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Making friends with Norwegians takes too much time:

The role of social capital in highly skilled temporary migrants' aspirations and opportunities for citizenship enactment

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Abstract

In today's globalizing world, low transport costs and ICT developments have led to a new migration setting with growing temporary migration, where migrants are temporary residents of host societies, while maintaining strong connections to friends and kin in their homeland. This has the potential of resulting in destination societies with increasing numbers of, especially highly skilled, temporary migrants with weak connections to the larger society. By applying the concept of social capital to active citizenship, the aim of this thesis is to understand the processes behind citizenship enactment among highly skilled temporary migrants, within the new migration context of temporariness and social media use. This was done by exploring the role of social capital in migrants' aspirations and opportunities for citizenship enactment, and the research question which was answered and discussed was as follows:

How is social capital connected to citizenship enactment among highly skilled temporary migrants?

It was found that for these highly skilled temporary migrants, their search for social capital focused their citizenship enactment away from the Norwegian society. Social capital was found to act as a motivation for obtaining access to networks, and as a facilitator for access to networks. The ability to obtain social capital focused the migrants' aspirations and opportunities for interaction, which again focused their participation, attachment and identity formation, or in other words, their citizenship enactment. The context of temporariness and social media contact with homeland networks combined to increase the migrants' opportunities for social capital building from existing networks, and their aspirations for quick access to social capital, which again rendered access to Norwegian networks non-essential. Finally, a significant lack of social capital between Norwegians and highly skilled temporary migrants pushed the migrants' citizenship enactment away from the Norwegian society.

Keywords: Globalization, migration, citizenship, social capital, social media, temporality

Preface

First of all, I would like to thank the department of Geography and the Globalization, Politics and Culture program for accepting me to the master program, and giving me the opportunity to gain valuable knowledge and experiences in a unique and exciting field.

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Introduction

A Filipina worker in London whom I know well makes no use [*sic*] any of the local facilities, never going out to pubs or to watch films. Apart from working, sleeping and eating in London, she spends her time on social networking sites in the company of friends and kin.
(Miller, 2012, p. 156)

This quote initially stirred my interest in migrant participation, and inspired me to delve deeper into the topic to explore the interlinked processes of migrant participation, temporality and social media. Today, migrants manoeuvre in a new globalizing setting, where mobility and migration has taken on a faster pace (Day, 2006; Mahmoud, Lemon, & Knobler, 2006), with increasing numbers of temporary migration (OECD, 2016, p. 22). This has consequences for both the migrants and the host societies. Migrants who change residence and local society with a higher frequency than earlier, experience a change in temporality, where they are increasingly temporary in their stays in any host society. The host societies, in return, have a higher turnover of these residents. In addition, the case described by Miller, where social media constituted a person's social interactions, suggests that social media activity may be linked to migrant participation in, and access to, the host society as well as the homeland. Migration no longer entails separation from the place of origin and reconstruction of a new life (Hiller & Franz, 2004, p. 735). Instead, migrants are more likely to continue to retain strong ties to their region of origin, and develop complex transnational relationships, facilitated by ICT development (Hiller & Franz, 2004, p. 735). This thesis sees citizenship enactment to happen through participation, attachment and identity formation, and thus to concern both actions of citizenship and subjective understandings of citizenship. A possible consequence of the new migration setting of increasingly temporary migration and increased homeland contact through ICTs, is that migrants who move easily and frequently, such as highly skilled migrants, develop weaker connections to their host society and possibly their homeland. These weaker connections could then become evident in the highly skilled migrants' actions and understandings of self and their citizenship, or in their citizenship enactment. The citizenship enactment of highly skilled temporary is important for host societies as engaged residents are important for a functioning society, and therefore it is important to explore the possible influences of the new migration context on the processes of citizenship enactment.

All migrants have temporality, and a true judgement of temporariness versus long-term stay can only be accurately made in retrospect (Bauböck, 2011, p. 670). However, this thesis is concerned with a specific group of migrants, namely highly skilled temporary migrants, who

have a specific kind of temporality. These migrants currently have aspirations for a temporary stay in the host society, or they are currently legally restrained in their stay, e.g. on a student visa. Thus, the migrants studied in this thesis understand themselves as temporary in their current stay.

Previous literature on migrant participation and ICTs have either focused on diaspora and the use of ICTs for political work and activism (Hiller & Franz, 2004), or long-term migrants (Wilding, 2006), where citizenship enactment perhaps seems more important and relevant than in the case of temporary migrants. However, a context of temporariness and social media use may also have an influence on migrants' citizenship enactment. Temporary migrants are a growing segment of the total migrant populace (OECD, 2016, p. 22), and might be the group of migrants where the tendency of weak citizenship enactment combined with homeland contact is the strongest. This potentially weak citizenship enactment could have consequences for the host societies. Bauböck problematized the issue of discouraged citizenship enactment among temporary migrants, where a lack of citizenship enactment meant a lack of political engagement, undermining the modern democratic nation-state (Bauböck, 2011). As will be discussed later, citizenship is also about being a participant in society and entitled to opinions about development of that society and plans for the city, local schools and jobs. Thus, this thesis does not imply that host society attachment and participation is the ideal result of migration, or that attachment to communities other than the host society is an inferior choice. However, from the perspective of the host society, a level of integration is desirable, because it is important for a society that all members join in developing and shaping that society. It is therefore important to add to the literature a study which considers citizenship enactment in the context of temporality and social media, and looks closer at the processes behind citizenship enactment among highly skilled temporary migrants.

The aim of this thesis is to explore possible underlying mechanisms and processes of citizenship enactment through participation, attachment and identity formation among temporary highly skilled migrants in Trondheim, Norway, in a context of temporariness and social media contact. This will be explored through the research question:

How is social capital connected to citizenship enactment among highly skilled temporary migrants?

This thesis is concerned with the concept of citizenship in the form of participation, attachment and identity, as a way of understanding how migrants engage in society or communities. This research question is answered by applying the concept of 'social capital' to migrants'

experiences of citizenship enactment, as a way of understanding migrants' access into society and possibilities to interact, but also as a possibility for exclusion.

A particular focus when addressing this research question, is how migrants enact their active citizenship, in terms of participating through social interaction and learning processes, attaching to certain places, people or communities, and identifying as citizens. The citizenship enactment of highly skilled temporary migrants is not always anchored in the wider host community. Instead, assisted by the transnational reach of social media, the migrants focus their citizenship enactment towards the sources of social capital which are easily accessed, as social capital building motivates and facilitates their network access and social interactions.

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter one gives a brief introduction of the thesis topic and its context, followed explanation of the relevance of this study. Following this is a presentation of the research aim and objectives of the thesis which will be followed throughout the thesis. Chapter two presents the theoretical framework on which the thesis is based. It starts from the conceptualization of migrant participation as active citizenship, after which the concept of social capital is introduced to theorize access to society and motivation for interaction for migrants. Following this, social media sites are presented an important channel for social capital building for migrants. And at the end of chapter two, the analytical framework is presented. Chapter three consists of a presentation of the methodology used in this thesis. It first explains my selection of migrant group case and informants. Next, it gives a detailed description of the data collection methods used, focusing on the use of participant observation. It goes on to give a description of the analysis and writing process, before looking at the ethical considerations of the paper and lastly gives an evaluation of the validity and reliability of the study. Chapter four presents the empirical data of the study, and gives an initial analysis of their implications. The chapter is structured according to the analytical framework from chapter two, beginning with presenting the empirical data on the migrants' citizenship enactment, before moving on to the mechanisms of facilitation and motivation within these citizenship enactment experiences. Chapter five presents a discussion which combines the findings and initial analysis of the two sides of the analytical framework, and points at the implications and short comings of the analytical framework in explaining parts of the empirical data. Finally, it suggests a possible development of the analytical framework, based on the empirical data, which pertains specifically to the new migration context and social capital.

Theoretical framework

In this theoretical chapter, I will first introduce the topic of this thesis, temporary highly skilled migration. To conceptualize the participation of highly skilled temporary migrants, I will use the concept of citizenship enactment, and situate participation as a component of ‘active citizenship’ along with attachment and identity. Social capital is then discussed, and how this relates to citizenship, in this paper conceptualized as active citizenship. Social capital is used as a theorization of migrant’s access into society and thus a facilitator of the enactment of active citizenship. Next, social media is presented as an important channel for social interaction, and discussed in relation to social capital. Social media is theorized as a channel for social interaction, and thus a tool for social capital building with a transnational reach. At the end of the theoretical chapter, the analytic approach of the thesis is presented.

Highly skilled temporary migrants

This thesis concerns migrants with a specific temporality, namely currently temporary migration, i.e. where migrants see themselves as temporary, either due to their own aspirations or to legal constraints. The temporary migrants considered in this thesis are also highly skilled migrants. The term highly skilled migrant will, for the purposes of this thesis, cover both highly qualified worker migrants and international students. Migrants with skilled worker permits in Norway include people with education or qualifications corresponding to at least vocational training at Norwegian Upper Secondary education, as well as university educated people, and who have a job lined up when entering the country, for which the skills or degree must be relevant (Thorud, 2016, p. 21). International students have their own student visas and residence permits, however, the rules are similar regarding especially temporariness (Thorud, 2016, p. 25). According to Mosneaga and Winther, individual decisions regarding migration are influenced both by ‘chance’ encounters and events, and by professional and personal life situations (Mosneaga & Winther, 2013, p. 183). These factors change over time, and thus individual decisions are constantly under review and subject to change (Mosneaga & Winther, 2013, p. 183). Usually, highly skilled temporary migration is tied to an activity with a natural end, e.g. an education degree or work contract (Bauböck, 2011, p. 673), which often, at least initially, matches the migrants’ own aspirations. However, these aspirations may change over time (Bauböck, 2011, p. 673) as life plans change due to age or new experiences abroad. The temporariness of their stay, connected to contracts or education course, gives them an ease of entry into countries and ease of mobility, as they are coveted for their specific competence or

their mobility, and possibly also a perfunctory relationship to their own mobility and host society.

Migrants' relationship with the host society is important also in defining them as migrants. Bauböck argues that, migrants take up residence, education or employment, and the purposes of their stay make their autonomy and well-being in significant ways dependent on the opportunities and rights they are offered in the host society (Bauböck, 2011, p. 666). Within this definition of a migrant is expected a certain level of 'engagement' in society, where migrants actively partake in society by for example making use of services such as education and housing, contributing through employment and claiming certain rights and opportunities. This type of 'engagement', where the highly skilled temporary migrants become entitled and engaged members of society, goes beyond migrants' actions in society, and concerns also their attachment to communities, their identity formation and how they understand and perceive their own status as a migrant, a citizen and a member of the host society. Thus, the consideration of attachment and perceptions of citizenship are important in order to understand the processes of citizenship enactment and the connection to social capital.

How does the new migration context affect migrant participation and attachment? To understand this, I will use the concept of 'citizenship' to conceptualize migrant participation, attachment and identity in host societies.

Active citizenship as participation, attachment and identity

A main concept in this thesis is active citizenship, which sees migrants' engagement in society through three concepts: participation, attachment and identity. These three concepts, concerning migrants' agency and actions in relation to society, their connection to society, and their identification with society, can help us to understand what kind of citizenship is enacted by migrants, and how it is enacted. I start with participation, explaining migrants' agency in their engagement with society, and how the citizenship enactment of migrants is a social process.

For migrants, participation in society can take a number of forms, from possibilities of becoming formal citizens, to belonging in a more vernacular sense (Reed-Danahay & Brettell, 2008, p. 20). Likewise, citizenship can be thought of both in a 'legal' sense, and in an 'active' sense. The active/participatory view of citizenship is important for migrants and especially temporary migrants, and is perhaps more relevant than the legal view. Citizenship constitutes a contract between an individual and the state. In the beginning, the contract concerned the relationship between the individual and a city state, while today the state takes the form of a nation-state. However, many scholars explore a twofold concept of citizenship, consisting of a

‘passive/legal’ side, which concerns the rights one achieves, and the legal status as a citizen, and an ‘active/participatory’ side, which focuses on political and community participation of the citizen (Stewart, 1995, p.64, qtd. in Reed-Danahay & Brettell, 2008, pp. 2-3). This is relevant for temporary migrants, as temporality will rarely be joined with legal citizenship in the host country, and thus they have limited access to the ‘legal’ side of citizenship. In addition, the process of citizenship enactment is both an active effort, as well as a subjective feeling or understanding of own citizenship, and thus, the concept of active citizenship emphasises the agency and aspirations of migrants in their own identity creation, attachment process and participation choices.

Both Delanty and Reed-Danahay conceptualise citizenship as participation in terms of a learning process. For Delanty, in his concept of cultural citizenship as a form of active citizenship, the focus is on common experiences, learning and discourses of empowerment (Delanty, 2007, p. 24). For Delanty, the power to name, create meaning and construct personal biographies by gaining control over the flow of information, goods and cultural processes, is an important dimension of citizenship as an active process (Delanty, 2007, p. 24). Brettell and Reed-Danahay similarly employ a view of citizenship as a learning process in their discussion of belonging. Brettell and Reed-Danahay argue that belonging is enacted, discussed or rejected in different sites. Explicit protests and more informal ways of "learning how to negotiate one's position" are both discussed as modes of social agency for temporary migrants (Reed-Danahay & Brettell, 2008, p. 19). They also suggest that it is through "communities of practice", or face-to-face units of sociality, that migrants experience a sense of belonging and citizenship (Reed-Danahay & Brettell, 2008, p. 79). Thus, both these theories of active citizenship as participation focus on agency, experiences, learning processes, and the power to construct and negotiate one's position.

However, active notions of citizenship concern more than participation and action. Brettell and Reed-Danahay uses the concept of “belonging” when discussing the active citizenship of immigrants, which is also relevant for highly skilled temporary migrants. Regardless of their formal citizenship, they may develop a sense of ‘belonging’ to a place, even for a short period of time. Their citizenship enactment takes place also within their own feelings, experiences and understandings of their own status as active citizens. For Delanty, participation and identity are the components of active citizenship. Citizenship as participation refers to participation in civil society, e.g. voluntary associations, while identity is relevant in the sense of citizenship's foundation of values (Delanty, 2007, pp. 16-17). Missing from these

components, evoked by the emotional concept of “belonging”, is some sort of affect for the citizenship, which I will theorize through the concept of ‘attachment’.

Place attachment or a 'sense of place', according to Low and Altman, involves an interplay of affect and emotion, knowledge and belief, and behavior and actions in reference to place, or, an interplay of identity, attachment and participation (Low & Altman, 1992, p. 5). Through practices and activities which are used, adopted, relocated or reversed, migrants embed new homes with this sense of place, suggesting that attachment is enacted through participation, and participation is influenced and motivated by attachment (Butcher, 2010, p. 25).

