quite to the contrary he states that citizenship is currently in a period of disarray as he demarcates four basic dilemmas that citizenship as a concept is facing today and with regard to 21st century challenges in particular, none of which are exclusive to contemporary times, but all of which have uniquely distinct expressions in the face of globalization. Now, while one could easily agree with this statement, Heater goes

on to state, that there is nothing to be learned from previous periods of citizenship development as they faced these challenges in the conditions of their respective historical period which had entirely different features. Though the later statement also holds true, the assumption, that there is nothing to be learned from for example the ideological cultural struggles centring around the concept of nationalism and stretching from the Enlightenment to today is frankly incomprehensible.

That being said, the four basic dilemmas he outlines are quite valuable for the further research of citizenship. A fairly obvious dilemma that has been part of what it means to be a citizen for quite some time is the dichotomy between duties or responsibilities and rights and trying to find a holistic approach to bind these two together. This also illustrates the classic struggle between the civic-republican, focused on citizens responsibilities, and the liberal-individualist, focused on citizens rights, traditions of citizenship. A solution to this particular dilemma however, is not quite so obvious, as we can see today, that rights still seem to have the upper hand as citizens struggle to relate to their respective polity and community and subsequently take responsibility for their maintenance. Perhaps the issue here is the earlier postulated futility of nationalist ideology in light of the irreversible processes of globalization (Dryzek 2005; Frideres & Biles 2012; Rigg 2007; Seligson & Passé-Smith 2008). In any case, this struggle is rather about recognition by the individual citizen not only of his own rights, but also those of others, as Heater (2004) states that ideas of reciprocity and mutuality come into play, while he omits the maybe most important idea of mutual understanding over that of mere mutual tolerance.

This then also transitions us nicely to the second dilemma, how to reconcile civil and political citizenship with the social dimension. The question here being, what if people were to protect their own property as a civil right by voting, which is their political right, against raising taxes to support the social conditions of other citizens? Of course, one could argue that with the emergence of cultural citizenship, which we now ought to consider as being a fundamental element of citizenship without which it would not be complete, then a culture of equality could provide the necessary cohesion to harmonize the casual relationship between civil, political and social citizenship. Of course the answer might not be this easy, certainly not in terms of implementation and policy, but the concept of cultural cohesion definitely plays a vital role here, as the purpose of social rights should be

to further social stability as all citizens are provided equal opportunities and as such social rights become a policy of prudence, i.e. mutual understanding, rather than concession, i.e. mutual tolerance.

What is at the centre of this lack of understanding, one could argue, is the acquisition of wealth and our subsequent contemporary focus on economic growth, which is equated with cultural progress, which of course, as we now realize in light of environmental rights and policy considerations, is no longer feasible in light of the possible finiteness of our planet.

Moving to the third dilemma we turn back to the question of participation, which in-directly relates to the first dilemma, the dichotomy between rights and responsibilities, as both of these concepts in fact include the element of participation. As a decrease in political interest and motivation to participate among the citizenry is increasingly reported and in fact exemplified right at our door step at *NTNU* as the most recent student-election saw a participatory level of less than 13% (Mydland & Sørland 2015). We again pose the eternal question of why, the reasons. Which could potentially be found in the very deliberations presented here as we continuously fail to culturally connect to our self-constructed socio-political entities.

Heater (2004), who again provided most of the groundwork for these previous deliberations, points towards to importance of encouragement over enforcement with regard to increasing political participation of citizens, for which the internet and digital-virtual communication technologies have recently provided new media. This also goes to the very fundament of the above stated difference between mutual tolerance, which is more likely to result in enforcement, and mutual understanding, which could be more likely to perpetuate a encouragement culture.

This brings us directly to the fourth, the final and the most important dilemma regarding citizenship. While interest in the concept, particularly academic, has increased rapidly in recent years, this interest has been very fragmented and dis-integrated, for which this paper will make attempt to rectify. While the initial reinvigoration of democracy, after it was already attained on a smaller scale in ancient Greece and as its still the most modern form of socio-political organization expressed in the democratic state, and thereby also equality, set off a surge in political interest during the 20th century, exemplified in the rise of various social and cultural sciences amongst other examples, it seems now that we have

reached a perceived but not actual equilibrium in the nation-state, individualism of identities has taken hold, as many citizens now derive their identity not from the state or democracy and subsequently citizenship, for which nationalism previously provided a cultural mode of connection, but rather from many different cultural communities across various localities, cultures, social groups and media. These connect instead with the very basic concepts of citizenship, freedom, participation and equality and are initially enacted at the lowest levels of individual socio-political organization, e.g. the family, as the cohesive cultural connection to the democratic state as the provider of individual security is being lost in the face of perpetuation of nationalism as the sole possible cultural mode for connecting to our own socio-political constructions or entities.

While the dilemmas that Heater (2004) postulates give a good indicator as to what we need to focus on when studying the concept of citizenship, the conclusions he subsequently draws seem over-simplified or in fact maybe not simple enough. For example, he states, that if citizenship is continuously and supposedly threatened by an individual's consciousness of his or her multiple identities then it follows, that: "*citizenship, which claims a cohering function, must either shrink to a weaker, because competing, form of allegiance among others, or expand to embrace them all and lose its coherence.*" (Heater 2004, 143) What is possibly inherent in this conclusion is a false understanding of what it means to be a cultural citizen. As we might civically, politically and socially relate to the state, we culturally relate merely to one another as citizens and only subsequently to the state as a construct of our own individual, mutual and collective socio-cultural experiences and interactions, that provides us with cohesion amongst each other. In turn the ideas we can cohere around are not to be found in ideologies such as Nationalism, but rather founded in our natural states, our citizenship, i.e. freedom, participation and equality.

He goes on to conclude, that in light of the process of globalization threatening the concept of the state and in fact weakening it, citizenship is also being weakened. However, as has now hopefully become clear both these concepts are inherent to human nature and are thereby physically as well as mentally inextinguishable so long as human beings exist, either on this planet or in fact any other in the universe. What is actually being mortally threatened, and rightly so, is the cultural ideologies by which we make sense of these concepts, i.e. nationalism, religion and so forth. This can easily be illustrated by our insistence on reverting back to these ideas, which we know are out-dated, as we struggle to

culturally make sense of our citizenship and natural states, i.e. freedom, participation and equality, on this planet and what kind of state is best suited for socio-political organization for us as a people. Such a state will most likely take on a democratic form.

While his conclusions might be considered overly complicated or dis-integrated in light of the basic ideas, concepts and evolutionary building-blocks of citizenship previously suggested in this thesis, he does provide some interesting suggestions for modes of action with regard to the current dilemmas facing citizenship. Taking historical precedent from the ancient Greek ideas of citizenship, he emphasizes the necessity of establishing effective institutions enabling citizens to take part in socio-political development. While one can agree with this statement generally, with specific regard to cultural citizenship we need to focus on institutions of cultural learning, i.e. kindergartens, schools, universities etc., while keeping in mind that we in fact learn, or at least ought to, in and from every conceivable experience and expression of our own individual life. This then also relates to his second suggestion of combating the postulated crisis of citizenship as he goes on to state that: *“there must be an acceptance that citizenship, however flexibly defined, is not the be-all and end-all of a person's social identity.”* (Heater 2004, 144)

In light of the theoretical deliberations presented, this can be considered a falsehood. As citizenship is again inherent in human nature and so is the state as a concept of socio-political organization and a construct of mutual socio-cultural interaction between individuals, citizens. What we do need to accept perhaps is that nationalism as a socio-cultural ideology and consequently the nation-state as a socio-political construct are not the end-all, be-all of socio-political organization, but democracy or rather the democratic state might be. As such we can look again to historic examples of socio-cultural elites centralizing power for the purpose of gaining a monopoly on the use of legitimate force within a geographically close of area, i.e. the state, or nation-state as we perceive it today, and subsequently establishing democracy. As has been previously exemplified with the building of the nation-state in Europe and America in the 18th and 19th centuries. Yet, some of us seem to refuse to or be incapable of accepting the value and understanding the very nature of democracy as a mode of socio-political organization, with the state the socio-political construct in which it is enacted and has been enacted for quite some time now.

This shortcoming is perhaps funded in a lack of education and cultural learning on the subject. Possibly we need to take a page out of dictatorships book and begin to educate

ourselves at a very early age on how to make sense of our natural states, i.e. freedom, participation and equality, as well as the building-blocks of our own socio-political constructs and socio-cultural identities, as they are built by individual, mutual and collective socio-cultural experience and interaction. All the while stopping to identify ourselves as the people through the nation-state or nationalism itself. Additionally, we need to begin trusting young people to be capable of contemplating and understanding these natural states as they are, or rather pursuit thereof, again, inherent in human nature.

Instead of learning how to communicate in specific languages for example, a case could be made instead for learning to communicate in general terms and with regard to the contemplation outlined above, of course in our respective language, but also in the global language of English. All the while not merely accepting, i.e. tolerating, difference in identity amongst each other, but rather understanding these differences as well as and maybe more importantly similarities, as we all long to be free, participatory and equal citizens of our self-constructed socio-political institutions and further and most importantly want to guarantee a safer and better future for our children, which seems to be a fundamental part of what it means to be an individual citizen.

It is then also here, the question of how to reconcile multiple socio-cultural identities taken on by the individual citizen, where Heater (2004) provides a valuable discovery that has some implications for the further development of theory regarding cultural citizenship specifically and citizenship in general. The concept of concentric circles, as he puts forward, lending from *Theophrastus*, who was Aristotle's successor in the *Peripatetic school*, that the individual is in fact placed at the centre of a series of concentric circles, or as understood in geometry, as two or more objects sharing the same centre, in this case the sum of all individuals on our planet, whatever form they may take, and subsequently extending from there. With the nearest circle from the individual being either the simple relationship between two individuals, be it friendship, love or else, extending over the family, to the household, to the neighbourhood, to the city, to the country, not the nation, and ultimately ending with the world, perceived as either earth or the universe, the latter of which poses the frightening question of infinity.

It is then also here, at the end of his book, where he quotes English poet Alexander Pope, as shall we to end this chapter. But not without first mentioning the value of Heater's work, while it was at times quite harshly criticized here, as it represents, at the very least, a

good example of what is fundamentally wrong with our mode of thinking, studying, researching and subsequently learning about citizenship. The concept of the evolutionary nature of citizenship as it is expressed in the *concentric circle concept/theory* stated above and as it is developed by *dual inheritance theory* is where we need to grip if we want to understand citizenship as a whole and in the words of Alexander Pope:

*“God loves from whole to parts: but human soul
Must rise from individual to the whole.
Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake;
The centre mov'd, a circle straight succeeds,
Another still, and still another spreads,
Friend, parent, neighbour first it will embrace,
His country next; and next all human race;
Wide and more wide, th' o'erflowings of the mind
Take ev'ry creature in, of ev'ry kind;
Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty blest,
And heav'n beholds its image in his breast.”*

(Pope 1869 [1734], 70)

2.4 Cultural citizenship

While we now have taken a step, or in fact several steps, far back in history, we need to again re-focus on contemporary expressions of what is perhaps the most important dimension of citizenship, the cultural one. Of course, currently this dimension is not yet entirely globalized as we as citizens struggle to make sense of it in an individual, mutual and collective manner, all the while perpetuating the, here presumed to be wrong, cultural ideas or ideologies and subsequently socio-political institutions or constructs which then provide us with the values and norms necessary for the maintenance of cohesion, which is the defining form of cultural citizenship and the sole provider of unity amongst the sum of all individuals.