Attachment can also be based on people or community, in which case the social relations that a place signifies may be the important part of the attachment process (Low & Altman, 1992, p. 6). Places can therefore be seen as repositories and contexts within which interpersonal, community and cultural relationships occur, and it is to those social relationships, not just to the place as place, people are attached (Low & Altman, 1992, p. 6). Thus, place can represent a geographical place, but a geographical place can also signify specific social relations. This illustrates how migrant attachment to a place does not necessarily equal attachment to a city as a whole, or society at large, but can instead be directed at e.g. an international community.

Turning towards highly skilled temporary migrants, Hay described a temporal aspect influencing sense of place, where residential status and age stage influenced the level of sense of place. Limited residency led to superficial, partial and personal sense of place, while certain life situations were characterized with transition, others with stability (R. Hay, 1998, p. 25). Butcher likewise argues that attaching meaning to place is important even for highly mobile and temporary migrants, in order to fix 'home' (Butcher, 2010, p. 25). Mobility and relocation to new cultures may result in identity re-evaluation and discomfort for migrants, leading to affective responses to manage feelings of vulnerability and uncertainty, where replacing home becomes a stabilizing factor when faced with uncertainty and discomfort (Butcher, 2010, pp. 24, 34). For example, temporary migrants may still say they are going ‘home’ after work, even though they are not going to their homeland. Home may quickly be established as a source of stability and comfort. What place, or which people, receive this fixing of ‘home’, then, is an important aspect of the highly skilled temporary migrants’ attachment, participation, and thus, citizenship enactment.

Importantly for the migrants’ citizenship enactment, the process of attachment and home re-placement may result in either inclusive or exclusive tendencies. Butcher argues that under some conditions, home may become a space impermeable to the uncertainties of intercultural contact (Butcher, 2010, p. 34), or in other words, self-exclusion becomes a protection towards

the discomfort and challenge of difference. Temporary migrants may experience that they lack important cultural knowledge that their local colleagues or classmates possess, especially if their motivation for mobility is narrowly focused on a job or educational opportunity, and less so on cultural experiences and exchange. This lack may further accentuate the discomfort the migrants feel, generating emotional responses such as fear, and a turning towards home, or in some cases, homeland communities in the host country (Butcher, 2010, pp. 33-34). Low and Altman argue that attachment to place may be based on other people - friends, community, and even a culture (Low & Altman, 1992, p. 6), thus the exclusionary attachment may be focused on people or communities rather than specific places. Under other conditions, home can become an expression of a new self, embracing the opportunities that relocation can bring (Butcher, 2010, p. 34). As such, although attachment processes and motivations can be similar among migrants, the resulting attachment can both lead to inclusion and exclusion. For temporary highly skilled migrants, this can for example mean the difference between having friends mostly from the host country, or mostly from a local homeland community. If attachment and home is directed towards home or a homeland community, this opens up opportunities for inclusion, for feelings of cultural fit and shared identity. However, when home is re-placed in this orientation, it can also exclude from other parts of society, for international students this could be host country students or the host society outside the university system, which might require more of an identity re-evaluation, but which opens up for other opportunities and the possibility to create a new sense of self. These possibilities of inclusion as well as exclusion have consequences for the temporary migrants' citizenship enactment, as attachment is part of active citizenship, and it has the possibility to influence the focus of this active citizenship in terms of host or homeland community focus. Considering highly skilled temporary migrants' attachment processes, and their focus, is thus important in understanding the processes of citizenship enactment. Identity is also an important part of the process of attachment, and it is therefore important to go further into the concept of 'identity' for the purposes of this thesis, to understand the concept of active citizenship.

Identity concerns a "way of describing or conceptualizing the self, which may incorporate personal roles and attributes, membership in social groups or categories, and connections to geographical locations" (Devine-Wright and Clayton, 2010, p.267, qtd. in Qingjiu & Maliki, 2013, p. 633). Butcher draws on Appadurai, who argues that locality and subjectivity are 'co-constitutive', and explains it as a sense of place grounding a sense of identity (1996, qtd. in Butcher, 2010, p. 25), while Usher argues that stability of location is a marker of cultural fit (2002, p.44, qtd. in Butcher, 2010, p. 25). Therefore, she further argues

that in the hyper-mobile world of transnational migrants, displacement can be compensated through new forms of place-based identity that is manifest in reaffirming boundaries, or replacing home (Butcher, 2010, p. 25). Again, however, in that attachment to a place grounds identity, an attachment with exclusionary tendencies may lead to an identity which is focused away from the host society.

Place becomes important for identity, as it is for attachment, and thus active citizenship, because practices such as everyday routines and relationships, and the use of cultural markers to define home, are adopted to embed new homes with a definitive sense of place, and in that, construct and maintain identity connected with that sense of place (Butcher, 2010, p. 25). As such, participation is important for identity in that your everyday social relationships influence your identity connected to a place. Being separated as international students, either physically or socially from certain segments of society, would then affect their identities regarding their study host country. Home and place continues to be tied together by identity that is expressed in social and material practices, and the reiteration of imagined shared national characteristics (Butcher, 2010, pp. 25-26).

Identity, attachment and participation are thus constitutive elements of an active citizenship held by temporary migrants. Practices and actions are a way of enacting identity, for example through embedding new homes with a sense of place. Re-location and meeting with difference can challenge former identities, leading to identity re-evaluation and discomfort, where attachment and the re-creation of a point of comfort is a direct response. The concept of home is more than a material object, per Butcher, it consists of “imagination, routinized everyday practices, relationship networks, and representation imbued with personal and social meaning, cultural ideals, and values” (Butcher, 2010, p. 25), aspects which are learned and negotiated in relation to the greater society and cultural context. It is therefore important to keep in mind the conceptualization of citizenship enactment as both actions and practices and subjective feelings and understandings.

To better understand how citizenship is enacted, and participation is engaged in, I will use the concept of ‘social capital’ to theorise access into society, and a facilitator of agency, but also a possible fragmenting and exclusive force.

Social Capital facilitating active citizenship

Of interest to active citizenship, I look at social capital as a facilitator of social interaction, which is the arena where identity formation, attachment and participation take place. Keles uses the concept of ‘social capital’ as a theorization of how migrants gain information and participate in social, economic and political life, both in origin and host communities (Keles, 2015, p. 102). If social capital is instrumental in migrants’ participation through providing access to information and societies, then social capital also influences migrants’ citizenship enactment, given that enactment takes place in interactions with society and the people in it, as discussed previously. Social capital is an aspect or a quality of social networks or contacts, a quality which can be a resource to actors and may help them achieve their goals (Coleman, 1988, p. 101). The resources that social capital represents for migrants can take a number of forms, e.g. norms of increased trust, norms of help and reciprocity, and channels of information, within a social network or group (Coleman, 1988, pp. 102-104). Regardless of whether ‘citizenship enactment’ is a concrete goal for these highly skilled temporary migrants or not, social capital is useful for their lives, and they will probably make efforts to access networks in order to build social capital. Further, Portes emphasizes in his definition that it is through membership in a group that the ability to gain access to resources is achieved (1998, qtd. in Aguilar & Sen, 2009, p. 425). Thus, if the goal for migrants is to gain access to social capital in their new host society, enabling them to develop and enact their active citizenship, then ability to gain group membership would also probably influence their citizenship enactment. The importance of gaining social capital through group membership is also important due to social capital’s temporal aspect.

Aguilar and Sen explain how one needs to invest in social capital in order to utilize the benefits from it, and that there is a temporal dimension that separates these acts of investment and utilization (Aguilar & Sen, 2009, p. 427). In other words, it takes some time and effort to gain social capital from a network after you join it. In addition, according to Aguilar and Sen, social capital has a multiplier effect and increases with use (Aguilar & Sen, 2009, p. 427). Thus, the sooner one can join a group and the longer one is a member, the more social capital one can gain. For temporary migrants, then, there is a double temporal pressure on their social capital attainment, the temporal aspect of social capital and their own limited time in the host society, which then might have an effect on their opportunities and aspirations for gaining said social capital. Within the new migration context, these highly skilled temporary migrants also have, through ICTs, access to networks outside the host country. Keles’ study focuses on social

capital gained from digital contact between migrants and those who have stayed in the homeland or others who have migrated (Keles, 2015, p. 105). Keles argues that the Internet provides a space for constructing a sense of community that may contribute to building mutual benefits, reciprocal trust and strengthening pre-migration social ties, which again may result in sharing and accumulating social capital, and mobilize individuals and communities for social, economic and political benefits in the settlement country (Keles, 2015, p. 105). Thus, the Internet is an excellent channel for building and utilizing social capital, and may provide a practical solution especially for temporary migrants by expanding the range of networks they may access to for example a network in the homeland.

Other possible networks for temporary highly skilled migrants to access are international student or expat communities, where solidarity which arises from a common fate or situation, may create a community based on bounded solidarity (Portes, 1998, p. 8). Thus, the migrants have choices in which community or network to access as the primary social capital source, a choice which will affect the migrants' citizenship enactment, through influencing which community or network the processes of participation, attachment and identity formation take place within. The actions and experiences of citizenship engagement are thus influenced by social capital building and utilization.

Social capital may affect temporary migrants' participation and attachment, and thus citizenship enactment, through two functions; bonding and bridging. Bonding social capital provide intense emotional satisfaction such as love and affection, and is good for emphasizing specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity, while bridging social capital connect people to larger or external networks which can provide informational and economic benefits (Putnam, 2001, qtd. in Burke, Marlow, & Lento, 2010; Liu, Ainsworth, Baumeister, & Alexander, 2016). While bridging social capital can generate broader identities, bonding capital bolster our more narrower views of our selves (Putnam, 2001, pp. 22-23). Thus, bridging social capital might be most important for migrants to initiate them into a social network in society, while bonding social capital could be important for place attachment and identity. For example, if a temporary migrant initially attaches to a homeland community, this could be due mainly to appropriate bonding social capital, such as similar trust norms. Bridging social capital could then introduce the migrant to other networks, e.g. a host country class mate introducing them to friends. If participation, attachment and identity are simultaneous, interconnected processes, both kinds of social capital could be important. This is probable, as Putnam points out that bonding and bridging are not "either-or" categories into which social networks can be divided, but "more or less" dimensions along which different forms of social capital can exist, and thus, both bridging

and bonding social capital can have powerfully positive social effects (Putnam, 2001, pp. 22-23).

Social capital facilitates active citizenship enactment, by facilitating access to networks and social interactions within which the enactment of active citizenship takes place. Citizenship enactment is a dual process of individual, subjective understandings and external or social actions and practices. As discussed previously, experiences of difference and the need to re-evaluate identity results in attachment. However, social capital also plays a role in the result of this re-placing of home. Social capital is part of what gives 'access' to new networks, and is a valuable resource for migrants new to the host society. Initial attachment might focus on people or communities where the migrant has social capital to enter, e.g. access to the network. After this, appropriate social capital in the form of resources such as social support and information could ease interaction and participation with other communities. As such, social capital helps direct migrants' aspirations and opportunities for citizenship enactment. Temporality could also play an important role here, through a temporal pressure to gain access to social capital building networks quickly.

Social Media: A concretization of the acquisition of social capital

There are many different sources of social capital, and the accumulation takes place in several sites. To concretize the acquisition of social capital, I will look at a specific channel of communication and social relations, namely social media. By considering one specific channel of communication, this thesis' study becomes more focused and can delve more deeply into the specific processes connecting the channel to social capital and citizenship enactment. Social media as a platform for social interaction offers a number of ways to communicate and interact with individual friends, larger networks and even society, making it a useful tool in citizenship enactment. In addition, its increasing popularity as a tool for social interaction all over the world makes it important to consider in studies on social networks.

Social media are websites or applications that enable users to partake in social networking online. This thesis will focus mostly on social networking sites, which facilitate connections between users, although other social media sites such as picture uploading sites will also be mentioned, and the collective term of 'social media' is therefore used in this thesis. Although this thesis focuses on social media, it does not consider social media a space for social interaction separate from offline spaces, rather, it takes the position that, as Leander and McKim put it, emerging social spaces of Internet practices are complexly permeated with social spaces considered to be "outside of" the Internet (Leander & McKim, 2003, p. 218). Social networking

sites represent a connection to the offline world, where the purposes of the online interactions are either facilitating, strengthening or complementing offline interaction (Boyd & Ellison, 2013, p. 153). I am interested in the offline and online relations that result from social media activity, in terms of citizenship, and therefore, social networks in general are also considered. Not only is social media a concrete and observable example of social interaction, but it is also part of the new migration setting which these highly skilled temporary migrants exist within, thus making it an especially interesting context to study. Social networking sites and their ability to facilitate social interaction across space and time are especially relevant for temporary migrants, and brings into context the often-transnational setting of their social networks. However, it also works as path for attachment and participation in different aspects of the host society, and a platform for identity formation. Social media offers a context for creating and maintaining social networks and building social capital, both transnational and local in nature, both old and new. It is also a context for attachment and re-placing home, and for identity re-evaluation. These processes and activities can lead to both inclusion and exclusion, both participation and isolation.

Social media are thus platforms for social interaction, social capital building and utilization, and citizenship enactment, for highly skilled temporary migrants. Recent studies suggest that in an era of increased mobility, and more time spent apart, people use mobile and telephones to create a form of ‘virtual connectedness’ to substitute physical proximity and presence (Laurier, 2001; Licoppe, 2004, qtd. in Wilding, 2006, p. 132). Developments in ICTs means communication in the form of text, speech or even video can take place instantly across vast distance. These developments help to facilitate social interactions across time and space, an especially important function of social media for transnational migrants.

Licoppe further argues that communication technologies are exploited to provide continuous interactions which combine into ‘connected relationships’, wherein which the boundaries between absence and presence get blurred (Licoppe, 2004, p.135-6, qtd. in Wilding, 2006, p. 132). Also in local social relationships, Internet can play an important role. Scholars have studied the extent to which use of Internet networking sites can help create and maintain social relationships facilitating social capital building (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2006; Wellman & Gulia, 1999). Joinson suggests that social networks online have been found to serve similar functions to social networks in offline lives, with users turning to them for emotional support or information resources (Joinson, 2008, pp. 1027-1028). Social capital building could then be important for distant social networks, where the Internet is the best channel for interaction, and for local relationships, where the online contact rather complements or enforces

the offline network. Clearly, the new communication technologies do deliver certain valuable functions for us as social beings, based on these studies as well as on the significant popularity of mobile phone and Internet communication. Many scholars have argued that Internet-based activities offer opportunities to make connections and social relations whose functions include social capital, and thus this type of social interaction is helpful in understanding the connection between social capital and citizenship enactment for highly skilled temporary migrants.

One of the fastest growing and most popular uses of Internet today is social networking sites (SNS) (Zúñiga, Jung, & Valenzuela, 2012, p. 319). On SNS, users create profiles about themselves, upload content such as photos, send message in various private and public ways, and connect to others by e.g. making 'friends'. Social media offers a platform for interaction within close personal relationships and wider social networks, and has become an important arena for everything from personal one-on-one conversations to friend-and acquaintance-group contact, to large, public event information, especially for the younger generations, and is an important tool for migrants both in maintaining contact with the homeland, and establishing new contact with the host society. Social networking sites are, as previously discussed, not separate from offline spaces but are rather, often explicitly linked to concrete offline people. In this way SNS is a tool for offline processes, e.g. social capital building, to span time and space-constraints, transnationally as well as between friends' houses.

Many studies have been done on the uses of SNS, the motivations behind it, and its effects on social capital building and further social relations. Although several of them focus on Facebook, their functions can be considered to be largely the same, and thus allow for the same communication and social relationship facilitation. However, many of these studies have been quantitative studies working with questionable social capital measurements, and have come to quite contrasting results concerning whether SNS leads to more or less bridging or bonding social capital (Burke et al., 2010; Donath & Boyd, 2004; Ellison et al., 2006). As such, their judgements as to whether an activity produces bridging or bonding social capital will not be included, and instead I will focus on which activities possibly produce social capital, and how. The quantitative studies might say something about trends and usage patterns, and certainly have interesting information about possible effects of certain SNS activities, and motivations for SNS use in general. However, I am more interested in the mechanisms behind these activities, the variations in use between different contexts and different social groups, and the complex effects it can have on different offline relations in terms of participation, attachment and identity.

Facilitating social interactions, both through facilitating local offline interaction and maintaining offline relationships, is the most important function of SNS for migrants, which may again provide the migrants with social capital, and influence their citizenship enactment. Liu et al. argue that SNS' main function is strengthening and maintaining relationships that already exist offline, rather than creating new contact (Liu et al., 2016, p. 382). Whether Facebook friends were considered friends offline or not is therefore important for Liu et al.'s theory. Social media facilitates social interaction through allowing users to consume information about others, post information about themselves, engage in socially meaningful gestures, and plan offline social interaction.

Several studies distinguish between more 'active' and more 'passive' SNS activities. In the perspective of the concept of 'active citizenship', this distinction is interesting because it reflects the active and the subjective feeling of citizenship enactment for migrants. For Burke, active uses are activities where one user directly identifies another user, such as tagging, as well as wall posts, comments and 'likes' (2010, p. 1909). Golder et al. suggests that even 'contentless messages' such as 'likes' are "discrete events that represent an active, socially meaningful gesture by the sender" (Golder, Wilkinson, & Huberman, 2007, p. 45). Seemingly, the contact itself can have just as much impact as the content, pointing to the power of the action part of citizenship enactment and how this also happens on social media. Active uses of social media may express the migrant's active enactment of citizenship, for example through 'liking' and following a host society news site, or through establishing and maintaining connections to various networks, discussed later. Passive activities include what Burke calls 'consumption of', or looking at, friends' content, (2010, p. 1909), while Liu et al. emphasises following the newsfeed (Liu et al., 2016, p. 382). Passive activities on social media might influence the migrant's subjective feelings regarding their active citizenship. Social media allows for continued exposure to relationships and cultural markers from the homeland during migration, which means that for example identity formation is also informed by attachment to homeland (Butcher, 2010, p. 25). The two categories of passive and active uses of SNS then illustrate how a social practice also influences migrants' subjective and internal citizenship enactment.

A popular use of social media described by Lampe et al., which is particularly relevant for migrants, was to "keep in touch' with old friends and find out more about a person the user had met socially" (Lampe, Ellison, & Steinfield, 2006, p. 168). The activity of 'keeping in touch' included contacting friends who were away from home, or, in the case of migrants, their friends who remained back home (Joinson, 2008, p. 1029 Table 1.). Joinson further interpreted this use as serving a 'surveillance function', where users see what old contacts and friends are 'up to',

how they look and how they behave, and also links it to a self-presentation function served by Facebook profiles for friends looking up the user (Joinson, 2008, p. 1034). This is again an example of a 'passive' use of SNS. Both surveillance and self-presentation, or more generally passive and active uses, are according to Joinson associated with building, investing in and maintaining ties with distant friends and contacts, and building social capital (Joinson, 2008, p. 1034). These functions would all be relevant for temporary migrants in relation to their friends and family back home, giving them an opportunity to interact with, and see the activities of, people in their homeland across space and time-constraints. Thus, the 'keep in touch'-function of social media is important for migrants because it allows them to access old networks for social capital building and utilization.

This self-presentation-and-newsfeed-consumption function mentioned by Joinson also has another function in strengthening social relationships. Liu et al. suggest that the 'newsfeed' of SNS, an aggregated feed of friends activities, can help people keep up to date on the developments in other peoples' lives, information which then can be used to structure a conversation later in chat or when they meet offline (Liu et al., 2016, p. 382). This function is relevant for migrants in keeping updated on friends and family in the homeland, and in keeping the homeland family updated on the migrant's life during migration. This mechanism can help sustain or strengthen a relationship that might otherwise languish as a weak tie, according to Liu et al. (Liu et al., 2016, p. 382). The strengthening of the tie may again suggest social capital building.

This function of the newsfeed is especially important when maintaining contact with people outside your local social context, which is relevant for migrants. Chat messages would not be enough to sustain a connection, unless there are other connections between the user besides Facebook. Something must "feed" the conversations, beyond the weather and family updates. A common background may provide social relationships with context and content when face-to-face interaction is lacking, interests which may be expressed elsewhere on Facebook. One could suggest that the reason a common background may provide content to a conversation is because it may suggest common membership to a specific social group, and thus have already existing social capital facilitating their interaction. Hence, 'newsfeed' consumption could also be seen as access to social capital, where the relevant information for social interactions the migrant has access to is a type of social capital. Activities online can thus have direct functions for existing offline relationships, through facilitating the building and utilization of social capital.

In addition to the specific functions mentioned above, SNS are also popular communication platforms where information about the offline world is disseminated. Users can join pages of offline organisations, plan private and public events, to which they can invite users on SNS. In this way, SNS also become sites of identity and attachment, as far as self-disclosure and group-membership are ways of defining identity and attaching. Further, functions such as event planning and posts about events in the local community facilitates participation for migrants. Further, SNS facilitate social capital building among temporary migrants and their homeland friends and family, as well as between migrants and their local friends. As such, SNS may be seen as a platform for migrants to build and utilize social capital, through maintaining and strengthening local and distant relationships, as well as gaining information about offline communities and possibilities for participation.

SNS is a platform for migrants to maintain personal relationships, keep up with friends, as well as for the migrants to post personal information for friends to be able to keep updated on their lives during migration. It is a convenient tool for long-distant contact, but can also be an important site for identity formation, attachment processes and facilitating local participation.

Including and excluding ties

As a communication technology facilitating contact, SNS and the subsequent participation can have both inclusive and exclusive functions for highly skilled temporary migrants. The social media activities described above enable social interaction which again may build social capital. Golder et al. suggest that online communications such as SNS activity is used to sustain social connections when users are preoccupied with non-socializing activities (Golder et al., 2007, p. 55), or in the case of migrants, when face-to-face socialization with people residing in the homeland is not an option. However, spending time maintaining ties with distant relations across virtual platforms may compromise local relationships and subsequent attachment (Kraut, Patterson, et al., 1998, qtd. in Haythornwaite, 2001, p. 371). Due to temporary highly qualified migrants' transnational backgrounds, this attachment can be targeted at different kinds of communities, with varying levels of openness and connection with the larger society.

Social capital may have two potential functions in relation to citizenship enactment; motivating efforts to gain access to networks, and facilitating this access. As such, factors which influence network access and social capital building and utilization, e.g. temporality, may also be influencing migrants' citizenship enactment. Thus, if social capital is a valued resource with a temporal pressure for these highly skilled migrants, citizenship may also be focused according

to social capital obtainability. Certain communities might be easier to access for new migrants, as they might already be a part of networks before arriving or they might be directed towards these networks upon arrival, e.g. homeland or international communities. Other networks such as the host society might have valuable information which new migrants lack, and which might be causing them the experiences of difference instigating attachment, exclusive or inclusive. The networks which the migrants access might then function as safe havens or nodes of social capital with which migrants can further participate in other communities, or they might not provide the social capital needed for attachment and participation in other communities and for other experiences, thus having an exclusionary effect. In reverse, difficulties in re-placing home within a new cultural context, might push people to recede to more familiar communities. As immigrants to the host community, barriers might hinder their access to the communities most different from their own such as the fear response in the face of difference, as previously described by Butcher.

As such, while SNS generally is a platform for attachment and contact, the attachment and participation, and thus the citizenship enactment itself, can have both inclusive and exclusive properties. Even the SNS activity itself can be exclusive as well as inclusive, in the sense that it can distract from, or not facilitate, engagement in other, offline activities, in addition to facilitating attachment and participation which is constrained or exclusionary. The mechanisms behind these processes and outcomes will be explored in the analysis.

Analytic Approach

With the above theoretical discussion as background, I want in this thesis to investigate the relationship between social capital and citizenship enactment. The aim is to bridge the gaps in the theory regarding temporary highly skilled migrants. I will study the role of social capital in citizenship enactment in the rest of the thesis, with an empirical basis, in order to understand how citizenship is enacted, in the form of participation, attachment and identity formation, and to further explore aspirations and opportunities for citizenship enactment. Highly skilled temporary migrant citizenship enactment concerns the migrants' participation in, attachment to and identification with, various communities and society in their temporary host society, both in terms of opportunities and the migrants' own aspirations. There are clear possibilities of exclusion and segregation when migrants are faced with differences and discomfort, but also for participation and inclusion given the right circumstances. However, these theories do not sufficiently explain how citizenship is enacted, especially regarding how citizenship enactment leads to exclusion and inclusion. These theories are clear on 'what' may happen during

citizenship enactment, but not as contributing on 'how' citizenship enactment may lead to exclusion as well as inclusion.

Given social capital's importance for the citizenship enactment of highly skilled temporary migrants, I will take this as the starting point in the following empirical analysis. In the following empirical study, social capital is used to theorize migrants' access to society, as well as their motivation for seeking such network access. Through both motivating migrants to obtain access into networks, as well as easing and facilitating this access, social capital influences migrants' interactions with society and the people in it. Given social capital's influence on access especially, it may also especially be instrumental in deciding which network the citizenship enactment takes place within, and thus the community or society in relation to which, the migrants' citizenship enactment takes place. I will look at how the context of temporality influences network access and social capital building and utilization, and how it thus may be connected to migrants' citizenship enactment.

By applying the concepts of social capital and active citizenship to the migrants' experiences of their own migrant participation, actions as well as subjective understandings, the analysis intends to show how migrants' aspirations and opportunities for participation, attachment and identity formation may be connected to their search for social capital building and utilization, and if so, what the results might be. This exploration will take place within the new migration setting, e.g. in relation to temporary migrants and with focus on their social media use.

Methodology

Research Design

Due to the aim of this thesis, which is to understanding the mechanisms and processes behind citizenship enactment, I chose to use a qualitative method approach. I want to explore the different ways in which migrants construct their lives and attachments in their new host societies, with a focus on social networks. Therefore, a qualitative method was a natural selection for this study. Qualitative studies are concerned with studying social phenomena, for example social structures (I. Hay, 2010, p. 5). In this study, rather than being able to make sweeping generalizations made possible by numerous informants in a quantitative study, it is more important to gain rich, detailed data from a few informants to be able to piece together possible mechanism behind their actions. Due to the explorative design of this thesis, it will be interesting at the end to suggest some further ways to deepen and widen the insights in this study.

Ontology and epistemology are linked to the methods we choose for our research, and affect how we look at the phenomena we study, and the knowledge we gain from our study. According to Bryman, qualitative researchers are influenced by interpretivism (Bryman, 2016, p. 392). Thus, for my study, choosing a qualitative method means I adopt an interpretivist epistemological position, meaning I try to understand the social world through examining the interpretations of that world by its participants (Bryman, 2016, p. 375). Ontologically, qualitative research follows a constructivist position, meaning reality is relative and socially constructed, and therefore the researchers understanding is co-constructed with the participants' understanding through our mutual interaction in data generation (Costantino, 2008, p. 119). This is appropriate for my research aim, which is to explore the role of social networks in migrants' feelings and enactments of citizenship. In a constructivist view, this knowledge only comes to existence within the interaction between me as a researcher and the participants, an interaction which takes the form as the researcher examining how the participants interpret their social networks and citizenships. This approach is appropriate for my research aim, and justifies my further choice of methods.

Selection of Case and Informants

The selection of case and informants were selected through purposive sampling, informed by the aim and research question of the thesis.

Case Selection

The chosen case, highly skilled temporary migrants to Trondheim, Norway, proved very helpful in exploring my research question, with interesting things to say about the topics explored in this thesis. Several other migrant groups could also have been interesting in relation to local attachment and homeland contact. For example, refugees could perhaps be expected to have an especially strong connection to the homeland and find it more difficult to attach to the host society, since their mobility was in a sense less voluntary. Refugees are however a vulnerable group whose involvement in a study has ethical considerations, and would perhaps require more experience than I felt I had at the time as a researcher. However, the interesting aspects of a refugee mobility were also a possibility among another migrant group, namely temporary migrants. The same context of attachment to homeland was expected to be found in the chosen case, highly skilled temporary migrants, due to their temporariness. Of course, although this case was chosen based on an expected relevance to the research question, the actual homeland attachment and other citizenship enactment patterns of the individual interviewees from the case were not assumed. This expectation was also mediated during data collection and analysis by looking for negative cases, and by keeping an open mind. In addition, the research question is not focused on confirming or disproving the homeland attachment of this case, but on exploring the role of social capital related to citizenship enactment. The choice of highly skilled migrants as a case was somewhat informed by pragmatism, as these were the informants I could access most easily, being a university student. As this case proved interesting and relevant, it would seem like this pragmatic choice was not at the cost of this study's quality. In addition, it is important to know your strengths as a researcher and focus on carrying out thorough and honest research.