What is making the globalization of citizenship conceivably accomplishable however is the emergence of the possibility of instant or rather at the speed of light, which

is the fastest humanly and individually conceivable speed at this moment in time, socio-cultural interaction and communication and thereby also socio-political organization, through use of the medium internet and its tools, e.g. *facebook*, *youtube*, *reddit* and a possibly infinite amount of others. Of course, on the internet nothing actually moves in a straight line, so we are in fact only approaching the speed of light with our communications and interactions, without ever or perhaps only occasionally reaching it (Glanz et al. 2015; Jackson 2005).

It is then also here, with the emergence of the medium internet, that we can begin to grasp and understand the concept of infinity. As it has provided the individual citizen with the capability to connect to others, and communicate as well as interact with them no matter time and space and with a in fact possibly infinite amount of tools, as we, as individuals, construct these tools on a daily basis. While some of them fail, some of them succeed and take on a frighteningly or perhaps threateningly large scale, the global one, e.g. *facebook*, while our socio-cultural thinking, way of communicating and interacting about, with and amongst each other as individual citizens for the purpose of cultural learning as well as subsequently our socio-political constructs or institutions struggle to keep up.

Regardless of this contemporary struggle, the process, that of globalization through the internet, seems underway and possibly irreversible (Barrientos 2000; Van de Bunt-kokhuis 2004; Sassen 2003; Tanzi 2000). The very concept of globalization illustrates this in fact, as we are creating history instantly through the internet and are thereby enabled to grasp huge as well as minute time-spans of historical importance in and from any conceivable location on our planet, except at the deepest depths of the sea, and are beginning to do the same for the universe through the use of Science, which really is only the most in-depth form of cultural learning.

Extending from this, one could argue that Science is just another ideology on the cultural citizenship concentric evolutionary scale of cultural learning. The only difference between, the briefly, to the extent of this paragraph, and only for the purposes of illustration postulate to be ideology, Science and all the previously mentioned actual cultural ideologies, is that it is, at least with regard to its original form Natural Science, founded in actual fact, absolute truth, a concept previously unknown or at least not coped with by the majority of individuals. But as we progress in time, outward rather than

forward, and having now begun to somewhat understand the natural world, from the individual to conceivably infinite amounts of additional concentric circles of evolution, with the occasional fall back to earlier stages, we are continuously coping with the concept of absolute truth as individuals, through mutual communication and interaction that lead us to learn together and from one another, collectively, on a daily and in fact, if one were to quantify this process, instant, i.e. speed of light equaling 299.792.458 m/s, manner.

Taking this into consideration, we could argue and have in fact been arguing, that life or rather our everyday experience of it, has become, and might have always been, a socio-cultural construct that is now reflected to us instantly through the internet as we face the challenges posed to us by socio-cultural life, i.e. making sense of our natural states of freedom, participation and equality. Sassen (2002) states that: “*These are dimensions of citizenship and citizenship practices which do not fit the indicators and categories of mainstream frameworks for understanding citizenship and political life.*” While she talks about the emerging role of immigrant woman as more important social and political actors with regard to new dimensions of citizenship.

What is visible in this particular quote is a wildly wrong and yet wide-spread understanding of what it means to be a citizen, as the civil, political and to some extent the social dimensions of citizenship are taken into account, but the cultural one is forgotten. Indeed, woman as socio-cultural and socio-political individual citizens have not merely emerged recently, if anything, they have re-emerged recently after being held down by a predominately paternally defined global society.

Sassen (2002) goes on: “*The theoretical and empirical distance that has to be bridged between the recognized world of politics and the as yet unmapped experience of citizenship of the housewife – not of woman as such, but of woman as housewives – is a distance we encounter in many types of inquiry.*” This holds true also for our research group, that of international post-graduate students at *NTNU*, but perhaps also in general. As the former have national citizenship in their home country, but live their cultural citizenship elsewhere, all the while gapping the bridge between the two civilly, politically and socially. In fact they are doing the same for their cultural citizenship, the difference being that cultural citizenship is experienced everyday, in close surroundings, on the internet and anywhere the individual citizen dares to go.

It is then also here, again, where we can really find what is most important about

citizenship, fear of the unknown. This fear needs to be embraced, as human history shows, a intrinsic motivation for learning about the unknown and over-coming fear of it, is a natural process that is initiated by our natural states of freedom, participation and equality. While the latter two seem to be globally and collectively actually enacted to a significant extent, the former along with cultural citizenships most important dimension, cohesion, are still being questioned and debated over, both politically and academically.

Why is this the case? Perhaps because we have not yet realized, collectively, that culture is everything. While researching for this project I failed to find a concise and comprehensive definition of culture as a term and concept. So instead, lets take a look again into the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*. It gives four definitions of the term, half of which are of a biological nature, while the other two are of a, what we would perhaps call, social outlook. The latter begins with the following determination for culture: “*the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively.*” (Soanes & Stevenson 2006, 349) Going on to state that: “*a refined understanding or appreciation of this*” (349) also constitutes culture. Consequently, culture is collective human intellectual achievement, including the arts and other manifestations, i.e. ideas, ideologies and a possibly infinite amount of others, as well as awareness of these achievements and, not or as they are not mutually exclusive, a appreciation of them.

If we begin to contemplate these determinations from the perspective of the individual, we inevitably end up at the question between the chicken and the egg. What came first, the culture or the individual? We as individuals build our own individual culture, which we then reflect upon or are aware of individually, but also mutually as well as collectively. This then leads to the building of yet more, sometimes different, sometimes similar, culture, which we then reflect upon and are aware of individually, mutually and collectively. Just as the aforementioned biological definition of culture states, it is also: “*the cultivation of bacteria, tissue cells, etc. in an artificial medium containing nutrients.*” (Soanes & Stevenson 2006, 349)

What implications does this have for cultures social outlook? A culture in the biological sense is the cultivation of bacterial life in an artificial, i.e. non-natural, medium containing nutrients. But, what is the internet if not a artificial medium? Who are we as individuals on the internet if not nutrients constantly feeding our own culture with *likes*, *upvotes*, *shares* and a possibly infinite amount of other tools to cultivate our own

individual, mutual and collective culture? These are the questions we need to ask when defining cultural citizenship.

Of course, if we extrapolate from this in a similarly holistic manner, the implications are enormous as they are frightening. By holistic manner I mean, by finally accepting that the rules of nature, of biology and of any natural science also apply to us as humans. The only difference being, that we can change these rules, as humans and as we keep researching them and as we keep socio-culturally individually, mutually and collectively being aware of and reflecting upon them. They are not absolute truth in fact, that is only what we can actually experience. Their truthfulness is relative to our own ability to contemplate, be aware of and reflect upon them.

It follows, that self-awareness, self-reflection and self-contemplation are the fundamental parts of cultural citizenship. If we consider this to be true, then the individual lies at the centre of every approach to citizenship that makes a claim to be holistic. What then follows is that the research of every single individuals experience and perception of as well as attitude towards their own, but also others, citizenship in general and the civil, political, social and most importantly cultural dimension particularly, is what needs to be researched if we are going to understand citizenship. That is, our own and that of others.

Of course, then the question becomes, where to begin this research? Anywhere really, as we can now see, culture and subsequently cultural citizenship as cultural learning includes every conceivable sphere of life, everyday. Culture is in fact but our own individual, mutual and collective history reflected back to us, for us to be aware of, contemplate over and reflect upon individually, mutually and collectively, everyday. With regard to this particular project these spheres are outlined as the main narratives in the data analysis and still very much represent a 20th century idea of what it means to be a citizen. If we take 21st century developments into account, i.e. globalization, divergence, convergence and so forth, we might consider researching other subjects with regard to cultural citizenship.

If they are to yield significant results, they should be located at the very edges of what is considered to be socially and culturally acceptable, whatever that might mean, as we need to rattle the bars of our own cages, our own culture. Such topics include animal rights, drug use and addiction, sexuality, not gender, because gender implies a dichotomy, mental health and its relation to sleep and dreams, questions concerning our individual,

mutual and collective relationship to the universe, to questions of infinity and relativity, the list goes on endlessly.

2.5 Use of media and their tools for purposes of cultural learning

However, now that we have established what it means to be a cultural citizen, we need to establish how we become self-aware, self-reflected and self-contemplated? Of course, this researcher will make no claim at explaining human infantile development, but let us look at the obvious. Where do we first see our own reflection? In water perhaps, but where else? In mirrors of course and what are mirrors but a technological development, possibly even a medium for self-reflection? Could we perhaps assume that all technological development is in some way or another is founded in natural occurrences? The water and the mirror, the bird and the airplane, the spider web and certain parts of structural engineering? Again, the list could go on endlessly.

If technological developments are founded in natural occurrences, does this imply that media are also founded in natural occurrences? Again we can look into the dictionary to find out. As Soanes & Stevenson (2006) state that a medium is: “*the substance in which an organism lives or is cultured.*” (887) It follows, with regard to the individual human being, the citizen, that everything could potentially be a medium. What else is the earth, the universe and everything these two include but a agglomeration of substances or rather matter, in which we, as organisms, live and, not or, because yet again the two are not mutually exclusive, culture or perhaps more appropriately cultivate ourselves.

The holistic nature of media and subsequently citizenship in all of its forms, becomes even clearer when we take other definitions into account. As we cite those that prelude the one stated above in the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*. A medium thereby can be: “*An agency or means of doing something. [...] A substance through which sensory impressions are conveyed or physical forces are transmitted. [...] A particular form of storage material for computer files, such as magnetic tape or discs. [...] A liquid (e.g. oil) with which pigments are mixed to paint. [...] The middle quality or state between two extremes.*” (887) Though these do not represent the entire extent to which the term medium is explained in the dictionary, they do give a fairly good indication as to the fact that media are natural occurrences.

Of course, a person, a individual, a citizen, can also be a medium, as Soanes &

Stevenson (2006) state. What is specific about the human kind of medium is that they claim to be able to communicate between the dead and the living, which they can't, as we all well know. Why? Because we, ourselves, can't either and as equality is our natural state, so is our incapability to communicate between the dead and the living. Yet, human beings can be media, in fact they are perhaps the very fundament of media, as we first reflect, are aware of and contemplate, with, among and between each other, mutually, collectively and individually. So, what follows is that media are connected to technological development, but not inherently so, what makes that connection, is the fact, that we ourselves are all media. As we see ourselves reflected upon, contemplated over and made aware of, in and by others and their everyday behaviour.