Informants Selection

As mentioned before, in this study, I need to access a few informants who have the right experiences and who are the right kind of migrants, i.e. who are part of the case. I therefore needed to use a type of purposive sampling (I. Hay, 2010, p. 75). Informants were identified through my personal network of international students. International friends were asked whether they knew any temporary migrants to Norway who might be interested in partaking in

a study. They did not necessarily have to be students, but they could not be legal citizens of Norway. This was to ensure some temporality, either planned or legally enforced. Initially, no other conditions were given. However, the informants I gained access to were all either highly skilled workers or international students, and therefore it was natural to make this my case, to more narrowly focus my research. This would thus be a combination of convenience sampling, where participants are selected on the basis of access, however with some criteria (I. Hay, 2010, p. 75). It is not criterion sampling since not all highly skilled temporary migrants were sampled. Informants who were interested in partaking, I was put in direct contact with the informants, and sent them an information page about the study, see Appendix B. If the informants still wanted to participate after reading this, which as all contacted informants except for one, a meeting was set up. As the data collection progressed, a snowball sampling method was also used, where I asked participants at the end of our meeting if they knew someone, within the criteria, they thought might want to partake. These were then contacted in the same way as explained above.

Two informants put me in touch with new informants, one of whom put me in touch with three new informants. These three informants therefore all knew this one informant, though none of them were especially close friends. Two out of the three informants gained from this one informant mentioned the informant as an acquaintance, but none of them mention each other. Having four out of nine informants being from the same extended network could have implications for my study, which I will have to be aware of during interpretation and analysis. For example, their extended social network could have unique mechanisms for attachment or participation. Having several informants from this network could make this unique mechanism seem more widespread and typical. On the other hand, the more similar the informants are in terms of context such as accommodation, occupation or study, and participation, the more interesting are the differences between them. Therefore, I do not believe it will pose a problem for my analysis. The sample of nine informants consisted of five men and four women, and their geographical backgrounds varied across Europe, Asia, Africa, and America (North and South). Six were international students at the Master level, two were PhD students and one was working in Norway.

I did not ask my international student friends to partake themselves, as I suspected my prior knowledge of them could cloud my interpretation, as well as our relationship outside the researcher-participant setting could affect their earnestness. Considering that one aspect of interest in this study is participation and separation of communities, it is quite possible that I have not been able to access some of the more extreme cases of interest, namely migrants who

do not participate in Norwegian society at all. In an extreme sense, partaking in a study by a Norwegian master student would count as participation in the Norwegian society. In any case, migrants with little connection to the Norwegian society would be difficult to access for me as a Norwegian student. I hope that using my network of international students and further the snowball sampling method with the informants mitigated this problem somewhat.

Pragmatism also affects how relevant my informants are – there could probably exist a more typical or extreme case. I believe that the informants I found were appropriate and sufficiently typical to provide an insight into the experiences of this specific migrant group case. In addition, focusing the case by educational level through the ‘highly skilled’ criterion helps to specify the case being studied, to ensure clarity about what is being studied and what is not being studied. It allows for exploration of interesting aspects of the ‘highly skilled’, such as their relatively unhindered mobility due to their value as immigrants in host societies. However, there is a majority of students, as opposed to highly skilled workers or expats, in my sample. This could of course have some impact on my results. However, despite this, I believe that the results do illuminate interesting processes which are mostly concerned with ease of mobility and temporality, i.e. factors which are common for highly skilled workers and university students.

The Data Collection

In my data collection, I used two qualitative methods, semi-structured interviews and online participant observation. For each participant, I first conducted an interview, and then I observed their social media interactions. This not only provides valuable knowledge about the topic itself, but is also an exploration of possible studies focused on social media which can provide insight into the social lives of migrants, capturing also the transnational aspects.

Semi-structured Interview

Semi-structured interviews constituted part of my data collection. Interviews are an excellent method of gaining access to information about events, opinions, and experiences (I. Hay, 2010, p. 102), information which would prove useful for me in my research endeavor. Through semi-structured interviews, I could gain access to information such as the migrants’ opinions about their own role as citizens, events which affected their feelings of attachment or which were important for social capital building, and their experiences with participation and social media. The semi-structured interviews were prepared with an interview guide of open and closed questions which gave the initial structure to the interviews, while also providing the freedom to

choose the order of the questions and whether to add new ones if the situation so demanded (see Appendix A for details). The interview guide was changed significantly once, adding the questions regarding 'belonging', about midway in the interviewing process. The result was that only a few of the migrants were directly asked this question, and thus the answers are not comparable with the other interviewees. Then again, comparability of answers is not the most important function of semi-structured interviews. Rather, the nature of semi-structured interviews allowed me as a researcher to follow up on interesting information and issues which were not covered by my prepared questions, as well as allowing the participants to talk freely, about experiences and relevant stories. This is an aspect of semi-structured interviews which proved valuable to me, during the interviews as well as the following observations. Semi-structured interviews also allow for some comparison of the data, although not as much as structured interviews. In this case, I believe semi-structured interviews was the best solution for my purposes.

I interviewed five men and five women, a total of 10 interviews. However, one participant was revealed to no longer be a temporary migrant, neither legally nor in aspiration, and I therefore deemed her interview to be outside of my research aim. The participants were allowed to choose the area where the interview and observation would take place. Five interviews were conducted in private group work rooms at the university campus where they studied. One interview was conducted in a private room in another university campus, one was conducted in the participant's office, one was conducted in a café, and the last one in the apartment of our common acquaintance. The interviews conducted in university campuses were suggested by me when the participants did not have a suggestion of their own, and they then preferred their own university campus over mine. The other locations were requested by the participants. Only the café interview was not a private setting, however, we were seated far away from other customers and the participant still seemed to answer openly and earnestly.

The interview lengths varied from 50min to 1h 42min. They were all conducted in English. One participant was a native speaker; several I would consider fluent. Language never posed any problems. I used an audio recorder to record the interviews. My social position was as an insider and outsider, due to my background as student and former highly skilled temporary migrant, but also my identity as a native opposed to them as migrants. I tried to emphasize my background as an international student in the beginning of the interviews, and again relate my own experiences where appropriate during the interviews. A few times I suspected the participants to edit their answers because I am Norwegian, specifically when ensuring that they

were not critical of Norwegians, and that they thought Norwegians were all in all very nice, despite any issues mentioned.

Online Participant Observation

I chose to include an observational part to this study due to its transnational character. When studying migrants' social lives, a significant part of it may very well take place across vast geographical distance. Due to a lack of funds, travelling to the homeland to each participant was never an option. However, by observing the participants' social media accounts, I could access the migrants' side of these social interactions. Depending on the access given to me by the participants, I could get close to all the information they themselves received in these social interactions, as well as some insight, through interviewing, into their interpretation of this contact. For transnational relationships, this could be the entirety of the contact between two individuals at that moment in time. For local relationships, it could be the entirety or at least an important part.

The observation part was an extension of the interview, where I asked the participants questions about what I observed, and we had a conversation about the issues that came up. It was less structured than the more formal interview part, but I did have some questions and instructions planned beforehand (see Appendix A for details). The participants were asked to choose the social media account for observation, it could be one or several accounts, based on which one they used the most, or which ones they thought would be more relevant for showing contact with various networks. The social media observed included Facebook, Snapchat, Whatsapp, Line, 9gag, Instagram and Slack, which all share basic features of social media, leaving their differences unproblematic for analysis. As a start, the participants were asked to find something 'interesting, something they would like to react to, like, comment on, click on' etc. This was to ensure that the social media content discussed was relevant to them. Through my own experience, much content on social media today is not the result of the account holder's interests and actions as much as friends or corporations. A few such 'interesting' post were found, and discussed in terms of why they were interesting, how they would like to react, and a little about the person who posted the post. From this, the observations followed the natural flow of the conversation, and I let the participants decide as much as possible what they wanted to show me, as the observation guide will also show (See Appendix A for details). This allowed for new information, and more importantly, the information the participants saw as important, to come out. For example, while observing one participant scrolling through their Facebook newsfeed, one participant said "...actually, what I want to look at, is..." and then proceeded to

show me a profile which the participant was especially interested in, and even opened in its own window to monitor. This turned out to be one of the most important relationships the participant had over social media, and gave rise to information about his homeland contact. Once a few friends like this were identified, from the homeland as well as local friends, I asked about their contact and their conversations.

As an uncontrolled observation, the observation included seeing as well as listening and interviewing (I. Hay, 2010, p. 243). Since I continued interviewing the participants during the observation, I used an audio recorder to record our conversation. In addition, I took notes of visual aspects of the observation not captured by the audio recorder, e.g. describing a picture on a social media account referred to by the participant.

Observing the participants' social media accounts provided me with information about different networks, different types of contact, different levels of intimacy, and the meaning behind different social media activities. Through observation, I could gain insight into not only the participants own thoughts about their social world, but also into the social acts themselves of the participants and members of their social networks. By using observation combined with interviews as a method, I gained insight into networks and concrete actions and connections which I would not using only interviews, while also gaining the context and interpretations from participants not gained in network analysis.

Participant observation is useful for geographers "*seeking to understand more fully the meanings of place and the contexts of everyday life*" (I. Hay, 2010, p. 245). In this study, as a part of the interview process, I observed the participants' social media accounts. The purpose of the observation part was a mix of providing complementary evidence and context (I. Hay, 2010, p. 242). On the one hand, the purpose was to provide complementary evidence to the interview part, the social media accounts representing the platforms of interest for social capital building, attachment and participation. On the other hand, the observation itself also allowed for interpretation of a particular time and place, namely the migrants' social media accounts, through direct experience.

The observation part was also fruitful because more structured formats of data collections such as interviews "*often removes the researcher from the 'flow' of everyday life in both time and space*" (I. Hay, 2010, p. 245). An important function of the observation part was simply to jog the memory of participants, and give them concrete examples to comment on and explain as part of the extended interview (after the initial semi-structured interview). It was very successful in bringing out examples and elaborating answers which had previously been short. For example, in the interview part the informant might list the organizations they are a

member of, and some general activities. However, during the observation part, the same informant was able to access the organization's Facebook page, and give examples and thick descriptions of concrete incidents of social activities, often tying in other relevant issues such as language. In addition, the observation part was valuable in helping to ensure that the participants understood the questions in the interview by having concrete examples to point to. It made the topic of the interview more concrete and immediate, for both the participants and me as a researcher.

Observation is an active choice about what to see and how to see it, meaning the researcher has an active role in the observation process. This means that the position of the researcher is important for the observation process. My social position as an insider and outsider to the topic itself has already been discussed. However, what is special about the observation of people's social media accounts is that unlike e.g. a neighborhood, on a social media account there is only one 'insider' - the account holder. It is uncommon, at least to my knowledge, even in intimate relationships, to give access or possibility to observe social media accounts to others. Some of the observational data about other people on social media is in a sense public, for example in the Facebook newsfeed or the Discover page on Instagram. However, private chat logs are private, and I tried to keep all identities private. On the other hand, I am an insider as far as I am also a social media user, and I tried as far as I could to relate my own experiences of social media where they were relevant, to put participants at ease or encourage further elaboration. For example, one participant was nervous about showing her Discover page on Instagram, since the aggregated content was affected by her friends' Instagram habits as well as her own, and that "*sometimes there's like weird pictures as well*". I tried to put her at ease by saying I also use Instagram and I also wonder where it all comes from, that I also can recognize that not all the content on my Discover page is content from my own habits as the account holder. In this sense, my insider to the phenomena itself proved useful, even in settings where the discomfort arose from my 'intrusion'.

Analysis and Writing

Transcription can be very useful for the analysis to allow for coding and organizing the results, and it also helped me familiarize myself with the data. Transcribing is a time-consuming process, but it can also be seen as valuable preparation for the analysis and Dunn even argues that immersion in the data provides a preliminary form of analysis (Dunn, 2010, p. 121). I transcribed most of the audio recordings. I skipped sections which I considered irrelevant to my research aim, digressions and detailed technical explanations of bureaucracy. I took care to note

which events or explanations I skipped, and time slot skipped, in the transcript, should I later find it relevant after all. I transcribed the observation part as well, and included my observation notes in my transcripts. The transcribed notes then formed the basis for coding.

Researchers who analyze data to seek meaning from it, by constructing themes, relations between variables, and patterns, may use content analysis. Dunn mentions two types of content analysis, of which my coding practice was closer to latent content analysis (Dunn, 2010, p. 125). Latent content analysis is concerned with searching for themes, and requires a determination of the underlying meaning of what was said (Dunn, 2010, p. 125). I initially started with codes based on my interview guides and research topic, however I was also open for creating new codes as I identified recurring themes and patterns, or interesting aspects in the transcripts. I read the interviews several times, and applied each new code for each interview, checking whether it was relevant also for this participant. Next I began to collect similarly coded text into themes, and assessed the diversity of answers and experiences within each theme. From this, I began to explore connections between themes and connected it to my previously developed analytical framework.

The findings represent the developed themes and connections in the empirical data and its relation to the analytical approach from chapter two. Already here an interpretation has been made and I have in some way influenced the analysis as a researcher, as is in the interpretive tradition of qualitative research. In addition, concerning quotes, it is important to be clear on the fact that I cannot include all relevant quotes, and that therefore some quotes are left out. As a general guideline, when representing a range of answers, I try to include quotes that show the range of opinions or experiences, e.g. one participant who feels welcome and one who feels excluded. At other times, I will include quotes of unique experiences, or rich and complex explanations which illuminate the issues especially well. Regardless, a selection will have to be made, and this will first of all affect the representation of the nuances between the participants, but it might also enhance any bias I have as a researcher.

Validity and Reliability

In a study with a flexible research design like this, it is important to assess the accuracy, or correctness, of the knowledge created. In a qualitative study, one might first think that this concerns the credibility of the data collected, i.e. the answers of the participants and how truthful they were in the interviews. However, this is rather difficult to assess or even to arrange for in any specific way. I could for example highlight that the only benefit for my informants to participate in my study was a chance for their voice to be heard and therefore it would likely

be in their interest to be truthful, however, this is a weak argument. They could for example have an alternative agenda to present the migrant reality in Norway in a certain way. An alternative task is therefore to look at the credibility of the research itself, something I as a researcher can control and assess myself. Maxwell represented a typology for the threats to validity within qualitative research, concerning description, interpretation and theory (1996, qtd. in Robson, 2011, p. 170).

According to Robson, the main threat to providing a valid description lies in the inaccuracy of the data (Robson, 2011, p. 156), which I have mediated by using an audio recording of all data collected, and by transcribing these audio records. This allows me to use quotes from the participants which I know are correct. However, of course, even though I have the participants' verbatim answers, there is still a chance that I as a researcher can misunderstand what the participants' mean, as can happen in any social interaction.