Those of us that man the *International Space Station (ISS)* are, so far, the only ones that experience this self-awareness, -reflection and -contemplation in its most evolved form and from the farthest distance. So, lets take a couple of their words for it, shouldn't we? As Canadian astronaut Chris Hadfield contemplated in an online article last year as he was asked to take pictures of earth from space: *“To me that was delightful. At first I thought how narcissistic. But then when I thought about it, it struck me for two different reasons: people are proud of where they are from. And they have an ache and a desire to see how they fit in with everything else. It’s a dawning self-awareness, like seeing yourself in a mirror for the very first time, but on a global scale.”* (Mirani 2014)

But of course, we can't all ascertain this realization or rather re-realization in the same way that he did, as large-scale individual and collective space travel is not yet possible. What everybody can do however is go on *Google Earth* and look at a virtual digital depiction of what mister Hadfield as already seen in actual life. The internet, as a medium, has made it possible and through the tools that this particular medium entails we can become aware of these developments and subsequently contemplate over and reflect upon them individually, mutually and collectively.

It follows, that now that we re-realize our own self-awareness, -contemplation and -reflection through use of the internet, as perhaps the most evolved medium, we might have reached, at the very least a temporary and with regard to speed of delivery, equilibrium of media development. It is then also in the development of the internet, not as a technology, but as a medium, that we can see our own medial development reflected. Initially the internet was a medium to reflect already existing media, such as numbers,

words, pictures, both the still and motion kind, music and so forth.

Of course, today, the internet has long become the most important medium we utilize. As we have moved from simple reflection of existing media to creation of *new media*. Such *new media* include what is often referred to as *social media*, i.e. *facebook*. A term that seems rather inappropriate in light of the contemplations presented here, as we regard this particular medium as being inherently social, which it is. But so is any other medium as they are simply a means for individual, mutual and collective self-awareness, -contemplation and -reflection, i.e. the building and learning of culture, citizenship and history. What makes media such as *facebook* special, are not the social communication and interaction that take place on it, as this takes place on or with regard to any medium. What makes these *new media* special is the fact that they create a *virtual reality*, a copy of our own life, which in their sum create a *virtual society*, i.e. *facebook*. This *virtuality* to a large part does not differ from reality, because it is simply a reflection of that reality, the one we live everyday, in our close surroundings, individually, mutually and collectively.

It is then also somewhat futile to ask. What parts of life the internet has influenced or is influencing? The answer is simple, every single part of life, potentially anyway. As individuals we decide how much to immerse ourselves in the internet and the potential for complete immersion, complete self-awareness, -contemplation and -reflection is given to everyone with access to it. As we shall see in the data analysis.

Of course, culturally is not the only way we communicate and interact with each other individually, mutually and collectively, not in general and thereby not on the internet either. The internet, as a *virtual reality medium*, has also reconnected us, or rather made us re-realize the value of, our civil, as in freedom, our political, as in participation, and our social, as in equality, citizenship. We communicate and interact with regard to these three initial dimensions of citizenship in real life and on the internet as a virtual reflection of our real life. Cultural citizenship as the cohesive between these three initial dimensions is holistic in nature, meaning that it surrounds, invades and changes them. This can be seen to be illustrated in the *vicious evolutionary concentric circle concept of culture*, citizenship, and cultural citizenship, presented above.

What is therefore of value is not how we as individual citizens enact our cultural citizenship, since we in fact do that everyday, every hour, every minute and every second of our, actually, real life in our close geographical surroundings and our, virtually, real life

on the internet. But rather, how we connect this cultural behaviour, be it individual, as in alone, mutual, as in in pairs of two, or collective, as in a possibly infinite number more than two, to our natural states of freedom, as in civil citizenship, participation, as in political citizenship and equality, as in social citizenship.

The questions then become more about how these connections are expressed in everyday actions, interactions and communications of individual citizens *in persona* and on the internet, which then become culture again. How do we learn culturally and subsequently civilly, politically and socially and with regards to the making sense of our respective natural states and how do we apply the learned to our own individual citizenship? We can see this process is iterative in nature, i.e. it repeats itself. But not simply by copying, although that is one part of it, but also by invention, innovation, destruction, deconstruction and a possibly infinite amount of other modes of action. Cultural learning thereby becomes a incredibly messy process filled with *failure*, the ultimate consequence of which is death, which also represents the final state of individual freedom after birth represented the initial. I want to make clear here, that *failure* does not equal death, in fact *failure*, if anything, equals progress, equals learning, equals progress and so forth.

All these contemplations can be seen to be represented in the *vicious evolutionary concentric circle concept of culture* and as the presented work utilizes iterative methodology, it is part of this process. As it utilizes the media of text, picture, internet and several others and is thereby part of my own cultural citizenship, as a researcher, but also as an individual citizen that has learned to utilize academic tools, and several others, for the purposes of individual, mutual and collective cultural and subsequently civil, political and social learning, which represent the very fundament of what it means to be a citizen, of any kind, learning. I would describe this as a “*natural paradox*,” a “*seemingly absurd or self-contradictory statement or proposition that may in fact be true. [...] An apparently sound statement or proposition which leads to a logically unacceptable conclusion.*” (Soanes & Stevenson 2006, 1037) Only as its natural, its not logically unacceptable, it just is evolution.

3. Methodology

The following chapter will discuss the projects research design and methodological

approach as well as provide reflections on the issues that were faced during the data collection process and field work. But not without first mentioning that the presented project was stored on *Dropbox* and written via *Apache OpenOffice*.

3.1 Research framework, goal & preoccupations

The presented project and subsequently its findings are of a qualitative nature, the reasoning for which is twofold.

Firstly, the simple lack of resources, both financial and technical, as well as time lead to the decision to conduct qualitative research instead of what could've been a more comprehensive quantitative study. There was neither time nor ample access to funding to accumulate the necessary amount of data to provide a remotely representative sample for a quantitative study. In addition, access to the necessary processing software was limited and therefore deemed unsuited for the proposed timeframe, which initially was 5 months, but was later extended to cover all of four semesters for various personal reasons, not to be specified further here.

Secondly, and more importantly the projects topic lend itself to a qualitative research framework. The objective of the presented study, reflected in the research questions, was to find specific cases which could exemplify the everyday life of foreign graduate students in Trondheim and at *NTNU*, especially with regards to how they enact what was earlier specified as cultural citizenship, and participants were therefore purposely picked rather than randomly selected. The analysis that is to follow will make no attempt at any generalizing statements towards foreign graduate students at *NTNU* as a whole or even the entire student body. Instead it will seek to derive new ideas regarding the enactment and experience of citizenship and cultural citizenship from the nine specific cases that were examined during the study.

As is the nature of any qualitative study, it has hopefully become somewhat apparent during the introduction and the theoretical chapter of this paper and will become even clearer now, that the research design, research tools and sample have been selected to extrapolate attitudes, perceptions and experiences regarding the enactment of citizenship by international graduate students in Trondheim as well as with reference to new ideas of cultural citizenship.

It is therefore only logical that while qualitative research is generally associated

with inductive reasoning regarding the relationship between theory and research/data (Bryman 2012, 36), meaning that from specific observations we can derive general conclusions, though they can never be absolute conclusions, a case can also be made for the value of deductive reasoning to qualitative research and to this study, with regards to the interview guide in particular, as the search for attitudes, perceptions and experiences of a particular phenomenon generally begins with the assumption and collection of more general premises about that exact phenomenon. As such the study takes a predominately inductive as well as a more specific deductive approach to reasoning and the relationship between theory and research.

More recently some researchers (Bryman 2012, 401; Charmaz 2014, 200-4) have argued the existence of a third approach, that of abduction. It implies a generally inductive manner of reasoning with particular focus on qualifying the hypotheses or theoretical explanations that have been derived from the data against the real life experiences that the data is grounded in until the most plausible or logical theoretical explanation considering the circumstances is found. This kind of approach to reasoning and theory generation is particularly advantageous when accounting for unexpected or puzzling findings. As Charmaz puts it: *“It is a mode of imaginative reasoning [...] [making] an inferential leap to consider all possible theoretical explanations for the observed data, and then form and test hypotheses for each explanation until arriving at the most plausible theoretical interpretation (Charmaz 2014, 200).”*

Such a process can and in most cases will take on an iterative or recursive pattern, meaning that data collection and analysis are being carried out together in an interdependent or inter-referring manner, much the same way as is described in the grounded theory approach to theory generation (Bryman 2012, 387) and as has been utilized in this project. Both abductive reasoning and grounded theory can be viewed as stemming from the same methodological branch. A branch which is more concerned with gathering unexpected and more imaginative concepts of reality that eventually could form a comprehensive, though not universally valid, theory. That being said, the study will of course not merely try to establish new theoretical basis but also test existing ones.

Even these simple deliberations show, that specifying the nature of qualitative research is a difficult task. Nonetheless, as it is considered a distinctive research framework or strategy, an attempt must be made, also to further illustrate the

methodological approach the presented research has employed. Though such an approach could be considered detrimental to the eventual results of this study, somewhat devaluing the potential findings' credibility, we have to keep in mind the fundamental value of the data collected as well as an increasing tendency among contemporary social research to disregard traditional methodological approaches, stemming largely from examples in natural science, in favour of mixed approaches (Matthews & Ross 2010, 141-146) in order to get a more comprehensive view of social reality.

As a initial starting point the study took a constructionist ontological approach to cultural citizenship, as it was assumed, that the concept of cultural citizenship and more importantly the enactment of citizenship itself in general are results of our participants interactions with others, the state and society as a whole. Through these interactions they in fact construct citizenship and cultural citizenship. As the study is trying to gaze these phenomena and how they have evolved over time, especially in relation to the effects of globalization and the rising usage of the medium internet as well as with a special focus on the individual rather than social groups or countries, we are therefore interested in their experiences most importantly, but also in their opinions and attitudes.

In addition, the study can be seen within a naturalist, ethnomethodological and postmodernist tradition of qualitative research. Naturalist in the sense that it aims to observe the participants and other individuals in their “*natural*” surroundings or localities. Such as social groups, specific geographical locations, the internet and in fact a possibly infinite number of others, as they are experiencing everyday life, socio-culturally interacting with others and their socio-political constructs. Ethnomethodological as it also tries to gain distance from these worlds in order to be able to more subjectively assess the processes that lie behind the enactment of cultural citizenship through communication and interaction in online networks and within local communities. Finally and with regards to a postmodernist approach, the study assumes that totalizing explanations concerning the social world are unattainable and that the trustworthiness of methodological approaches depends rather on the individual researchers values than general guidelines, as will be outlined now (Gubrium & Holstein 1997; Bryman 2012, 380-383).

3.2 Research design, strategy & challenges

As there was no time for extensive planning prior to the data collection stage, the research

focus and goal as well as the strategy were quite undefined going into the data collection.

The initial starting point of the project was established during a internship with the *Scottish Council for Voluntary Organizations (SCVO)* in the autumn semester of 2013. While working on a project there titled: “*Public Service Reform (PSR) in Scotland and within the wider context of global challenges. Democratic reform, Community Empowerment and risk-averse attitudes,*” (to be found at: scvoevidencelibrary.org.uk) I became particularly interested in new forms of democratic participation and political deliberation utilizing virtual digital media and technology. Though it was initially planned to study these topics from a state and institutional perspective, my thesis supervisor Ståle Angen Rye suggested that a study from the individuals, the citizens, perspective might be more advantageous. Seeing as how the field of citizenship studies and theory is currently highly dis-integrated and fragmented, such a approach enabled me to take a more holistic look at the concept of citizenship. In addition, there is already a wide array of studies concerning democratic reform and new ways of political deliberation from a institutional perspective and moreover a general tendency among contemporary academics to focus on individual levels of experience and understanding. Furthermore, it also aligned with his own and *NTNU's* current research focus with regard to the Department of Geography.

As such, the research question(s), as they are represented in their initial shape in the interview guide, were kept very general in order to make sure that all aspects of the phenomenon could be considered and a comprehensive concept of citizenship could be extrapolated from the gathered data. Additionally the research questions were constantly adjusted, particularly after data-collection and during the subsequent more comprehensive theoretical review that led to their ultimate shape as represented in the introduction to this thesis. Due to the constantly changing nature of social reality and the subsequent unattainability of universally valid assumptions regarding it, the study took particular focus on the idea of cultural citizenship as the most modern approach to explaining the enactment and definition of citizenship.

The unexpected change in the direction of research during the initial stages of the project, led to a complete re-think of the originally conceived data collection methods, moving from a heavy reliance on previously gathered external empirical data as well as 5-10 questionnaires distributed in Norway, Germany and Scotland to the conducting of nine fully independent semi-structured interviews with current and former international post-

graduate students at *NTNU* as well as, based on the data gathered from the interviews, a examination of the different online channels being utilized by the participants. This was also done to accommodate the somewhat small timeframe of five months, set for the completion of the thesis. However, as mentioned before, for various personal reasons, the eventual study took up all of four semesters.

In order to further recover from this another attempt at defining the nature of qualitative research in light of this project must be made. As mentioned above, the presented study employed several different designs and data collection methods, namely those of quantitative semi-structured interviews, ethnography and participant observation, to gain a somewhat comprehensive idea of the way international post-graduate students enact their citizenship in Norway without having actual national citizenship in the country and therefore not participating in most expressions of civil, political or social citizenship.

Furthermore, discourse and to a certain extent conversational as well as text analysis were employed. The former two during the ethnography stage of the data collection in particular. Though it has to be mentioned that both are highly sophisticated tools to study and examine conversation and discourse in interaction and the ways in which they were employed in this study are only superficial. The latter is obviously employed during almost every qualitative research, as previous external research and empirical data needs to be reviewed and compared to in order to ensure the reliability of a respective research project. However, in its purest form, text analysis concerns itself more with the examination and evaluation of primary sources such as public documents and texts, whereas the presented study is largely based on secondary sources.

The aforementioned extension of the project was utilized for these purposes. While the interviews were conducted fairly quickly after initiation of the project, ethnography and participant observation took place during the originally unintentional extension semesters of the project. These semesters were largely spent travelling around Europe, reading the necessary scientific literature, communicating and interacting with others, surfing the internet and generally experiencing life with this project in mind.

While the presented study is merely that of a singular case at single point in time, it has conceivably unlimited potential. A comprehensive study of cultural citizenship in particular and citizenship in general as well as enactment thereof, is of course close to impossible, at least in a qualitative framework. A possible quantitative study of similar

kind could and should most likely be a aggregation of localized global studies in locations deemed representative to be considered comprehensive. If this turns out to be unattainable due to whatever restrictions, a second round of qualitative data gathering for this particular study, perhaps with a larger sample, could also be considered.

With regard to potentially replicating or extending the methods and empirical tools utilized to gather data during this project, as complicated as that might appear, we need to address the topics of reliability and validity. Oftentimes in qualitative research these criteria are considered to be less concrete than their quantitative equivalents as the former entails less structured and stringent methodological approaches which are difficult to replicate, as is the case with the presented project. Instead, we often talk about trustworthiness when trying find a specific assessment tool for qualitative research (Bryman 2012). This approach relies on the concepts of credibility (parallel to internal validity), transferability (parallel to external validity), dependability (parallel to reliability) as well as confirmability (parallel to objectivity). To more appropriately asses qualitative research in light of the unattainability of absolute truths not only regarding the social world itself, but also research thereof, and instead opening the door for several different accounts of a phenomenon and ways to reach these accounts.

However, Hammersley (2008) argues that this distinction is merely “*illusory*” and that in fact there can not be universally applicable criteria establishing reliability and validity in qualitative research. Instead, he goes on, criteria should vary according to the nature of a projects findings as well as the characteristics of its specific data collection and analysis methods. While the presumably more concrete quantitative epistemic criteria have historically been used as a jumping off point for the establishment of qualitative assessment tools, there has recently been a move among social researcher to instead utilize practical, political, ethical and/or aesthetic considerations.

Perhaps we might consider Creswells recent and simple definition: “*Qualitative validity means that the researcher checks for the accuracy of the findings by employing certain procedures, while qualitative reliability indicates that the researcher's approach is consistent across different researchers and different projects.*” (Creswell 2014, 201) As his quote illustrates, ultimately validity is about assuring the findings accuracy and, to use the term, trustworthiness to the reader by the best means known to the researcher while their relationship to society as well as to their peers provides a basis on which to evaluate these

means. For this he or she might consider social values and norms for trustworthy research, but also criteria stemming from the education and personal values of the researcher. In any case, the validity needs to be comprehensible to the outsider. As for reliability, Creswells simple approach might be considered with a exception in regards to innovative methods that are not rooted in previous research.

3.3 Interview Guide, data collection & sample

Due to explained circumstances at the starting point of the project it was considered of vital importance to gather as much data as possible in as short a timeframe as possible. Therefore a first version of the interview guide (see appendix) was quickly established based on a brief review of theoretical work on citizenship prior to the eventual theory basis outlined in chapter two of this paper. In addition to several meetings with my supervisor as well as a brief look into *NTNUs* Department of Geography research focus, the works of Howard (2005), Hvinden & Johansson (2007), Poster (2002), Rye (2013), Sassen (2002), Stevenson (2003) and Stokke (2013) were utilized for establishing the first interview guide. The timeframe for conducting the interviews was set to cover February and March of 2014, a goal which was achieved.

Unsurprisingly the initial interview guide did not stand the test of time so that after the third interview revisions were made, mainly regarding the projects two main concepts, that of cultural citizenship and, as it was then termed, digital communication technology, but what we now rather know to be virtual-digital media, as it became clear that participants would have difficulty understanding the researchers meaning behind questions regarding these concepts without further specification. Questions had to be concretized as to what exactly is meant by digital communication technology and what specific tools it entails as well as regarding the somewhat unknown concept of cultural citizenship, as most participants still defined citizenship in its traditional sense of nationality and formalized rights and responsibilities.

Especially the interviewee's from China and Russia sometimes found it difficult to answer questions regarding, or at the very least felt the need to specify, the terms digital communication technology and its tools, as the make-up of those tools looked very different in their national context compared to that of Norway or in fact any of the other countries interviewee's stemmed from. Nonetheless or possibly particularly because of

these circumstances, their answers had special value to the project, as they gave the gathered data additional diversity helping to grasp a wider scope of how citizenship is enacted in global socio-political contexts today.

To give a brief overview, all interviews begun with a quick explanation of the project, assurance of confidentiality and an outlook at what was to come during the one hour interview. After reminding the participants of the projects research topic and its research questions, they were asked about their background and daily live in Norway, their respective home countries as well as elsewhere, especially regarding work and education. This was intended to extract some basic information about why the participants choose Norway as their destination, also in order to be able to better and more accurately evaluate the participants further answers in light of their life experience up to that point. This part was slimmed down in the final interview guide (see appendix) and instead more supplementary questions on the participants background were asked more organically during the interview.

The interviews then went on to inquire about the students experience of traditional national citizenship as an immigrant in Norway, e.g. voting processes, public service retainment and so forth, but also in relation to their home country, or a 3rd country were applicable, and more specifically their local home communities while living in Norway. Questioning the participants not only about their position as an immigrant in Norway and their subsequently possibly changing relation to their local communities in their home countries, was of vital importance here. Seeing as we are investigating a phenomenon postulated to be of the global variety, any answers given on perceived or actual citizenship relations to countries that are not part of the classic home-host country dichotomy are of extraordinary viability for the findings of this project and thereby of course for the concept of a cultural citizenship. All the while keeping in mind how participants utilize digital communication technology for these purposes. This later part was re-affirmed in the second guide, otherwise there were no changes in this section.

Subsequent to this more traditional line of questioning regarding the enactment and experience of citizenship the interview continued with a more in-depth survey into the participants social circle and cultural live in Norway as well as compared or in relation to that in their respective home country or elsewhere. While the interview guide does not show any such inquiry into the relation between Norway and other countries, which is one

of its many short-comings, this line of questioning simply carried over from the previous part of the guide and was given its due attention. Further emphasis in this section was given to participants engagement in smaller citizens communities beyond the nation-state and national society, such as family, friends, sports clubs, political interest group among other social and cultural entities. In addition and for the particular case of international post-graduate students in Trondheim, questions were also asked about their experience of the Moholt and Steinan student villages, which have recently become hubs for international students of all kinds in Trondheim as most of them are accommodated there upon arrival and for the most stay at least one semester. This line of questioning was not represented in the interview guide.

As such it should come as no surprise to the reader, that it was especially in this chapter of the guide that the participants answers played a vital role in how the line of questioning would proceed and how far the interview would actually adhere to the guide. Ultimately this part of the guide, to which no formal changes were made in the final version, ended with inquiries into the participants habits of utilizing media outlets and channels as well as what language was most pre-dominant among these. The question of language was pertinent throughout most of the interview, also regarding participants social circle and cultural activities, and therefore served as a good transitional topic to the next part of the guide regarding participants occupational and professional experience in Norway and with relation to international and global communities of professionals.

This topic was brought to the participants attention particularly because of their somewhat unique position of being highly-educated immigrants coming to Norway with distinct intent and following comprehensive deliberations, which will become more apparent in the data analysis chapter of this paper. Therefore in some cases, though by far not in every, participants might have had most contact with Norwegian society through their work and professional networks, as some had already finished their graduate degree and moved on to work in Trondheim. Accordingly participants were questioned about their intent behind coming to Norway, their relation to colleagues and co-workers, or fellow students when the participant had not yet finished his or her degree, as well as their involvement in national and international professional networks. No formal changes were made to this section of the guide in its final version and in some cases inquiry about “*occupational/professional*”-citizenship was omitted due to inapplicability.

In these cases the conversation instead went into its concluding stages as participants were asked if they had anything to add to the topic themselves, in addition to their qualitative evaluation of the interview as well as any suggestions regarding alteration to the guide and other groups or people that they thought might be viable to interview for the project.

While as mentioned before, some definitional specifications and additional theoretical deliberations had to be made in the final interview guide (see appendix), these can be neglected as it should have become apparent at this point, that due to the lack of sufficient theoretical basis previous to data-collection and to a lesser extent the diversity of cultural backgrounds among the sample, the interview guide was only referred back to sporadically during most interviews. This was of course also done to ensure that the interviewee's answers would not be constricted too much by preconceived concepts and indicators of cultural citizenship, but to give a very personal account of the participant's experience.

As such the interviews can be seen as semi-structured, almost conversational, often deviating from the guide and of course qualitative, allowing for ongoing introduction of new or more relevant topics and questions when applicable. The interview guide merely provided a basis upon which to rely in case either the interviewer or interviewee had lost track of the subject of discussion or was starting to excessively deviate from the project's actual topic. Although that was seldom the case due to the project's aim of gathering a most diverse array of attitudes, perceptions and experiences regarding the enactment of citizenship. Instead this helped provide for some diversity of answers among the participants, which gave the chance to take a look at a wider range of expressions of the phenomena of cultural citizenship.