In relation to providing a valid description, I believe that my choice of methods aided the understanding and thus the description of the events. By including participant observation into my interview setting, I gained access to concrete examples of the issues discussed, and I believe it made the topics of the interviews clearer for the informants, and it made it easier for me as a researcher to assess whether the informant and I were on the 'same page' or whether I needed to reformulate a question or engage an example. This can be tricky when discussing abstract or large concepts. I also mediated this through my questions, by asking the participants their definition of a concept in addition to asking them their experiences with it. This way, I had a better idea of what the participants meant when answering. In addition, both the observation part and the semi-structured interviews allowed me to ask follow-up questions when an answer was unclear or when I believed the participants could elaborate more on an answer.

The next important aspect of a valid thesis is providing a valid interpretation. The main threat to a valid interpretation is through imposing a framework or meaning on what is happening rather than this emerging from what you learn from your involvement in the setting (Robson, 2011, p. 156). Robson suggests that this could be mediated through including a demonstration of how the end interpretations was reached, meaning one should not take it as self-evident that a particular interpretation can be made from the data (Robson, 2011, p. 157). To strengthen the validity of my interpretation, I try to continually show and justify the steps I take when making my interpretations, and make clear the interpretations I make, and how they are based on empirical data, and related to theory when relevant.

Concerning theory, the threat to validity is not considering alternative explanations or understandings of the phenomenon studied (Robson, 2011, p. 157). Robson suggests countering this by actively seeking data which are not in agreement with your theory (Robson, 2011, p. 157). I did this for example while coding, by consciously coding not only ‘initial problems’ but the lack of ‘initial problems’. I also present these ‘negative’ results in my findings, to keep any possible patterns found in perspective. In this sense, I kept in mind the possibility that the issue I was looking for, did not exist, or that it had an alternative explanation or mechanism. Searching for negative cases is also an important means for countering bias and rigor, which always present in research involving people (Robson, 2011, p. 159). Something which this study could have benefited from is some sort of member checking, which can be very valuable in mediating researcher bias (Robson, 2011, p. 158). Member checking includes presenting informants with accounts made by them, which would be used in the analysis and the interpretations I had made. The informants then check the accounts and the analysis.

Within the interpretive tradition of qualitative research, complete neutrality is not possible. However, according to Tjora, the researcher’s involvement can be seen as a resource, rather than an interference, as long as the researchers knowledge and how it is used in the analysis, is made clear (Tjora, 2012, p. 203). It is therefore important that I clarify how I as a researcher and my roles affect the research. I decide to focus on one aspect which I believe might have had some influence on the participants’ responses, namely my status as a Norwegian citizen. This puts me in direct opposition to the exact part of the informants’ identity which is the topic of the interviews, namely their status as migrants. I am very much an insider in the group in which they may or may not be trying to become insiders, I am a representative of the group which they are having problems connecting with. In practical terms, there were a few times where the participants explicitly modified their criticisms of Norwegians, by following up a critical statement with e.g. “It’s not specifically Norwegians”. It is possible, I believe, that this happened because they knew I was a Norwegian, and were hesitant of being too critical of Norwegians towards me. To mitigate this, in the beginning of the interviews, I emphasized my past as an international student and temporary migrant, and that there would be no judgement from my part. Still, I became aware of my possible influence on the participants while conducting the interviews, and tried to be reflexive about my role in relation to the informants, to make sure they felt comfortable with sharing all their opinions. I was also aware of my influence as a researcher in the subsequent data material treatment by coding possible incidents, so that I could evaluate whether to use this data in my findings.

Robson suggests that researchers using flexible research designs should look at the reliability of their research in terms of how thorough, careful and honest they have been in carrying out the research, and of being able to show to others that they have been (Robson, 2011, p. 159). For me, this means being honest about the choices I have made, showing that I am aware of their consequences, and being thorough and clear in my descriptions and explanations of the choices made, the methods used and the interpretations I have made. Therefore, it was important for me to for example explain the pragmatic way I decided on a research case, and to discuss the consequences for my study and whether the most interesting case was chosen.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are always important when doing research. I have previously mentioned how ethics affected my case choice. I made sure the participants knew, both before meeting me in the form of an information page (see Appendix B for details) and again in the beginning of each interview, that I was doing research for my master thesis, that interviews could be conducted with confidentiality and presented with anonymity, and that they would be audio recorded. I explained the topics we would discuss, and made it clear that it was voluntary to participate, and that there would be no judgement from me regarding their answers. The participants signed consent forms regarding this information (see Appendix B for details). I further made efforts to collect as little personal information about the participants, such as specific occupations or hometowns, or the full names of people other than the participants. The full names of the participants were only collected as the signature on the consent forms, and were not used for any other purpose, nor stored together with their respective observation notes. One possible ethical issue concerns observation data obtained about friends of participants on social media. These people did not consent to participating in my study, and yet in some cases I accessed and collected information about their behaviors or conversations only intended for the participant. I tried to mitigate this issue by not recording any names, making special effort not to mention names for the audio recorder and instead say “you do not have to read out their name, but this person...” and point to their name or photo on the screen instead. I would then note a code for the name in my notes, which was only relevant for the observation session in case I would like to ask about that specific person later, e.g. if they were from the participant’s homeland. In addition, I took care to respect the boundaries set by my participants as to what information I could access or not, and tried not to focus on personal details.

Findings: Highly skilled temporary migrants in Trondheim and their experiences with citizenship enactment

I will now present the findings from my empirical study. I will present the findings relevant to answering the research question of how social capital is connected to citizenship enactment for highly skilled temporary migrants. The findings concern topics which I have directly enquired about in the data collection, grounded in the framework, as well as topics which have emerged as patterns throughout data collection and processing. The findings are structured in order to facilitate answering the research question, on the basis of the analytical framework developed in chapter two, which is used to structure and understand the empirical data. The analytic framework developed in chapter two asserts that social capital plays an important role in highly skilled temporary migrants' opportunities and aspirations for citizenship enactment, in terms of motivating and facilitating social interactions and network access, and in explaining exclusive and inclusive tendencies in citizenship enactment. Therefore, a brief first section will represent findings regarding the migrants' citizenship enactment, their participation, attachment and identity formation, and what kind of citizenship enactment this has resulted in, in relation to exclusion and inclusion. In the second section, I will consider the findings on citizenship enactment in terms of opportunities and aspirations, or motivation and facilitation, which will facilitate a discussion on the role of social capital in citizenship enactment. The findings function as a backdrop for the discussion, where I will apply social capital to the findings concerning the migrants' experiences with citizenship enactment.

Citizenship Enactment

Citizenship enactment in this thesis concerns highly skilled temporary migrants' enactment of active citizenship, in the form of attachment, identity and participation. Place attachment concerns the bonds between people and place, people or community. Its main function for migrants is re-placing home to mitigate the challenges of difference, which can result in either exclusion or engagement in intercultural contact. This sense of place may again affect identity as connected to a place, and is also affected by exclusion or inclusion. Finally, participation concerns both the practices of re-placing home and learning processes and experiences through which migrants gain the power and agency construct and negotiate their own position. This section will concern the highly skilled temporary migrants experiences with citizenship enactment in Trondheim. How did the processes of citizenship enactment manifest themselves among the migrants, and what were the consequences for inclusion and exclusion?

Participation

The concept of participation developed in chapter two sees participation as concerning both the practices of re-placing home, and learning processes and experiences through which migrants gain the power and agency to construct and negotiate their own position. In which ways did the migrants make efforts to participate, what were their strategies, and which problems did they face? According to the informants, participation for them was socializing. In the following sections, ‘participation’ will therefore refer to the concept as the informants understood it.

Participating in society and making friends

The migrants’ experiences with participation, as they explained them during the interviews, largely concerned the concept of participation as social interaction. Their efforts to participate, their strategies and their problems, were therefore also largely related to making friends, joining groups and attending social events. In addition, the informants explained that they found it difficult to become friends with Norwegians, and that their friends were mostly international or from their homeland.

Some informants felt that they were participating in Norwegian society, and explained that they are involved in student activities and social events, and do things such as celebrate the national day and read Norwegian newspapers. However most of the informants did not feel like they participated in Norwegian society, and even those who did, explained that they met many barriers to interacting with Norwegians, compared to their experiences with other international friends. The informants explained that they had tried to make friends with Norwegians, but they, as one male student from Europe said it, they were not able to establish a “*strong connection*”. A female student from Africa experienced that when Norwegians would meet each other “*they click*”, and that this was something which was lacking for her and making her getting to know Norwegians slower.

An important barrier mentioned by all the informants was language, which was reported to hinder social interaction and participation in, two slightly different ways. For some, the direct lack of Norwegian meant they could not access information, and were excluded from activities requiring Norwegian language. A female student from Asia shared one experience where she was not accepted into any student groups because, she thought, she did not speak Norwegian and other applicants did. She said that this was the reason she did not feel like she participated in Norwegian society at all. For most of the participants however, communication itself was not the problem, as they would use mostly English in communication with Norwegians. Instead the issue was the discomfort of speaking a second language, for migrants as well but especially for

Norwegians. The migrants explained that Norwegians were uncomfortable when speaking English, or that Norwegians were not used to speaking English, and that this led to difficulties making friends or establishing stronger connections with Norwegians. As a male PhD student from South America explained, *“it’s not a lack of communication. It’s just that I think it feels more comfortable to speak their own language”*, and that this lack of comfort, especially from the Norwegians’ side, hindered deeper connections between migrants and Norwegians. A possible explanation for Norwegians relative discomfort may be that while the migrants are likely to have more international backgrounds, and to be using or have used English actively before, while most Norwegians are not as experienced in English.

The informants expressed that the temporary nature of their residence, specifically others’ expectations of them being temporary, and their own expectations of their residence being temporary, affected their participation. Their participation was affected in terms of other people investing less in their friendships or connections, as one informant, a male student from North America, explained: Other students had been surprised when he had returned to class one semester, as they had thought he was an exchange student and that he would not be coming back. This then represents both a worry for the migrant about how they are perceived and understood, as the male student suspected that their assumption about his temporariness had made them less interested in being friends with him, thinking he would leave soon.

Some migrants also experienced that their own temporality affected their aspirations or efforts towards participating in society. One informant, a female student from Asia, explained that when she first arrived, she had tried, and failed, to make Norwegian friends, however, *“...now that I have only four months, I don’t care anymore. I’m going back.”* Another informant moderated his efforts towards learning the language:

...so that's also another point that affect me, the fact that do they actually do completely deep learning on Norwegian to actually be fluent? Or, yeah, for professional, I do not need it. But for example, if I want to grow on this office, which is not main one, that would be nice, but since I'm not sure what's my longer term plan, I can actually move to another office in the same company, where I need to learn Italian or any other language. (Male, worker, South America)

Thus, these highly skilled temporary migrants’ specific temporality of understanding themselves as temporary in their current stay, influenced their aspirations and the aspirations of Norwegians in establishing connections, and in participation specific to the Norwegian society.

The barriers to participation were also apparent when the informants discussed making friends in Norway. Although most of the participants reported that they had mostly international

friends, while some also had larger groups of friends from the homeland who lived in Trondheim, two informants did have mostly Norwegian friends. The two informants, one female student from Africa and one male student from North America, explained that they had gained Norwegian friends by being “socialized” with Norwegian students in their university classes, and had met Norwegians through joining student groups with mostly Norwegian student members. Still, only one of the informants who had mostly Norwegian friends felt he had close friendships to Norwegians.

When the other informants explained how and why they had made friends mostly with international or homeland friends, most of them mentioned either ‘circumstance’, i.e. that they lived in an international student area or close to other homeland people, or, as a female student from Asia explained, that their classmates were mostly international, and therefore and had been “*socialized*” with them. This latter reason again is similar to the one given by the informants who had mostly Norwegian friends, again suggesting that most migrants choose their network of friends unintentionally, or without conscious effort. A couple of the migrants who had some Norwegian friends, seemed to have made a conscious decision not to socialize with people from the homeland, as a male PhD student from Europe explained that he had “*made a conscious effort not to hang out with (homeland) people*”, since then there would be no reason to have left his homeland. This then suggests that their decision to make Norwegian and international friends was also a conscious one. The question, which will be further discussed later, is why the lack of conscious actions most often turn the migrants towards international or homeland, rather than Norwegian, friends, while conscious decisions must be made to make close Norwegian friends. The experience of one informant gives an initial idea as to why migrants may be drawn towards homeland communities:

Suddenly, one day, I met two random (homeland) guys, that I listen they speak (homeland language), and then I just introduce myself (...) And then one of the girls (...) introduce me to someone that would offer me to pass Christmas together (...) and then I end up going to this Christmas event, which I actually didn't know anyone. (Male, worker, South America)

The experience of this migrant employed in Norway suggests that connections to homeland communities and contact between new acquaintances was facilitated by things such as a common language and national identity, indicators of a common understanding through language, and concerning socializing behaviours, values and holiday traditions.

For the informants interviewed in this thesis study, it seems like those who could have contact with people from their homeland, i.e. who had available social groups from their

homeland in Trondheim, did have this contact, either through effort or ‘circumstance’. A few migrants did not have available homeland communities to access in Trondheim, where one saw this as problematic. A few migrants had also consciously sought out homeland communities in Trondheim. The exception was those who had specifically decided not to. Thus, while obstacles to participation and attachment, through difficulties with making friends with Norwegians might in some cases have discouraged migrants from trying again, other migrants seemed to immediately focus their connection towards homeland or international friends and communities upon arrival.

Due to these highly skilled temporary migrants’ transnational backgrounds, their participation did not limit itself to local, offline social interactions and relationships. The temporary migrants also had contact with friends and family in the homeland, in addition to participating locally, via social media. Social media had two main functions for the highly skilled temporary migrants; maintaining homeland relationships, and organizing offline participation, in the form of social interactions and gatherings.

Social media was commonly used among all the informants to organize or find information about social events. Social media allows the migrants to both access a feed of public events, e.g. festivals and student events, and to participate in planning private events in group chats or on event pages. Social media was frequently used to plan local activities, either through group chats or event pages. According to a male PhD student from Europe, the Facebook group he shared with his colleagues was “*essential in organising fun activities*”, and for another male PhD student, from South America, “*Facebook is what help the most to get to know like, to improve my life here in Norway*”, through receiving information about and planning social events, such as events at Samfundet, a local student organisation, or festivals and quizzes around town. Thus, social media is clearly an important tool for planning social events for many of the participants. Social media, especially Facebook, was also important for seeing what was going on, in terms of public events.