Furthermore, it has to be clarified that the project's research questions, which were included in the guide, were not actually asked during the interviews and were solely meant to provide the participant with an idea of the project's eventual goals. Concerning this, it also has to be mentioned, that the guide was sent to every interviewee at least one day prior to the interview in all cases, for this purpose the guide also included brief, one paragraph, explanations for everyone of the above mentioned sub-sections. Although this might have caused somewhat biased answers in relation to the content of the guide, the fear of lack of knowledge and understanding of the project's topic led to the retention of this practice

after reconsideration subsequent to the third interview.

All interviews were held in English, fully voice recorded and supplementary notes were taken, no technical and only minor language issues were encountered. In every case, the interviews were conducted in a closed person-to-person setting without external influence or discussion. Additionally the participants answers led to a post-interview examination of online channels of communication, such as *facebook groups*, *youtube channels* and other online networks, in almost every case. During the interviews data gathered from previous interviews was occasionally also brought in and feed back in order to contest the respective interviewee's views and challenge them to justify or exemplify there perceptions against those of others.

Once all interviews were conducted, the recordings and notes were initially transcribed in a summarized manner, covering about two pages in each case, and subsequently send back to the participants via e-mail for commentary, revision and validation. Although seven participants replied via mail and two in person, only two had specific commentary for revision of the transcript. These were more of a contextual rather than content-related nature. All participants were open to a second round of interviews, though some had already left Norway and were therefore only available for Skype follow-ups. Unfortunately this never came to fruition due to a lack of time. A roundtable or focus group were also considered in the beginning, but later abandoned for the same reasons.

While we've now extensively discussed the guide and data-collection itself, there is less to be said about the sample make-up. Participants were purposely selected based on their nationality, study program and length of stay in Norway in order to get a somewhat diverse non-probability sample that would reflect the wide variety of international post-graduate students at NTNU with regards to these three categories. No specific sampling technique was applied, instead it was very much based on convenience and, as stated before, applicability of the cases to the research topic. Furthermore snowball sampling was also applied as some participants and those who ended up declining the invitation for an interview gave further recommendations as to where to acquire additional subjects.

Some participants were contacted directly by this researcher, others responded to an invitational letter (see appendix) handed out at various lectures around *NTNUs Gløshaugen* campus. A further attempt at enlarging and diversifying the sample was made by contacting a master's program coordinator at NTNUs Faculty of Natural Sciences and

Technology. However, this gatekeeper – person who mediates or controls access to an organization, its publications or possible informants (Bryman, 2012) – was unable to provide any direct help due to confidentiality concerns regarding students consent to make their contact information available to this project.

Ultimately, most of the sample stemmed from this researchers own social circle and in fact only three participants were unknown to me previous to their interview. It must also be stated at this point, that the eventual sample group of the project is rather small and only insufficiently reflects the full diversity of international graduate students at NTNU as only six different study programs are represented. However, among the nine participants the project covers four continents, leaving out only Africa and Australia, several different study programs as well as a wide ranging extent of time spent living in Norway. The eventual sample make-up as listed below, describing in the following order participants nationality, study program and years spent living in Norway at time of interview:

(a) American	– Post-grad. Social Science	2 years in Norway
(b) American	– PhD. Mech. Engineering	6 years in Norway
(c) British	– Post-grad. Social Science	2 years in Norway
(d) Chinese	– Post-grad. Engineering	1 year in Norway
(e) Chinese	– Post-grad. Engineering	1 year in Norway
(f) Chinese	– Post-grad. Geography	2 years in Norway
(g) Mexican	– PhD. Theoretical Physics	4 years in Norway
(h) Russian	– Post-grad. Social Science	2 years in Norway
(i) Spanish	– Post-grad. Marine Technology	½ a year in Norway
	/Argentinian	

The names of the study programs in this list have been simplified in order to ensure confidentiality. All the above information is based on participants statements and was not verified through documentation in any way.

4.4 Ethical and considerations of scientific neutrality & impartiality

Finally, more attention has to be given to the question of ethics and confidentiality, especially since the presented project tries to make extensive use of direct quotes from the

recordings and was not conducted in cooperation with a corporate entity, which might have had more stringent constraints in terms of issues of confidentiality. The presented project was not registered with the *Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste* (NSD), as it was not deemed necessary at the time although it might have been and possibly still is. In any case, personal information provided by the participants was handled with the utmost diligence and care and is very unlikely to be tracked back. No full names, personal ID-numbers or other information directly identifying the participant was recorded.

That being said, most participants gave quite a personal in-depth account of their experience regarding the questions asked during the interviews, possibly or particularly also due the fact that some had a previous relation of colleague- or friendship to this researcher. For this I was not only incredibly thankful but also tried to do my utmost to preserve confidentiality of the information they gave. At the same time, it was due to this fact that maintaining neutrality as a researcher throughout the interview was somewhat difficult. Many researchers are particularly concerned with this so as to not let their conclusions drift into overly normative statements. The presented project however, while giving the issue of neutrality its due attention, also tried to retain a personal perspective. Not only is comprehensive neutrality unattainable, and therefore could be considered a non-issue, it was also this researchers personal experience, as a international post-graduate at *NTNU* himself, that led to the abandonment of neutrality to a certain extent in favour of consistently challenging participants to reflect on their answers with a somewhat biased approach of questioning. Nonetheless, the conclusions drawn will be ensured to be as neutral as possible.

4. Data Analysis

The following penultimate chapter will make an attempt at illustrating what has been postulated in the theory section of this paper, and will be further specified with regards to possible future developments in the subsequent conclusion, against the qualitative empirical data gathered through the processes outlined above. In addition to this an attempt will be made at answering the research questions in light of this analysis, though it is preferred that the reader make his own conclusions based on the already presented information and the empirical data to be outlined below.

In order to do so, lets remind ourselves of the research questions one more time.

Initially we asked: “*What effect has technological development of media and their tools, especially the virtual digital kind, had on how we make sense of our natural states through culture, i.e. cultural citizenship?*” With particular focus on the individual citizen as we were trying to find: “*How do international post-graduate students at NTNU make sense of their natural states as they become citizens in Norway?*”

Two quotes that were particularly striking and in fact give a fairly good indication as to where the answers to the questions just stated may lie, came from two of the projects Chinese interviewees, as one stated: “*basically facebook plays the most important role as a website for my daily life,*” with the other adding in her interview that the “*Internet is the tool to make life more simple.*” What these quotes show is not only the importance of the internet and subsequently *facebook*, as both participants regard their usage as vitally important for their lives, it also illustrates a problem this particular project is facing, the internet as well as *facebook*, can be both a tool and media. Of course, without the former the latter does not exist, but as the internet is a medium for *facebook*, so is *facebook* a medium for various *groups, pages, games, chats* and a possibly infinite amount of other tools for interaction and communication between individuals.

We stated earlier that evolution is an iterative process and thereby it is quite futile to become aware of all the media and their tools to be listed here, as they are built daily, hourly and even perhaps by the minute. What is of importance generally and with particular regard to citizenship and culture are the individual, mutual and collective experience of interaction and communication on these media.

With regard to our sample, the media and tools used were manifold. Among others the participants utilized *Google, Wikipedia, ntnu.no, nav.no, E-Mail, It's Learning* and *udi.no* as they moved to and became a resident or rather gained legal status as citizens in Norway. These digital virtual media and tools were utilized along with analog media and tools in conjunction with real life, in person communication and interaction.

Yet, the deciding factor for a move to Norway was often a *1-1 relation* in synergy with an individual intrinsic motivation to experience something new or unknown, as one participant stated he was “*seeking adventure.*” The former either consisted of friends recommendations of *NTNU* as a place to study, a joint-program between *NTNU* and the participants home university, a romantic or spousal relationship to a Norwegian citizen established prior to the move or a work opportunity for a spouse of the same national

citizenship as the participant. Additionally it was the lack of tuition fees in Norway and other economic considerations that persuaded most to come.

It is interesting to note, that one of our participants in fact meet his Norwegian spouse via a friend-of-friend relation on *facebook* and only subsequently moved to Norway though he hadn't considered it before. All the while this participant, who had stayed in Norway for four years at the time of the interview, utilized more person-to-person communication and interaction in actual reality rather than online channels to initially gain legal status in Norway. A experience he had in common with our other participant having stayed in Norway for six years at the time of the interview and that was quite different to the process our other shorter-term stayers faced.

While the participants generally considered the application and moving process to be very easy, most had at least minor difficulties. As such it comes as now surprise that the one participant from China, being a free-mover, and without any previous connection to Norway, be it through *1-1 relations* or otherwise, had perhaps the most difficult time applying to *NTNU* and subsequently register legal status and integrate in Norway. The same can be said for our Spanish participant, who was also a free-mover, but had been in the *Erasmus* exchange program prior to his post-graduate affiliation with *NTNU*. Generally speaking, our participants from within the *EU/EEA* had much less problems to face, as there was no need to apply for a visa. Yet, our participant from the United Kingdom experienced several issues during his moving and registration process and felt the Norwegian government lacked provision of detailed information on this process in English.

Questions of understanding and language were generally considered most important and at the same time most obstructive to the participants ability to integrate in Norway. Although many perceived there to be a generally open culture towards new-comers, they still felt to be part of a international students community that was very much outside of Norwegian society and conversed mostly in English or their respective home language and to a much lesser extent in Norwegian. As they struggled to make sense of their new close surroundings while also keeping connections with their home country and becoming part of a new community of international students in Trondheim, they were caught in between three different processes.

As all participants kept ties with their home countries and local communities there, they utilized media and tools such as *telephone*, *news*, *blogs*, *facebook*, *Reddit*, *E-Mail*,

WhatsApp, Skype, facetime, Viber, Twitter and LinkedIn as well as the Chinese equivalents *QQ, Wechat, Renren* and *Weibo*, to keep in touch with family and friends first and with their local communities and home countries or nations, and what perhaps would be considered their political citizenship, i.e. that of participation, second.

With regards to this, most participants from democratic countries still exercised their right and responsibility to vote in large scale, i.e. national, and European in one case, elections, either by travelling home, or, when possible, voting from Norway via mail or other channels. None of our Chinese participants made use of their right to vote however, as one of them quite appropriately stated that it was: “*too far away from my life.*” Our Russian participants perception of feeling isolated and separated from happenings in her home country while in Norway and feeling foreign to her fellow countrymen when coming home to vote or otherwise illustrates this further.

As they coped with this new situation, they became part of a community of migrants from a particular country or nation, not necessarily consisting exclusively of students, while on the other hand being international students at *NTNU*, which is a distinct community in Trondheim. As the former are organized in *diasporic* communities utilizing institutionalized frameworks such as the *Chinese Students and Scholars Association (CSSA)*, although this is perhaps a group that bridges the gap between the two, or are loosely organized in informal communities communicating and interacting both in real life and through *facebook groups*, such as the Russian “*skazka*” community or the US-American “*Yanks in Trondheim*” *facebook-group*. These communities in turn consist largely of *expatriates*, families and middle-aged people in employment that have had or are planing to have a longer-term stay in Norway. As both our Russian and post.-grad. American participants statements verify, these groups seem to be rather *diasporic* than international and are therefore perhaps less suitable for students. However, as they gain knowledge of and partially partake in these *diasporic* communities, they realize their own lack of integration represented in the perceived to be more successful integration of those that are members in these *diasporic* groups.

The international students community on the other hand is rather defined by being housed in the same ares, largely *Moholt* and *Steinan studentby*, but also by living in shared apartments together elsewhere as well as communicating and interacting through the same channels on *facebook*. In addition, and as one of our participants described, they read the

same international news, use the same entertainment and media in general, as they have build a somewhat equalitarian culture of being international students regardless of origin and language. They converse about and interact in the same day-to-day circumstances and surroundings in one language, English, as well as with others who speak their home language, all the while trying to learn Norwegian.

Yet, their contact with Norwegians was largely described as being accidental and through sports or rather sports organizations such as *NTNUI*, the *NTNU* affiliated sports club or rather *forening* as in association. Additionally student organizations and festivals such as *Studentersamfundet* and the *International Studentsfestival in Trondheim (ISFiT)* played a role for some. Although most participants stated it was very difficult to integrate into the Norwegian citizens community initially, all kept striving towards this goal. While some achieved it, others are still trying and yet others had to return to their home country. What united them all was the perception of a open culture towards foreigners in general and international students in Trondheim in particular, as they were perceived to be a large, recognizable, social and cultural group in the city that was fuelled by Norwegians accepting mentality to foreigners, their generally and mutually good English skills and online availability of information in English.

Still as one of our Chinese participants described her struggle to meet Norwegian citizens and as she failed to do so, resignation began to set in. Stating, that she “*just wants to be happy*” and relating her lack of success in integrating into Norwegians citizens communities to having negative effects on her private life, she ultimately concluded “*if they don't want to talk to me, I don't want to talk to them.*” Illustrating some of the issues those with a already determined shorter-term stay face. Furthermore, as our Spanish participants experience shows, it seems that initially gaining information about communication channels, particularly online, is of vital importance to gaining access to Norwegian students and citizens communities, as he described “*if you're not into the right [facebook]-groups, you won't get the right info.*”

Other channels through which these connections were made are *language courses*, to initially gain the necessary lingual skills, but also to meet other international students going through the same process, the *International Students Union (ISU)* and their *buddy-program*, the *Erasmus Students Network (ESN)* and events organized by them, accidental connections in *Moholt studentby*, physical advertising for student interest-groups (i.e.

linjeforeninger and others), joint-courses on such topics as gender equality, organized hiking trips, part-time employment, localized “*flea market*”-groups on *facebook* and several others. Within these channels many of our participants perceived there to be a distinct difference between group settings and individual meetings, with the latter being the easier to cope with. As the international students began to understand and learn about what might be considered a distinctly Norwegian culture, they began to utilize Norwegian media outlets, predominately *aftenposten.no*, *NRK* and *nrk.no* as well as *Norwegian on the Web*, to further their lingual and cultural understanding.

While they struggled to cope with the trichotomy between keeping ties with their home country and through *diasporic* communities, all the while and inevitably becoming part of a new community of international students in Trondheim and trying to integrate into the Norwegian citizens community, they had extensive issues putting their situation into words. As our British and Russian participants descriptions of feeling to be at a *crossroads* or *limbo* respectively illustrate.

With regard to this one of our Chinese participants experience of a summer course, hosted in her home country and exclusively attended by, apart from her, Norwegian students, is quite interesting. While the Norwegian students there perhaps faced the same issues she faced when coming to Norway, they mutually conversed in English and had much less problems communicating, interacting, thereby connecting and in fact also staying in touch with each other after this experience, compared to those Norwegians she met while in Norway. Many of her fellow students from Norway in fact used her language skills for translation purposes.

It seems then, that this particular experience helped both her and those she connected with during this summer course in their individual, mutual and collective understanding of each other and their respective cultural backgrounds and experiences. It goes to show that individual, mutual and collective experiences matter with regard to ones cultural make-up and subsequently cultural citizenship. But not only the experience itself but also the perception thereof and attitude towards it. As one is being made aware of, contemplates over and reflects upon the same experiences reflected in others as the students individually, mutually and collectively travelled and took part in this course.

We can see this process further illustrated in those participants already having stayed in Norway for four years or more and coming here while already possessing a post-

graduate degree rather than coming to Norway for pursuing one. Although both our Phd.-student participants were married to and had children with a Norwegian citizen, neither perceived themselves to be Norwegian, nor did they perceive themselves to be international students. Though they conversed mostly in English and only sporadically in Norwegian and this in turn mostly in professional settings and related to their family, both of them had considered, though not gone through with, changing their national citizenship to that of Norway.

Rather, as the US-American participant put it, they placed culture over citizenship. The later perhaps more related to the political and subsequently national kind, while the former rather related to what we earlier made out to be a distinct international, perhaps global, mode of thinking and subsequently culturing or rather cultivating oneself. As this participant stated that he saw himself as part of a Western, highly-educated culture with the same background, particularly in terms of education, and frequenting the same kind of media and tools, for which he stated *youtube* and *popular music* and *film* as an example. Verifying this is one of our Chinese participants statements, that she immediately upon arrival in Trondheim registered both on *facebook* and *youtube*, while initially not relating to specifically Norwegian media at all.

With regard to this, our US-American Phd.-student participant went on to state that he feels much closer culturally to many Norwegians and other Europeans contrary to his fellow countrymen. Having grown up and being educated in the Pacific Northwest of the US this is perhaps an indicator for the new, emerging, international or global community of highly-educated migrants or rather citizens, that share a similar education, socialization, frequent the same media, largely on the internet and in English, that has disconnected them from place and rather put them in a community of citizens that largely disregard their national citizenship, only really enacting it in the civil and political sense, and instead put them in a international community of social and cultural citizens.

It seems difficult to entangle these different spheres of citizenship, as they are located on every conceivable level from the individual through the national to the global, while at the same time reconciling the enactment of citizenship in these spheres with how we make sense of our natural states of freedom, participation and equality. As we perhaps are political citizens on a national and continental as well as local and lower-scale regional level, but also civil, social and cultural citizens in all these spheres. It seems then, were we

enact these four different dimensions of citizenship is very individual specific and does not follow a general path but rather is unique to every participants and thereby citizens experience of socio-cultural life and learning as well as socio-political organization.

Of course, similarities can be found as the enactment of citizenship, in which ever form, dimension or sphere, is mutual and collective as well as individual. This can be seen particularly in how our participants gained knowledge of and utilized public services in Norway. Not only did they have to face the same challenges regarding the provision of these services, such as education, public transport, health care and housing as well as employment and welfare for those who stayed longer-term, they also largely used similar channels for ascertainment of these services. Of course, it does not have to be mentioned that chief among these channels were the online ones.

With regard to education the similarities become perhaps most apparent. As all participants had to utilize *It's Learning* for the purposes of education and enjoyed its convenience, they also in unison complained about large informational differences between *ntnu.no* and *ntnu.edu*, with the latter having many gaps and dead links, as language again became the vital factor. Though some participants also stated that they already saw improvements over time on *NTNU's* English language online presence.

Furthermore participants largely agreed on the very good accessibility to online sources, journals, e-books and general state of both the library and online connectivity at *NTNU*. While some considered this to be a given at any university around the world, with our Spanish participant stating that he “*considers good online accessibility and connectivity at any university as a given worldwide,*” others recognized large differences in accessibility and convenience of access with regard to online information and education as well as mutuality of student-teacher relations in Norway compared to their home country.

As the cases of our Russian and US-American post-graduate participants illustrate. While the former stated that there was a large difference in terms of digitalization of education in Norway compared to her home country, she was particularly impressed with general online accessibility of information both on *It's Learning* and the *NTNU* library homepage, but also with regard to the digitalized handing-in process and convenience of contact with teachers and lecturers. In fact stating that this was the best system she had experienced up to that point and going on to conclude that while she appreciated having a choice between digital and analog media usage, she abandoned the latter in favour of the

former almost universally.

The US-American participant in turn verified this by stating that she perceived there to be some difference between the US and Norway in terms of competitiveness of the educational system as well as student-teacher relations, both of them being much more equalitarian in Norway compared to her home country. The superiority or at least equality of the Norwegian education system in comparison to those of the participants home countries and particularly as it is in practice at *NTNU* was further verified by our Mexican Phd.-student stating that it was the “*best library he had ever used,*” while at same time perceiving there to be a “*live and let die*” culture in Norwegian academia in particular and Norwegian society in general.

With regard to provision and ascertainment of other public services, the differences in similarities between our participants continue. As they all utilized the Trondheim public transport service *AtB* and its online presence *atb.no* as well as *AtBs mobile app*. Most considered it to be easily accessible and understandable while also being quite expensive, but generally having little to no issues ascertaining this particular public service. Yet again many of the participant related this to a perceived, largely open culture towards foreigners in Norway and Trondheim in particular as well as the comparatively high level of English proficiency among *AtB* employees.

Regarding health care and finding a “*fastlege*” or rather general practitioner, experiences seemed to differ as some struggled more than others with informing themselves about as well as communicating and interacting with the health care system. This can, again, largely be attributed to the lack of information in English on where to find their *fastlege*, as some that could not cope with the Norwegian information, had to resort to visiting the emergency room instead. Language was once more the dividing factor between those having an easier time ascertaining these services and those that had more difficulties. In addition, it was differences in the health care systems that created problems for some, as they had experienced a very different system of public service in their home country. This holds true with regard to our Russian and US-American post-graduate participant. While our Mexican and British participants thought very highly especially of the online channels through which the system is organized, they also stated that it was surprisingly expensive initially and not very responsive with regard to specialist appointments and consultations.

Regarding housing, especially those participant that had to deal with the student

welfare organization in Trondheim or *SiT*, and thereby mostly lived in the aforementioned *Moholt* and *Steinan studentby*, had several issues related to paying rents from foreign bank accounts and in foreign currencies as well as contact and communication in relation to technical or other issues with their housing through *SiT*. This holds particularly true for those from outside the *EU/EEA*. At the same time, others stated that it was comparatively affordable and easy to access. Relating somewhat to this, participants trying to set up a Norwegian bank account, also for purposes of paying rent, were limited to choosing *DNB*, as information was not available in English elsewhere and was limited even here.

On the other hand, when it came to finding employment some participants, especially those seeking part-time jobs, utilized *1-1 relations* and contacts in *diasporic* groups mostly. While those that sought full-time employment rather used *nav.no*, *finn.no*, *jobbnorge.no* and *NTNU Bridge* as well as personal contacts. In either case, again, language was perceived to be the largest barrier. This holds true further with regard to ascertainment of welfare, as our Mexican participant stated that English information on *nav.no* in relation to provision of “*dagpenger*” was scarcely available. Generally speaking, finding employment was difficult for most participants and ultimately relied on personal contacts and opportune moments where successful.

As we can see again and again, particularly with regard to provision and ascertainment of public services, that language plays a significant and sometimes obstructive role, except perhaps with regard to education, it also becomes clear that, at least at the time, many public services in Norway and in Trondheim specifically were designed for either Norwegians or migrants intending to stay in the country longer-term and fully integrate themselves. The international students community however seems to lack these features, as is perhaps natural while their future life-path is not yet determined especially with regards to where they will work after their education in Norway.