Maintaining relationships was another important motivation for using social media, according to the informants. For some, the motive was maintaining the relationships for when the migrant would visit home, although most of the informants explained their homeland contact with wanting to maintain the relationships they had with people still in living in their homeland, as a way of “*keeping those friendships alive*”, as a male PhD student from Europe put it. However, one of the informants, a male worker from South America, felt little need to maintain too many of his homeland relationships, and instead focused on gathering all his friends when he would visit his homeland, by organising a meeting through group chat. Thus,

despite how common the theme of maintaining relationships was, for at least one migrant, it was of little importance.

The common topics of conversation among the migrants during homeland contact could be divided into two categories, where conversations such as “how are you doing /what’s up” combined the two. One type of conversation had the function of ‘catching up’, and concerned updating friends and family on life, school/university, health of the family and providing support. The other type of conversation had the function of ‘keeping in touch’, and concerned lighter, less migration-focused topics such as the migrant’s current activity, i.e. what they were cooking, sending pictures, gossiping etc. In addition, ‘contentless contact’ was an important function for the migrants’ homeland contact:

...and for example I also send comments or hearts through snapchat, if I see something interesting that a close friend posted, and just to interact with them, not to actually speak about anything in particular, but to notify them that I am thinking about them, I do that a lot. (Female, student, Europe)

These types of acts have very little content compared to chat messages, but they still serve a function of ‘keeping in touch’ for some of the migrants. These types of conversations, “catch up”, “keep in touch” and even the “contentless contact”, could be seen to be of more value to the migrants than simply maintaining homeland relationships. First of all, for some of the migrants, the importance of homeland contact via social media seemed to wane over time.

A couple of informants, two male students from Europe, mentioned that their social media contact was more important for them right after arriving in Norway, or that they expected it to wane over time. One of the informants had lived in Norway for five years, and could determine that while he still had social media contact with his family now, in the beginning, “...it was a lot”. This was a period where the quoted migrant did not have a job and not too many friends, a situation which eventually changed. The other European student has similar expectations for his social media use, explaining that in the beginning the contact was “stronger”, but that after a “longer period of time, it will be weakening”. One would think that a need to maintain homeland relationships for temporary migrants would not wane over time like this, and this might suggest that homeland contact has additional functions for the highly skilled temporary migrants. These additional functions may then have further influences on the migrants’ interactions with the homeland, and the host society, as a result.

Access to information and opportunities for participation

Friendships or contact with other international people or Norwegians was important for the highly skilled temporary migrants in several situations, providing information about organisations, events and introducing them to new contacts and friends. One participant explained the importance of Norwegian friends for international students to gain information about Samfundet, a popular local student organization:

Most of the international students working in Samfundet, are people I referred. (...) I think one of them was referred to by their roommates, (...) there three Norwegian students (...) told him all about Samfundet, and all the opportunities (...) So it's kind of, when the international students don't have this point of contact, then that information doesn't get relayed properly.
(Male, student, North America)

His example concerns how international students only gained enough information to join Samfundet through knowing Norwegian students, and this is an example of the importance of local and host society contacts for migrants to gain certain types of information. Other types of information, migrants received simply by being international migrants, for example the international students received an email from the university about the Norwegian society and tips like not to get a taxi because it is expensive. Here, the migrants' lack of information is known, and remedied. However, this is not the case for topics such as Samfundet, at least according to the quoted male student from North America. If the migrants do not receive information about their options, it makes it hard to participate. In certain cases, homeland contact constrained migrants in terms of access to information, as one migrant experienced when the information he received from his local homeland friends turned out to be incorrect. This is information that Norwegian students already have, however, and goes to show how important access to information is for migrants, who do not have any information about Norway, Norwegian society, or the options and possibilities available from before.

Homeland contact provided access to job opportunities, friends and opportunities to socialize, information and opportunities for gaining support, help and companionship. These resources were accessed through online or offline access to homeland friends or through active participation in a homeland community. These sources were sometimes already in place at the time of migration, i.e. homeland friends to whom the connection was maintained during migration.

Attachment and identity

As the concepts are discussed in chapter two, place attachment concerns the bonds between people and place, people or community. Its main function for migrants is re-placing home to mitigate the challenges of difference, which can result in either exclusion or engagement in intercultural contact. This sense of place may again affect identity as connected to a place, and is also affected by exclusion or inclusion. The migrants' references to concepts such as 'belonging', or being 'a part of', are here understood as expressions concerning attachment. It seems to be a trend among the migrants that they did not feel like they were a 'part of' Norwegian society, and that their homeland connection was still relevant and important. This is interesting when considering also that few if any of the temporary migrants had plans to return to the homeland any time soon.

References to 'belonging'

The participants' references to concepts such as 'belonging' or 'being outside of' in reference to a society or community could be seen as an indication of place attachment. There were variations in whether the informants felt 'belonging' to somewhere in Trondheim or not, and in where this 'belonging' manifested itself. The informants referred to society, different communities, smaller social groups or individual friendships when using terms such as 'belonging' or 'home'. Some of the informants said that they felt like they felt part of the student community, and one female student from Europe even commented on a Facebook post about Trondheim as "My home town". Other informants expressed that they belonged only to their friend groups, not anywhere else locally, or that they belonged to their bedroom, but felt especially outside the Norwegian society.

The homeland connection, or an attachment to the homeland, was still relevant for many of the migrants, as previous findings regarding their social media homeland contact also has shown. One migrant, a female student from Asia, answered questions about participation by exemplifying her engagement in the homeland community, saying that she felt like she was participating in her group of friends from her homeland. This also suggests a stronger attachment to her homeland community than to the Norwegian society.

Being temporary itself also affected the participants feeling of 'belonging', or their attachment. For one participant, it was important to change how he thought of himself, and to shed his "migrant jacket" (Male, PhD student, Europe):

To be part of the society, you've got to stop thinking of yourself as a migrant.
And you've got to start to think of yourself as somebody who works and lives

in Trondheim (...) and you've got to consider yourself on the same level as Norwegians. You know, Norwegians have jobs, and have house and have friends. I have a job, have a house and have friends, so I don't join any international groups. (Male, PhD student, Europe)

This male PhD student changed his perception of himself, in a conscious effort to see himself as being “*on the same level as Norwegians*”, or to establish an identity related to place. This PhD student's account could be understood as him ‘overcoming’ or changing his temporary circumstance in some way, in order to feel a stronger connection to his current residence. However, such accounts were not common among the informants.

Plans for the future

The highly skilled temporary migrants' specific type of temporality necessarily suggested that they had thought on their plans after their temporary stay in Norway. All migrants who mentioned going home specifically were negative to the idea. The answers ranged from one informant, a male PhD student from Europe, who explained his awareness of having to move on from Norway, while “*not necessarily saying that that means moving back*”, to a female student from Europe who was clear on that she was “*not planning on going back to (her homeland), or live there for the rest of my life*”. Instead, when talking about their plans for the future, nearly all the participants talked about prospects of jobs or further education. This makes sense when the participants are highly skilled migrants, as they all explained that job or education prospect was part of their motivation to migrate, as well as what facilitated their migration.

All the participants are positive to staying in Norway, while further migration is also a possibility mentioned by several participants, with a recurring theme of ‘going where the jobs or education opportunities are’. For most of these temporary highly skilled migrants, their motivations for staying or leaving, were for the most part the same as their motivation for coming to Norway; job and education prospects. Their relative ease of mobility, as evident by their consideration of both staying and further migration as viable options, combined with their priorities, could affect their connection to the host society. In addition, the highly skilled temporary migrants' lack of plans to return home, despite some of them having close connection with homeland friends or communities, suggests that homeland contact served a different function besides maintaining a sense of belonging for when they would return.

Social capital as a motivation and facilitator for citizenship enactment

Social capital was suggested to have two potential functions for citizenship enactment, facilitating migrants' access to society, as well as motivating their search for seeking such network access. In this section, I will consider the findings on citizenship enactment in terms of opportunities and aspirations, or motivation and facilitation, to illustrate how these functions manifested themselves in the migrants' citizenship enactment experiences. And as this section will show, factors such as a shared nationality, common references and understanding, a sense of belonging, and information access, were found to provide access to communities and opportunities, and motivate the 'focus' of the migrants' citizenship enactment, i.e. which communities the migrants try to access and engage in. The opportunities the migrants had access to in many cases was determined by their contacts, and in some cases, the possibilities for such access motivated the migrants' community interaction. There were also several examples of lack of network limiting the migrants' opportunities. The two functions will not be presented separately, however, as opportunities and aspirations are interrelated processes, and many experiences and events are examples of both functions.

Importance of 'understanding' and notions of 'difference'

Socializing and making friends were important aspects of participation for the informants, and when most of them report facing some difficulties with connecting with Norwegians, it is understandable that this hinders their socialization with Norwegians, and participation in Norwegian society. However, some of the migrants reported to have made fewer efforts to socialize with Norwegians, and instead seemed to naturally make international or homeland friends from the beginning of their stay. These findings suggested that there were obstacles to socialization with Norwegians, which affected the migrants' opportunities to interact with Norwegians, but also that migrants either had low aspirations of interacting with Norwegians, or that their aspirations were lowered due to the hindered opportunities for interaction.

There were a few common topics among the informants when expressing both attachment and difficulties in participating, namely notions of difference and homeland. One issue which was important for the participants was the importance of having common understanding, or of having someone who would 'get it', in social interactions. One informant, a female student from Africa, explained that she doesn't know what is good to talk about or of common interest in Trondheim, which again she sees as slowing down her interaction with Norwegians. Differences of social or cultural background may in this way complicate intercultural communication. This need for understanding or common references could be

understood as an aspect of ‘comfort’ as it was incorporated into the concept of attachment. It was emphasized by the temporary migrants as a motivation for having homeland contact, and a reason why the migrants might prefer homeland contact over other relationships, especially when topics were perceived by the migrants as being ‘foreign’ to their Norwegian friends. When the migrants did not find someone to share with in Trondheim, this increased their attachment to their friends and family, and in some cases their time spent on social media in contact with people from the homeland:

...Well, sometimes you know, they call comfort zone because it is comfortable to stay there. So and sometimes you have some events that you have to go and meet new people, and sometimes you don't know how you are gonna get along with them, and it's just the easiest to stay home talking with your friends, like about something you already know you're gonna enjoy...
(Male, PhD, South America)

It was important to the migrants to have someone they could share things with, and receive understanding. It is, according to the South American informant above, more “comfortable” to interact with people who have the same references as you and who easily understands you, than to talk to new people with different social and cultural contexts. As will be discussed later, these needs seemed to make the migrants seek homeland contact. This then represents a motivation which influences the migrants’ aspirations for citizenship enactment. For one informant, a lack of cultural knowledge became a problem when trying to interact in the new society:

...My wife is going to see a play uhm, in the theatre, a satire of people from Sør-Trøndelag. I'm not going to that, I mean it's completely lost on me. Because one, it's not just about the language, because I would get about 80% of it, it's just that I'm not trønder so I don't get the many of the nuances beyond shø after every sentence. So I feel completely excluded from humor, and that kind of thing (...) so I feel that bits of culture are alien to me. And if I became a fluent Norwegian speaker in 20 years, I think a lot of those would still be alien to me. (Male, PhD student, Europe)

This participant’s lack of knowledge of humor traditions from Trøndelag means he does not understand the jokes presented in this theatre play. Beyond an obstacle for conversation and understanding, differences in cultural references were perceived by the European PhD student as an obstacle for his complete understanding of Norwegian culture, an exclusion which might pose problems for his further attachment and identification as a citizen, possibly even affecting his aspirations for citizenship enactment, showing the impact of these notions of difference on the migrants’ citizenship enactment.

In addition to notions of difference, in the form of different humor references or conversation topics, between migrants and Norwegians, language also became an obstacle for social interaction, due to both migrants' lack of Norwegian skills, and to Norwegians discomfort with speaking English. One informant, a male student from North America, believed that there were too many language barriers in Norway, either where information was all in Norwegian or where Norwegian capabilities were preferred. He meant that it hindered and discouraged migrants who did not speak Norwegian, not to try. Several of the migrants were learning Norwegian, and experiencing that it facilitated their participation in society. Here, language acted as a hinder for participation and social interaction, which possibly resulted in demotivation and changes in the migrants' aspirations for host society access. Even for these migrants, language became an issue at times. Language was an obstacle for participation, but also for connection:

I feel like (...) speaking Norwegian, I think it makes a big difference. Because, obviously, pretty much everyone here speaks English, so it's not a lack of communication. It's just that I think it feels much more comfortable to speak their own language, and especially there are feelings that you are not really sure how to express in other language. So people feel more comfortable when they're speaking their own language, and I feel that by not speaking Norwegian, sometimes I do not really integrate when they are talking. (Male, PhD student, South America)

For the PhD student from South America, language is not a big problem for participation, as he speaks some Norwegian and most of his social activities are in Norwegian. The issue here, then, is not difficulty of communication and lack of language skills. The problem is rather reaching a deeper connection, which is achieved through being able to express thoughts and feelings comfortably in a language. The migrants explained that Norwegians seemed uncomfortable with speaking English, more so than international friends, and that this affected their interaction and ability to create a deeper connection.

Obstacles to social interaction focusing citizenship enactment

The migrants found it difficult to make friends with Norwegians, and had mostly international or homeland friends. Difficulties making friends with Norwegians concerned difficulties in creating a deeper understanding with Norwegians, when Norwegians are not comfortable enough with the common second language, and differences in social and cultural 'references' and understandings. As seen in the previous section, most of the participants reported that they had mostly international friends, while some also had larger groups of friends from the homeland who lived in Trondheim. Considering the findings suggesting the importance of

finding 'understanding' in social interactions, and the difficulties the informants experienced with connecting with Norwegians, it is possible that finding understanding through common references is connected to the establishment of a strong connection, and that this is again important for making friends. Migrants end up facing more barriers making friends with Norwegians than with international people, whom for example might be using their English more actively than Norwegians, and are therefore more comfortable when interacting in English. They also more easily connect with homeland communities, where a common language and national identity, may be indicators of a common understanding through language, facilitating a strong connection and friendship. These aspects then facilitate connection.