It is then also the determination of the extend of their stay in Norway where the most interesting implications lie. While only some participants had concrete plans to stay in Norway long-term, largely those with romantic or spousal relationships to a Norwegian citizen, every participant had taken Norway into consideration regarding his future plans. This was largely related to the above stated reasons, i.e. free education, open culture towards foreigners and high level of English language skills among the domestic populous as well as a perceived higher level of personal, economical and general security. However,

many, particularly those that were free-movers as well as those struggling to make a connection to the Norwegian citizens community, also considered other English speaking countries and countries with high education levels as possibilities. Chief among these were the USA, the United Kingdom, other Scandinavian countries, Germany and France.

All the while, the participants struggled to keep connections to their family and friends at home, with those that established their own family and friendship relations in Norway also having more concrete plans to stay in the country and in fact of acquiring Norwegian citizenship. It seems then, that as they build their own individual culture, from themselves extended to their friends and family and subsequently on the above outlined evolutionary steps, while constantly jumping between these spheres and bridging spacial gaps between localities of their families and friends, however far they maybe, through the use of the internet as well as personal, individual *I-I relations*.

Of course, economical decisions and the availability of employment opportunities also played a role. With regard to this, there was a clear, and perhaps obvious, gap between those studying in a social science background and those with natural science and engineering backgrounds, with the latter two having the better employment opportunities post-graduation, at least with regard to the Norwegian labour market.

One of our Chinese students in fact, being a free-mover and from a social science background, stated that due the lack of employment opportunities for her as well as strong existing relations to family and friends at home, along with surprisingly the, what she considered to be, bad weather, had completely abandoned Norway has a potential country for longer-term stay. This though she had travelled several different countries around Europe and still expressed a desire for a longer-term stay abroad. Those in joint-programs however, as both were also of Chinese nationality and though they had to go back home to finish their Master's program, gave Norway serious considerations with regard to a longer-term stay.

This exposes the reasons for choosing the international post-graduate students community in Trondheim when researching, a possibly global, cultural citizenship. Within this community nationalities or preferably termed countries of origin don't play a defining role for ones cultural status or make-up. As they culturally learn from each other individually, mutually and collectively, they begin to realize through friendly, romantic, collegial and a possibly infinite amount of other *I-I relations*, that they share many

cultural similarities expressed through facing and conversing about the same day-to-day problems, using the same media, be it civilly, politically, socially or culturally, living in the same surroundings and sharing the status of being a highly educated migrant in Norway.

But at the same time, countries of origin still do matter, as these students are also in *diasporic* groups and enact their national political citizenship, with some even exercising their continental civil citizenship, simply by exploiting their right to travel, study and work freely in Europe as citizens of the *EU/EEA*. It is interesting to note that our British participant was initially neither aware of his ability to gain a unlimited residence permit as well as his entitlement to welfare once in employment as a citizen of the *EU/EEA* in Norway. Yet, at the same time and as their stay in Norway extends, they receive political rights and thereby political citizenship in Norway, all the while culturally still connecting to both their home country and the international students community alike.

Perhaps there is a need to look at large-scale trends and in fact take nationality back into the equation as nationalism is still a reality we face today, while we, and particularly international students, have already culturally realized that this relation back to ones country of origin is futile in light of the processes of globalization. How the participants behaved in light of the challenges they faced when coming to Norway, represents to a certain extent, their cultural up-bringing and how they were taught in their respective home countries. Illustrated in difference of extent of answers in different sections of the interview particularly with regard to utilization of public services and post-graduation plans to stay in Norway. While definite differences in how the participants made sense of their freedom, right and responsibility to partake in Norwegian society, by either utilizing public services, joining social and cultural communities, both international and national, as well as later on exercising their right to vote in Norway, these seem to be largely of a individual nature. One could try to ascertain national and continental differences with regard to this as well.

It seems then that, while differences in this process were obvious, as they arrive in Norway all the participants went through the same initial steps as they enacted their civil citizenship by exercising their right to free movement, work and education, going on to participate in Norwegian Society by almost instantly becoming part of the international students community, while also partially remaining in *diasporic groups* and all the while gradually becoming part of Norwegian society as they use public services, become part of

a wide variety of social and cultural communities and live in similar housing and localities while meeting Norwegians daily, still conversing largely in English but trying to learn Norwegian and proving themselves daily. As they receive more political participation rights, and thereby becoming at very latest here political citizens, they also begin to work and pay taxes, thereby becoming equal and subsequently social citizens as well.

However, their cultural citizenship does not follow intuitively. As they improve their Norwegian language skills they perhaps become more equal on a national level and as such become Norwegian cultural citizens. That being said, of course, they remain in touch, culturally and politically, with their home countries, their families and friends. Their citizenship in general thereby goes beyond and below the national level or sphere and is enacted in all four dimensions across, in between and inside of the, in the introduction mentioned, evolutionary spheres of citizenship. But not only that, as they build *I-I relations* in Norway, with friends, spouses, lovers and family, they become culturally detached from their home country and integrate into both Norwegian citizens society as well as an international community of highly-educated citizens, not only in Trondheim, but around the globe.

Of course, complete integration seems futile in light of these contemplation, as complete equality and thereby social citizenship is perhaps unattainable, particularly with regard to cultural citizenship. However, civilly and politically the participants become more and more equal as their stay extends. What sets them apart though, is their specific experience of having left the country they were born in for purposes of better education or as we stated earlier to “*seek adventure*.” This experience they do not share with most Norwegians and those Norwegians that do share it, are perhaps more accessible to international students, as the case of a summer course by one of our Chinese participants illustrated.

5. Conclusion

This then poses the question, how do we connect culture and cohesion, as in cultural citizenship, with our natural states of freedom, participation and equality, as in civil, political and social citizenship respectively, all the while keeping in mind the state as a polity and provider of security?

As this thesis ends my seven year long journey of studying the fields of political

science, economic and social history as well as globalization and in fact life in general, as there were seven churches, seven steeples on top of city hall and seven portals entering my home town of Rostock, we need to realize that citizenship is neither national nor local or global. It is rather enacted individually, mutually and collectively in all these spheres along with *1-1 relations* and family as well as a possibly infinite amount of others. These are the cultural evolutionary stages we have gone and continue to go through collectively and as we revert back to lower evolutionary levels individually, mutually and collectively, we keep learning and building our own culture as well as those of others.

It is in fact not a evolution from civil, to political, to social and finally to cultural citizen, but rather a evolution in cultural modes of making sense of our natural states of freedom, participation and equality. All these four dimensions of citizenship are inherent in human nature. With the state, as a polity, on every conceivable evolutionary level or sphere of citizenship, and as the sole connecting entity between the different dimensions of citizenship providing security and cohesion through use of legitimate force and building, teaching and learning of culture as well as democratic elections respectively.

As we relate back to our research questions, we can state, that the technological development of media, particularly the virtual digital kind, has enabled us, as individual citizens, to instantly become aware of, contemplate over and reflect upon our own individual as well as mutual and collective culture, thereby also, at least potentially, instantly culturally learning and subsequently building our cultural citizenship. Which in turn we utilize to make sense of our natural states of freedom, participation and equality as well as their respective dimensions of citizenship and subsequently constructing socio-political organizations upon how we culturally make sense of these states.

Our sample of international post-graduate students shows further, that as we migrate and follow our intrinsic motivation or “*Telos*”, we go, perhaps to a lesser extent, through this process of cultural learning once more, after having experienced it initially after birth, and potentially experience it again any time we migrate to a previously and culturally unknown location. However, as the participants tried to make sense of their citizenship, i.e. freedom, participation and equality, in Norway, they were influenced by their experience of life up to that point. The culture they acquired through cultural learning in their home country had some, though the exact extent is difficult to grasp, influence on how they integrated in Norway, represented in the individual differences of this process

outlined above.

It is rather in the similarities, that we can outline a, perhaps global, but definitely international culture of being a highly-educated migrant, no matter of national context. This culture is perpetuated individually, mutually and collectively not only in specific geographical locations, but also and perhaps particularly on the internet. The same holds true for national, regional and local cultures and in fact for any other level on which cultural citizenship is enacted, which is every conceivable level.

As earlier contemplations with regard to *Gene-culture co-evolution* and the *vicious concentric circle concept of cultural citizenship* illustrate these processes are by no means straight forward, they are rather evolutionary. What this means is, that they are specific to every individual citizens experience, as their might be similarities in differences and differences in similarities between our sample, but none of the experiences outlined above are identical. Rather, they are specific to the individual citizens experience of life, which builds culture, which then in turn determines their behaviour in light of the challenges of integration, as well as their relation to mutual and collective experiences of life. As every individual is self-aware, self-contemplating and self-reflected, they are in their sum and thereby mutually and collectively also self-aware, self-contemplating and self-reflected.

Once more, it seems quite difficult to fully grasp these evolutionary processes due their inherent messiness and lack of linear development. Even the earlier outlined *vicious concentric circle concept of cultural citizenship* should already have come into question as our participants did not stay within one specific evolutionary sphere of citizenship, but rather constantly bridged the gaps between them. The internet as a newly emerged and virtual digital medium however, challenges us to do so, as we are made aware of our own ability and perhaps intrinsic motivation to be self-aware, self-contemplating and self-reflected on a daily basis.

The exact effect that this has had on the experience and enactment of citizenship in general and cultural citizenship in particular is similarly difficult to grasp. As the tools and other media the medium internet includes are so vast in number, that research thereof is perhaps impossible. However, what the internet has done for the understanding of cultural citizenship, is remind us of our own ability and intrinsic motivation to be self-aware, self-contemplating and self-reflected and thereby culturally learning, thereby building culture individually, mutually and collectively and subsequently constructing socio-political

organization.

Perhaps there is but one thing to be learned from all these contemplations. As should now have become clear that all four dimensions of citizenship, the civil, political, social and cultural are inherent in human nature through our natural states of freedom, participation, equality and the cultural making sense of these states. What is rather evolutionary are the spheres in which these dimensions are enacted and experienced and though that might perhaps be unique to every individual citizen, we all share the need to go through this process.

What we can possibly learn from this then is perhaps only that we are all individuals, citizens, of this planet, be it human or otherwise. We are all self-aware, self-contemplating and self-reflected, individually, mutually and collectively as we inhabit our planet. The fact that we still culturally connect to the nation or any other socio-cultural ideology perpetuating competition seems futile in light of this. While we scientifically and technologically have long reached beyond the borders of our planet, we keep battling over how to make cultural sense of our natural states, between ideologies of nationalism, socialism, capitalism and a potentially infinite amount of others.

This is perhaps where *Cosmopolitanism* can play a vital role as a socio-cultural ideology, in finally establishing complete social equality between all living organisms on earth. The fact that it is still largely related to a global community of human beings just goes to show how far we still have to go in our individual, mutual and collective process of cultural learning.

For this purpose the internet has made it conceivably possible for us to communicate and interact with each other without restrictions by time, space, language or other obstacles of global instant communication and interaction. In light of the emergence of questions regarding the possible finiteness of our planet and infiniteness of our own ability to be self-aware, self-contemplating and self-reflected, it seems that achievement of an idea of global citizenship is long overdue.

What we need to keep in mind all the while however is, that life in general and particularly with regard to culture is not a competition but a process of individual, mutual and collective cultural learning and development. Instead, we need to perhaps ask ourselves the very basic questions again. Questions of good and bad, of winners and losers. But not by comparing the two against each other. Instead, it seems, the individual

experience and perception of as well as attitude towards either side and their mutual and collective relation are of importance, particularly with regards to implications on the building of culture and socio-cultural learning.

We need to realize or perhaps rather re-realize that the world as we experience it, is not black and white, but in fact incredibly and possibly inconceivably diverse in its expressions. We all individually live in our own bubble, in our own cage, and collectively that cage is the earth. While we are already scientifically and technologically rattling the bars of this cage, we are culturally still sitting in the middle of it and throwing our own cultural excrement at each other.

Of course, breaking out of our own cage, especially in the collective sense, is no easy task and will take time. Which is a lesson to be learned from those who have failed to achieve this goal. Progress, development and learning all take time. Possibly this will take an infinite amount of time, as once we break the bars of this cage, we might reach into another which would imply that ultimate collective cultural success is unattainable.

But, lest we forget, our natural states are already in place, democracy is already in place and so is the state as a provider of security through use of legitimate force and cohesion through use of culture. The latter however, still needs to catch up as we are busy battling out our own cultural differences.

What gives a perhaps more positive outlook on our own contemporary process of cultural learning is that now, with the emergence of the internet, every single individual on earth can have these same realizations of the possibility of a global citizenship or *Cosmopolitanism*.

But not only that, it is also and always has been, out there for everybody to see, all you need to do is leave your home and walk or stand or run. We are observing history and thereby our own socio-cultural development reflected in others. What has changed is that if you don't believe what your eyes are seeing you can now go home and verify that information on the internet almost instantly. How can you believe this information? Because you can go outside and verify it. All you need is time, to touch or feel, to hear, to see, to smell. You might say how would I possibly be able to grasp all this information? You might not be. But that hasn't changed since you were born.

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Appendix

Participant Invitation

Invitation for Interview on Master Thesis Project:

“Re-defining citizenship and citizen/state relations in a globalized world. What effect has digital communication technology (DCT) had on the evolution and transformation of citizenship?”

Hei,

my name is Karl Duncker, I'm a Master student with the MSc. Globalization - Politics and Culture program at NTNU. I'm currently writing my thesis with the above mentioned title.

Within in this project one goal is to find out how international students use DCT to enact their national, cultural, social and occupational citizenship in Norway and subsequently determine their professional as well as geographical life path.

As such, I wanted to ask if any of you would like to take part in this project as interviewee's. As compensation I can offer you a **goody bag of one bar of chocolate, a pack of chewing gum and a small energy drink**. I'd also consider it a personal favor to me.

The interview will take no longer than one hour and will take place at Gløshaugen between the **17th of Feb. to the 2nd of March**. If you'd like to take part, simply contact me at karl.duncker@gmail.com and we can set up a date that would suit you best. Once you commit, you will also receive more info on the content of the interview. But it will involve taking your professional, academical and geographical history as well as how you use DCT to, among others, receive public services, communicate with co-workers, express political opinion and take part in Norwegian society.

All the information you give will be handled confidentially and your name will not be connected to the information or mentioned at any point in the final paper.

First Interview Guide

“Re-definition of citizenship and citizen/state relations. How do int. students utilize digital communication technology to become citizens of Norway and determine their professional and geographical life path post-education?”

This is a very loose guide as to how the interview will be structured and what questions will be most important. However, as the interviews are meant to be of a more qualitative nature, new questions might arise throughout the process and jumps back and forth between topics might be made. Especially closed questions in this guide will most likely be followed up by one or more open questions of the same subject, although not specifically stated below. Length of interviews is estimated at approximately one hour, not necessarily all question will be asked.

1. Introduction

- Information on Master Thesis project
- Assurance of confidentiality of personal details/information given during the Interview
- Explanation of Interview structure

2. Main research question

- What effect has digital communication technology had on the evolution and transformation of citizenship?
- Sub-question for data gathering:
 - *How do int. students utilize digital communication technology to become citizens of Norway and determine their professional and geographical life path post-education?*

3. Background

- Of which country/-ies do you currently hold citizenship?
- Did you/are you receiving tertiary education in Norway?
 - If yes, where and what kind (i.e. BA, BSc., MA, MSc., PhD & Engineering, Natural Science, Computer and Information etc.)
- Are you currently employed in Norway?
 - If yes, where and what company?
 - Where and at what company were you employed previously?

The goal of these questions, and in fact partially of this research, is to determine the participants path to becoming a citizen in Norway or his plans to do so, after he or she has received tertiary education in Norway. This achieved or potential citizenship in Norway does not exclusively relate to the participants legal status as a citizen of Norway or as a immigrant, but also to his or her attachment to cultural, social or professional citizens communities. Citizenship and enactment thereof through manifold channels, is merely used as a indicator for the potential of international students to stay in Norway long-term and find employment here, after they have received tertiary education at a Norwegian university.

4. National Citizenship

The following questions are designed to give the research an idea over how current and former international students in Norway relate to, inform themselves and eventually acquire Norwegian national citizenship. Additionally this part of the interview will try to get a grasp on how participants enact the four core parts of national/political citizenship: legal status, rights, participation and membership.

- Do you plan on acquiring citizenship in Norway?
 - How do you inform yourself about acquiring citizenship in Norway?
 - Do you find this process difficult? What obstacles are there?
- Do you keep on-going contact with your home country or citizens communities in other countries?
 - How do you keep in contact with these communities?
 - Why do you keep on-going contact? Does this prevent you from acquiring citizenship in Norway/stay in Norway long-term?
- Do you utilize public services in Norway (i.e. health care, public transport, education, social services)?
 - How do you inform yourself about and utilize these public services?
 - Are you ever unable to do so because of lack of knowledge or necessary information? What do you think could be improved?
- Do you express your political will/opinion in Norway or other countries (i.e. voting, participation in public forums or political organizations, contact with politicians on matters of local importance)?

5. Cultural/Social Citizenship

This part of the interview is aimed at finding out how participants take part in Norwegian society, foreigner communities in Norway as well as citizens communities outside of Norway. This with a special focus on those parts of citizenship that go beyond the traditional definition of national citizenship as outlined above and relate largely to smaller citizens communities, such as immigrants from the same country (diasporas), international students communities, cultural communities and so forth.

- Do you frequently participate in any cultural or social activities in Norway or other countries (i.e. sports, music, art, political interest groups, other spare-time activities)?
 - Are these largely connected to communities of foreigners or of Norwegian citizens?
 - Would you describe any of these activities as “traditionally Norwegian”?
- How would you describe your social circle?
 - Is it predominately foreign or predominately Norwegian?
 - Are there differences between family, friends, co-workers etc.?
- Do you frequently access media outlets in Norway or other countries?
 - What kind of media do you access and how frequently (i.e. newspaper, TV, radio, internet → facebook, twitter, youtube, reddit etc.)?
 - What kind of topics do you frequent these outlets on? Are they of global, international or national (Norwegian or other) significance?
- In what language do you predominately communicate and culturally or politically inform yourself on a daily basis? Are there differences between work, family and friends?

6. Occupational/Professional Citizenship

Occupational or professional citizenship can be a part of cultural citizenship and in fact might be the only way international students and former int. students now working in Norway participate in Norwegian society. The following questions are meant to find out how participants communicate, work and relate in professional networks as well as whether these networks exist only nationally or also internationally and if they could contribute to the determination of their professional life path.

- Would you say that your job in Norway or potential thereof is the main reason for you to stay in the country?
- Does communication with your colleagues happen only on a local or national level or also internationally
- Do you feel like you are part of a larger international community/network of fellow professional that cooperate globally or at least trans-nationally?
- How do you communicate with your colleagues and potential international communities/networks of fellow professionals?
- How do you contribute to these communities/networks? Are there certain forums at which contributions are made?

7. Conclusion

- Further comments and suggestions?
- How would you evaluate the quality of the interview?
 - Did it lack information?
 - Were the questions framed and worded understandably?
 - Where you able to grasp the goal of the research?
- Other questions you would've liked me to ask/focus more on?
- Other people/groups you think I should talk to?

Thank you for your help and participation.

Final Interview Guide

“Re-definition of citizenship and citizen/state relations. How do int. students utilize digital communication technology to become citizens of Norway and determine their professional and geographical life path post-education?”

This is a very loose guide as to how the interview will be structured and what questions will be most important. However, as the interviews are meant to be of a more qualitative nature, new questions might arise throughout the process and jumps back and forth between topics might be made. Especially closed questions in this guide will most likely be followed up by one or more open questions of the same subject, although not specifically stated below. Length of interviews is estimated at approximately one hour, not necessarily all question will be asked.

1. Introduction

- Information on Master Thesis project
- Assurance of confidentiality of personal details/information given during the Interview
- Explanation of Interview structure

2. Main research question

- What effect has digital communication technology had on the evolution and transformation of citizenship?
- Sub-question for data gathering:
 - *How do int. students utilize digital communication technology to become citizens of Norway and determine their professional and geographical life path post-education?*

3. Background

- Of which country/-ies do you currently hold citizenship?
- When did you move to Norway?
- Did you/are you receiving tertiary education in Norway? What was your field of study?
- Are you currently employed in Norway?

The goal of these questions, and in fact partially of this research, is to determine the participants path to becoming a citizen in Norway or his plans to do so, after he or she has received tertiary education in Norway. This achieved or potential citizenship in Norway does not exclusively relate to the participants legal status as a citizen of Norway or as a immigrant, but also to his or her attachment to cultural, social or professional citizens communities. Citizenship and enactment thereof through manifold channels, is merely used as a indicator for the potential of international students to stay in Norway long-term and find employment here, after they have received tertiary education at a Norwegian university.

4. National Citizenship

The following questions are designed to give the research an idea over how current and former international students in Norway relate to, inform themselves and eventually acquire Norwegian national citizenship. Additionally this part of the interview will try to get a grasp on how participants enact the four core parts of national/political citizenship: legal status, rights, participation and membership.

- Do you plan on acquiring citizenship in Norway?

- How do you inform yourself about acquiring citizenship in Norway?
- What importance do digital communication technologies have for this process?
- Do you find this process difficult? What obstacles are there?
- Do you keep on-going contact with your home country or citizens communities in other countries?
 - How do you keep in contact with these communities?
 - What importance do digital communication technologies have for this process?
 - Why do you keep on-going contact? Does this prevent you from acquiring citizenship in Norway/stay in Norway long-term?
- Do you utilize public services in Norway (i.e. health care, public transport, education, social services)?
 - How do you inform yourself about and utilize these public services?
 - What importance do digital communication technologies have for this process?
 - Are you ever unable to do so because of lack of knowledge or necessary information? What do you think could be improved?
- Do you express your political will/opinion in Norway or other countries (i.e. voting, participation in public forums or political organizations, contact with politicians on matters of local importance)?
 - What importance do digital communication technologies have for this process?

5. Cultural/Social Citizenship

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