However, some of the migrants did have Norwegian friends, whose experiences suggest that it is possible for migrants and Norwegians to overcome the differences discussed above. However, for these migrants who had Norwegian friends, this seemed to be the result of an active decision. This distinction alludes to the combined benefits and disadvantages of homeland contact. It can provide a source of someone to 'share things in common' with and of a deeper connection in a comfortable language. However, once migrants connect more to international or homeland friends, this can again further impact their participation in Norwegian society or their relations with Norwegians:

...It doesn't make sense to not be close with the people from the same nationality that are here for the same reason, (...) And we help each other with pretty much everything related to being outside (his homeland) (...), but of course, it comes with a trade off. It directly affected my interaction with the whole Norwegian society, and of course, my, the impact on learning the language. (...) we have actually meetings in my company in Norwegian, (...) but then, it's a very very international company, that there is no really need to speak Norwegian. (Male, worker, South America)

The quoted informant was part of a large homeland group, and socialized mostly with people from his homeland. Here it is apparent that he has a decent level of Norwegian, since he can participate in work meetings in Norwegian. The South American informant also mentions that it is an international company, and that there is no need for Norwegian. Thus, language would not be a direct obstacle for participation for him. Rather, it seems like he has found his homeland group, where, as he says, they are all in the same situation, and they can help each other, which provides the sense of 'belonging' and 'understanding', which has been discussed previously. This informant, employed in Norway, found a sufficient source of the understanding, help and support he needed, and this made further efforts for participating in Norwegian society non-

essential for retrieving these resources. Here, homeland acting as an adequate source of 'belonging' and 'understanding' could be motivating his aspirations to focus on the homeland community. However, there are disadvantages for the migrants to relying too much on homeland or international friend groups.

Despite difficulties in interacting, Norwegian friends and acquaintances were important for the migrants, as these were often necessary for specific types of information regarding information and opportunities for participation. A lack of access to the right networks, and a reliance on the wrong networks, limited migrants' access to these same resources. By relying too much on homeland or international friends or networks, migrants could be missing out on information and opportunities to participate in the local society, because they are lacking the appropriate connections. Some of the informants did have some Norwegian friends or acquaintances, and participated in student activities with international or Norwegian students, and other Norwegian local organisations and activities. Although these were not strong friendships or connections, as discussed previously, they did provide the migrants with access to information and opportunities to participate. In these cases, social media was important in the information dissemination and organisation of this participation.

Host society contacts were important for the migrants for receiving at least certain types of information on social media, such as events hosted by Norwegian student organisations. For one participant, his local contacts were not strong enough to receive information necessary for local participation. Instead, acquiring the right social media account became necessary to be able to gain information about social events:

I didn't use Facebook before I moved here, but I notice that here, maybe everywhere, it's because when I was in (his homeland), people just call me and invite me to everything because we just were meeting every day. And here when people had some event or something, I didn't have such a great network to get to know about this stuff. So Facebook was the easier way know about parties and holidays and everything, so I started using it more because I got like, a feed of news, more frequently. (Male, PhD student, South America)

Here, social media was able to mediate a lack of network to be informed about and invited to social events. The mediating effect of social media is seen even more clearly when compared to another participant who had a very different experience with social events. The informant, a female student from Asia, was engaged in a homeland community, and did have a group chat with that community. However, the female student explained, "*When they're gathering, they just tell me 'hey come to the gathering', and I go, but I don't really follow the group*". She did

not have to follow the group chat to receive information about the social gathering, because her offline network was strong enough for them to inform her in another way, making sure she receives the information. Compared to the South American PhD student who felt he needed to use Facebook to get information about events, the Asian student had strong enough friendships or connections offline to receive the information regardless. Thus, the importance of social media for event information varies, and seems to decrease in importance as the strength of other networks increase. This shows the importance of this type of access to information for migrants, assuming their local networks would be relatively weak at least when first migrating. Here, social media facilitates access to opportunities for participation when networks are lacking.

However, the social media sites also allowed the migrants to seek out relevant sources of information themselves, without the need for host society contacts. In the various “(homeland people) in Trondheim” Facebook pages that the participants were in, the members would for example post events from TRD Events, which posted weekly schedules of events in Trondheim. Migrants would also seek out Norwegian organisations directly, such as a PhD student from South America who was a member of a local Astronomy organisation, which he had sought out and found himself online. Most organisations in Norway have Facebook pages, typically containing information about the organisation and their events. At least if the migrants know what they are looking for, e.g. an astronomy organisation, or general events in Trondheim, information and subsequent participation becomes relatively easily accessible through social media. Here, social media facilitates access to opportunities for participation when networks are lacking, possibly diminishing the migrants’ motivations and thus aspirations for host society participation, attachment and identity formation.

For several of the migrants, gaining international or homeland friends was easier than making friends with Norwegians. Contact with international friends was facilitated by a higher ability to communicate, compared to Norwegians’ uncomfortable English. Making friends with people from the homeland was facilitated by existing shared qualities which seemed to guarantee a level of understanding and common references, which could then also be seen as a motivation. A common nationality motivated an effort for contact through an expectation that this shared national identity would also bring with it a common way of understanding certain issues. Social media was able to mediate migrants’ lack of access to information due to weak local networks, both with the result of facilitating access when networks are lacking, and changing motivations for citizenship enactment in the host society.

Importance of ‘understanding’ focusing citizenship enactment

Most of the informants reported that they ‘belonged’ to smaller friend groups, or that they had no sense of belonging to any place or community in Norway at all. At the same time, many of the migrants still reported to feel ‘belonging’ to the homeland, or otherwise local homeland communities, and that online homeland contact was important. As mentioned in the previous section, homeland contact seemed to have importance for the migrants beyond maintaining relationships with homeland friends and family. The motivation of maintaining connections to a homeland the migrant has low aspirations of returning to, seems like a lacking explanation. The additional functions of homeland contact for the migrants beyond maintaining relationships would then help to explain their continued connection to the homeland, and how this influences the migrants’ citizenship enactment.

The migrants sought help and support, and a sense of ‘understanding’, from their social interactions. The function of social interactions as providers of support and understanding was very important for the migrants, and the difficulty in gaining these resources from Norwegian acquaintances ended up focusing the migrants’ efforts for participation, and thus their citizenship enactment, towards international and homeland friends. Here, difficulties in interacting limited the migrants’ opportunities for participation and attachment. This, it seems, resulted in a change in aspirations for network access towards homeland or international networks, motivated by an expectation that these communities would provide what the migrants were seeking. The informants who would actively aim for homeland community contact, explained that they were motivated by their perception that people from their homeland would to a larger extent meet their needs for understanding and have the same understandings of society, and need the same type of help. For one migrant, these factors were especially important:

... If I am in a problem, like in terms of money or in terms of anything, it will be much easier to explain them the problem. (...). I can't explain my Norwegian friend or my international friends what kind of problem I'm facing, because maybe that kind of helping situation, or that interaction is not common in international society. So at least with (homeland) people, (...) I want to at least believe that I have some support or I have some people who will understand my problems. (Female, student, Asia)

For this participant, contact with the homeland community, which provided her with understanding, help and support, was so important that she sought it out despite also experiencing judgement, a lack of acceptance and a lack of common interests with the people in the community. The need for support and understanding thus seems to have been a very

strong need for some of the migrants, and homeland contact was an important source for these resources. Contact with homeland communities was important for several of the participants. In addition, socializing and access to social groups seemed to be facilitated by indicators of common understanding, socializing behaviors or values, such as a common national identity. This suggests that homeland communities might have been easier to access for the migrants, and thus an easier way of securing access to groups which could provide the migrants with information, opportunities, help and support.

However, these highly skilled temporary migrants had more sources of understanding and support than the local homeland communities and communities of internationals or expats. Much of the support and understanding the migrants received, seemed to be gained from contact with homeland friends and family via social media. Especially conversations of the ‘keeping in touch’ kind provided a chance to “*share things in common*”, as one female student from Africa explained, which again would lead to the experience of understanding and belonging in a group or community. This was also evident by the fact that all but one of the migrants felt that homeland contact provided them with emotional support:

It was also for counselling as well, cause when you're on your own, and you need to speak to somebody (...) then it's sort of ‘mom, I just need to talk to a human being’, you know, not be wallowing in my misery so yeah, (...). (Did they provide emotional support?) It was essential. (Male, PhD student, Europe)

The contact the migrants had with their friends and family in the homeland, the ‘update’ conversations and the ‘keeping in touch’, functioned as a source of emotional support and help, in addition to understanding and common references. For some participants, this contact was essential for their migration itself, providing key support which they could not have done without, thus helping to sustain their migration. For others, homeland contact might have been providing them with the support and understanding which they did not find locally, or, homeland contact may have made local sources non-essential for the migrants.

Probably, in light of previous discussion, the access to these local homeland communities, was faster than the establishment of new friendships with Norwegians. If so, then finding these resources more easily within homeland communities influenced the migrants citizenship enactment, by focusing their attachment and participation towards these same homeland communities. Referring to the concept of participation from chapter two, participation as learning process, the findings could be illuminated and explained to some extent. Learning processes are very much social interactions, and the obstacle language

presented for ‘understanding’ could be hindering this kind of learning process. Such a hindrance to learning could result in migrants experiencing difference and discomfort, turning away from the Norwegian society. However, one could also understand these difficulties as something which could, and would, be overcome through the same learning processes. Through socialization, interaction, learning, culture sharing and negotiation, migrants could learn to mitigate these differences, learn what to joke about with Norwegian students, and they could teach the Norwegian students how to interact with international students. It seems like some of the participants managed this, after all.

Changes in importance of homeland contact over time

A lack of understanding and ‘comfort’ in their local interactions might lead some migrants to increase their homeland social media interactions, to seek the help and support they need from friends and family in the homeland, via social media. As mentioned previously, one migrant spent time online talking to his friends instead of engaging locally, because he knew it would be more “*comfortable*”, something other migrants also agreed they might do. While one informant, a PhD student from Europe, explained it as needing peace from socialization, other informants said that a lack of local network and friends motivated their online homeland contact. For one migrant, her social media use increased “*a lot*” since she arrived, compared to her use at home, where she “*had real people*” (Female, student, Asia). However, it was more frequent in the beginning of their migration, as one migrant, who would spend time on social media instead of engaging locally, explains:

...So I've done it more than once, its quite frequent. But I guess I did it more when I moved here. But now that I have a lot of more friends, always stuff to do, especially the dancing classes and the dancing group, they always have something going on. But I still do it once in a while. (Male, PhD student, South America)

According to this migrant, as his social activities increased and he made friends locally, his need for the intense type of social media contact with his friends back home, decreased. Thus, once migrants are able to engage somehow, and find sources of help and support locally, make friends and have local social activities and participation, this might provide what social media was providing in the beginning of their migration.

A lack of social network or ‘comfort’ led these migrants to turn to social media for company and entertainment. However, as time passed and they became more integrated locally, made friends and engaged in local activities, for some of them their need for homeland contact decreased. The question is, whether all temporary migrants perceive that they have enough time

for this to happen, or whether they instead keep relying on social media or at least other homeland sources throughout their stay. One aspect of these migrants' lives made their experiences different from the migrants covered by the theory. Temporariness represents another important barrier to the informants' efforts to participate, and society's efforts to accept them as participants in society.

Temporality creating trade-offs

The highly skilled temporary migrants' specific temporality also influenced their participation and attachment especially in relation to Norwegians and Norwegian society, and may have seemed to intensify the migrants' sense of difference and the hindrances the migrants experienced, while also moderating the migrants' efforts towards mitigating these difficulties. Temporality created trade-offs for migrants in a temporary context, between trying to participate and make friends for a temporary period, or simply going towards what was more comfortable, or connections which were already established. Migrants could be able to work through the lack of connection with Norwegians, by learning themselves, and teaching Norwegians, as a few of the participants did. However, for a temporary stay in Norway, there might not be enough time, and this could motivate them to seek 'belonging' or 'understanding' from people or communities where it is more readily available, either among international or homeland friends. Migrants may very well be developing a sense of active citizenship, in terms of attaching to certain places, people or communities, and participating through social interaction and learning processes. However, this citizenship does not always seem to be a citizenship in the host country or society to any large extent. Instead, migrants orient their attachment and participation towards sources of understanding, acceptance and comfort, an orientation which seems to be influenced by temporality.

Discussion: The role of social capital in citizenship enactment

This section aims to discuss a possible relationship between social capital and citizenship enactment for highly skilled temporary migrants, where motivations for social capital building influences the migrants' participation, attachment and identity formation. This will be done by discussing what the findings, presented in the previous chapter, say about the research question. For this group of highly skilled temporary migrants in Trondheim, it was found that social capital focused their attachment and participation, i.e. active citizenship enactment, towards international and homeland communities, by motivating and facilitating an orientation of aspirations and opportunities to acquire social capital towards networks which necessary and easily accessed. Temporality and social media combined to both exacerbate and facilitate these aspirations and opportunities. Norwegian networks turned out to be nonessential in highly skilled temporary migrants' social capital building and utilization.

As seen in the previous chapter, differences in social and cultural background and language became obstacles for migrant interaction with the host society, and a motivation for seeking homeland contact. The migrants' homeland contact was motivated by an expectation that the contact would meet their needs of understanding and support more effectively than other networks. Participation in homeland communities and social media contact with homeland friends and family was facilitated by common language, identity, and references, and of course by social media, while access to international networks was facilitated by common language abilities and a common life situation. Social interactions between migrants and Norwegians, on the other hand, was motivated by Norwegian networks' specific information about certain aspects of Norwegian society, however the interaction was hindered by a lack of common language abilities and common references and understanding. These obstacles to interaction, encountered when making friends and socializing with Norwegians, then further complicating the migrants' development of citizenship in relation to the Norwegian society, by hindering migrants' participation with Norwegians especially, and by motivating an orientation of attachment away from the host society.

Theory on attachment argues that the notion of difference and the challenges around it is a normal experience for migrants, and often instigates the process of place attachment. According to Butcher, the migrants' notions of difference and obstacles are experiences of facing challenges to their former cultural frames of reference, in a situation of "*relocation to a new cultural context*" (Butcher, 2010, p. 24). Butcher suggests that such challenges could

creating feelings of discomfort which are mitigated by the migrants with an affective emotional response, leading to attachment. Thus, these differences experienced by the migrants became hindrances for interaction with Norwegians, which could be seen as discomfort. To mitigate this discomfort, the migrants ‘attach’ to a place, or to people or a community, and “*re-place*” home as a point of certainty and comfort (Butcher, 2010, p. 24).

However, as the findings showed, these experiences did not lead to host society attachment, but attachment to international and/or homeland friends or communities, for most of the highly skilled temporary migrants interviewed. For these migrants, the processes of participation, attachment and identity formation manifested themselves as a search for understanding and comfort, which was most often reported to have been found in homeland and/or international communities, which again meant an orientation of attachment towards these communities. Few of the migrants had developed place attachment in any significant way to Norwegians or Norwegian society. At the same time, findings suggested that homeland contact was still relevant for the migrants either online or locally, and an important part of their lives during their migration. Although attachment theory explains homeland orientation as a possible result of attachment and a lack of “*important cultural knowledge*” (Butcher, 2010, p. 34), it stops short of explaining under which conditions attachment is oriented towards home.

As the theory on active citizenship suggests, attachment and participation are highly intertwined processes involved in citizenship development, which will necessarily influence each other. Notions of difference and language barriers complicated migrants’ participation in the host society and with Norwegians especially. According to Low and Altman, attachment can be based on people or community, in which case places can be seen as repositories and contexts within which interpersonal, community and cultural relationships occur, and it is to those social relationships to which people are attached (Low & Altman, 1992, p. 7). Based on this theory, the findings that most migrants had non-Norwegian friends would suggest that their place attachment, within Trondheim, was anchored in these homeland and/or international networks or communities. Referring to the concept of participation from Ch.2, participation as learning process, development of agency and negotiating one’s position, the difficulties mentioned above could be hindering these learning processes from taking place, between the migrants and the Norwegian society. Learning processes are social processes, and the barriers of language and understanding could be hindering this kind of learning process. After all, according to Reed-Danahay & Brettell, it is through face-to-face units of sociality that migrants engage in these learning processes (Reed-Danahay & Brettell, 2008, p. 79). Further, a homeland-oriented attachment could mean that the available and relevant units of sociality were

other international students or homeland friends, instead of Norwegians. However, one could also understand a learning processes to be able to help overcome these obstacles. Through socialization, interaction, and learning in units of sociality, migrants and Norwegians could learn to mitigate these differences. While the findings revealed that some of the participants managed this to varying extents, for most of the migrants however, their friends and social activities, and thus participation, was focused on international migrants and/or homeland friends. In addition to the following suggestions, it is important to reiterate the finding that the migrants' motivations for migration was education and job prospects over, say, culture exchange. Thus, their initial motivations for participating in Norwegian society were already somewhat lower than other, more long-term migrants.

Neither theory on attachment nor participation as agency and a learning process, sufficiently explain how processes of citizenship development may result in exclusion and homeland-orientation. This is where the empirical data in this paper contributes to the analytical framework developed in chapter two, by suggesting mechanisms which influence temporary highly skilled migrants' homeland orientation of attachment and participation. In order to explain possible influences on temporary highly skilled migrants' citizenship enactment, the concept of social capital will be applied as a motivation and facilitator of participation, attachment and identity formation resulting in citizenship enactment.

Social capital was used as a theorization of how migrants gain information and participate both in origin and host communities (Keles, 2015, p. 106), by facilitating and motivating network access. Based on this theory, and following the findings above, what migrants sought and received from their various social networks, could be understood as types of social capital. Comfort, understanding, acceptance and support could be seen as types of, and signs of, bonding social capital. Social capital has a multiplier effect (Aguilar & Sen, 2009, p. 427), meaning that for example comfort is both a resource to seek and receive from a network, at the same time as social capital as acceptance will also more likely also lead to comfort. Likewise, information and opportunities to participate in social events, which could be seen as a sort of bridging social capital, would both be a resource to utilize and an indication of the existence of social capital (Putnam, 2001, qtd. in Burke et al., 2010; Liu et al., 2016). Thus, social capital motivates and facilitates further social capital building and utilization. And social capital from sources such as shared language, nationality or situation, could motivate and facilitate social capital among new acquaintances. As seen in the previous chapter, this was evident among the migrants, where sometimes homeland contact was actively sought out, motivated by an expectation that these social groups were promising sources of support and

understanding than other local social groups, thus giving the migrants aspirations to join these homeland networks. In addition, access to new social groups also seemed to be facilitated by shared nationality and language, with homeland friends, or by a sense of bounded solidarity, with homeland and international friends, as discussed in chapter two (Portes, 1998, p. 8). In addition, social capital has a temporal aspect, meaning that newly established connections need initial investment, and take time before they may provide utilization of social capital (Aguilar & Sen, 2009, p. 427). As such, by focusing their efforts on homeland or international networks, the migrants are seeking social capital, a time-consuming process, from the networks where access will be established most quickly.

As seen in the previous chapter on findings, the migrants' access to social capital was clearly influenced by the networks they had access to. Although host society network access seemed necessary for some types of specific bridging social capital concerning for example Norwegian student organisations, migrants largely seemed to be able to cover most of their bonding and bridging social capital needs through their international and/or homeland networks. Covering their needs, in the sense that most reported to have friends, social activities, help and support, and did not express current feelings of loneliness. Thus, the migrants' motivation for access to host societies was diminished, meaning motivation for social capital building focused the migrants' citizenship engagement. However, an ability to rely largely on international and/or homeland networks for social capital also meant that their participation and attachment was oriented towards these networks. In addition, access to Norwegian social groups, on the other hand, was at times hindered by social and language barriers, as discussed previously, whereby a lack of social capital both hindered the migrants' opportunities for network access, and diminished their motivations for host society access.

One would perhaps expect more of the informants to have if not completely overcome these barriers, then to at last have made more of an effort than they expressed having made, given the value of host society networks for certain types of social capital. After all, the findings suggested that a lack of access to the right networks, and a reliance on inappropriate networks, limited the highly skilled temporary migrants' access to resources. To some extent, one could suggest that host society attachment and participation was not the main goal for these temporary migrants' mobility. However, I propose that a combination of social media and temporality simultaneously motivated and facilitated temporary migrants to seek social capital building from international and homeland networks, both offline and online, rendering host society network access unnecessary.

Social media was used extensively by the temporary migrants in planning and organizing social gatherings, and for finding information about local social events, which they saw as the most important form of participation in society. The theory discussed regarding social media in chapter two supports this. Keles argued that the Internet provides a space for constructing a sense of community which may result in sharing and accumulating social capital, and mobilize individuals and communities for social benefits in the settlement country (2015, p. 105), and therefore, based on this theory and following the empirical findings, social media could be understood as facilitating the migrants' offline participation, attachment and identity formation. However, social media did not only facilitate migrants' citizenship enactment in relation to the host society. Social media sites also seemed to facilitate migrants sharing information with each other, or allowed the migrants to seek out the information on social media directly themselves, without the need for host society networks. This social media activity then to some extent facilitated host society participation, in providing some of the bridging social capital usually acquired from Norwegian networks. However, it was also used extensively in organising participation in international and homeland communities, and mostly served to facilitate the migrants' participation in any community. Thus, although as Leander and McKim argue, the social spaces of Internet practices are complexly interlinked with social spaces outside the Internet (Leander & McKim, 2003, p. 218), this shows how social media does not decide which social spaces outside the Internet it is linked with. Social media is a tool for social interaction, or a facilitator of citizenship enactment, which thus has the potential for facilitating both inclusive and exclusive citizenships. As mentioned earlier, for these temporary migrants, engagement with Norwegian society was not their main motivation for migrating, and thus, participation in Norwegian networks already not as important as gaining necessary social capital. Here, then, social media became a facilitator for an exclusive citizenship.

The findings showed that homeland social media contact was an especially important source of bonding social capital in terms of emotional support and understanding, which then shaped the migrants' aspirations for network access. Bonding social capital is good for emphasizing specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity (Putnam, 2001, qtd. in Burke et al., 2010; Liu et al., 2016), which one might expect to find in networks with old ties or shared national identity, for example. As seen in the previous chapter, in some incidents, it seemed like homeland relationships were the only networks which could provide these specific types of social capital, and social media then facilitated access to these networks during migration. For others, homeland contact via social media seemed to provide bonding social capital more easily than local networks, as the 'time delay' on utilizing the social capital, as explained by

Aguilar and Sen (2009, p. 427), had already passed in these existing relationships. As suggested by Portes' emphasis on the importance of membership in a group in gaining access to resources (1998, qtd. in Aguilar & Sen, 2009, p. 425), the existence of social capital probably further facilitated the building of social capital, as the existence of social capital such as a common understanding of help and support needed in a given situation would probably facilitate the provision of social capital such as help and support. Here, existing social capital facilitated access to homeland networks, as well as motivating it based on expectations of social capital building opportunities.

In this way, social media provided a source of social capital which was acquired even more easily and faster than especially from host society networks, but also faster than new, local homeland or international networks. Thus, while social media generally facilitates participation and attachment, it may facilitate participation and attachment which has exclusionary effects, in the sense that it may facilitate social capital building which renders attachment to host society and other local networks nonessential for comfort. Social media activities can replace local, offline participation and attachment.

Social media is only a tool for migrants to access social capital in the fastest and easiest way, same as they do offline. As seen previously in chapter four, for some migrants, homeland contact via social media had been especially important in the beginning of the migration, for then to wane over time as local networks began providing the bonding social capital they were seeking online. These local networks still tended to be international or local homeland networks, rather than host society networks. Time allows local relationships to be built, and attachment to be developed, locally. However, migrants still tend towards international or homeland friends over Norwegian friends, because although the temporary highly skilled migrants had enough time to access international or local homeland networks, they did not perceive their stays to be long enough to allow for, or necessitate, integration into host society networks. This suggests that existing homeland networks were the easiest networks to access, followed by new local homeland communities and international communities, while Norwegian networks were mostly found to be difficult to access for the migrants. When the migrants in addition to this, were able to meet their needs for social capital outside of Norwegian networks, it suggests the role of social capital in focusing citizenship enactment.

The temporality of these temporary highly skilled migrants' lives made their experiences different from the migrants covered by the theory. Temporality, in terms of the temporariness of these migrants' stay in Norway, seemed to influence the effort the highly skilled migrants put into their attachment and participation in the host society. Rather than a

sign of laziness, limited resources, such as time is here, can force the migrants to make trade-offs concerning what they spend their time and energy on. Attachment for the purpose of mitigating differences and securing a point of comfort, or in order to fix 'home', as argued by Butcher, (2010, p. 25), and participation, are demanding tasks, and until successful, may leave the migrants in situations of identity re-evaluation and discomfort, vulnerability and uncertainty (Butcher, 2010, pp. 24, 34), i.e. lacking the social capital they are seeking. Thus, obstacles to interacting and connecting with Norwegians means more energy needs to be put in for those relationships to work, and pay off. This increased need for effort is exacerbated by the temporal aspect of social capital, which means that new connections will always delay in their provision of social capital (Aguilar & Sen, 2009, p. 427). In addition, through existing social capital with local homeland friends, bounded solidarity with international friends (Portes, 1998, p. 8), or social media with homeland friends and family, social capital was more easily more quickly accessed from networks other than Norwegians. Thus, migrants seek social capital in their host society, through access to networks, which is realized through, and further instigates, participation, attachment and identity formation. They would want to access this as quickly and efficiently as possible, to mitigate the discomfort of lacking social capital, and because their temporariness means their time resources are scarce. On top of this, they have different possible networks to choose to seek this social capital from. Norwegian networks are especially difficult to access, and are less likely to provide bonding social capital. International and local homeland networks are more easily accessed, and may provide nearly all the necessary bridging social capital and some bonding social capital necessary. Here, social media offers additional bridging social capital, as well as facilitating contact with homeland friends and family, which provide the necessary bonding social capital for the migrants. Existing social capital and social media renders Norwegian networks nonessential, and in a situation where these networks are more demanding to access than others, migrants orient their efforts elsewhere.

The aim of this paper was to explore possible underlying mechanisms and processes in citizenship enactment through participation, attachment and identity formation among temporary highly skilled migrants in Trondheim, Norway, in a context of temporariness and social media contact. It was found that the goal of this specific sample of highly skilled temporary migrants in their various social interactions offline and online, was acquiring social capital. Social capital provides comfort, understanding and emotional support, essential for quality of life, in addition to access to networks and opportunities for participation. However, social capital also has a temporal aspect, which means that access to networks, once established, will not immediately provide the migrants with social capital (Aguilar & Sen, 2009, p. 427).

For temporary migrants, time is often a limited resource. This provokes the necessity for trade-offs, between accessing familiar or easily accessed networks for a quick building and utilization of social capital, covering most of their needs, or accessing unfamiliar and new networks in the host society, for the possibility of utilizing social capital specifically relevant for the local setting and for participation in the host society. Through easily accessed local offline networks, and social media providing further bridging social capital for local participation, and bonding social capital through online homeland contact, the migrants had their social capital needs met. When these sources of social capital were all more easily accessed than Norwegian networks, due to obstacles to interaction between the migrants and Norwegians, the migrants ended up orienting their social capital building, participation, attachment and identity formation processes and efforts away from the Norwegian society.

Conclusion

I started this thesis by posing the research question, how is social capital connected to citizenship enactment among highly skilled temporary migrants? Through empirical study of the migrants' social networks and social media use, based on the theoretical framework combining the theory of active citizenship and social capital, it was found that for these temporary highly skilled migrants, their search for social capital focused their citizenship enactment away from the Norwegian society. Social capital was found to act as a motivation for obtaining or maintaining access to social networks, and as an 'aid' for social interactions, facilitating and easing interaction with networks. The ability to obtain social capital focused the migrants' aspirations and opportunities for interaction, which again focused their participation, attachment and identity formation, or, their citizenship enactment. The context of temporariness and social media contact with homeland networks combined to increase their opportunities for social capital building from existing networks and their aspirations for quick access to social capital, while a significant lack of social capital between Norwegians and highly skilled temporary migrants pushed the migrants' citizenship enactment away from the Norwegian society.

On the basis of this small selection of a specific group of migrants, this paper does not attempt to make general statements about the experiences of all highly skilled temporary migrants in Norway. However, the case illuminates some interesting mechanisms and process linking temporality and the search for social capital to citizenship enactment among these migrants, especially regarding which communities their citizenships are focused towards. Although I problematise the issue of exclusive and inclusive citizenship enactment in this thesis,

this is not to suggest that any attachment is an inferior or superior choice for the migrants themselves, the agents in the process of migrant citizenship enactment. Any type or combination of attachment and participation are the results, abstractedly or more deliberately, of the migrants' own plans, aspirations and preferences. My aim with this study is simply to explore and suggest the possible mechanisms leading to these tendencies and variations in orientation of citizenship.

There is variation in the sample, where some migrants do acquire most of their social capital from Norwegian friends, and to participate in the Norwegian society. However, for these migrants this was the result of conscious decisions to deliberately seek out Norwegian networks, through overcoming obstacles and choosing the more difficult path to social capital. Most of the migrants do not consciously make a decision not to engage in Norwegian society, rather, it just makes more sense to focus your attention to the networks where people accept and understand you and you feel like you belong, without as much effort. The fact that the migrants who had Norwegian friends made conscious decisions to do so, rather than it happening purely by circumstance, suggests how plausible this trend is.

This paper concerns a group of migrants with a very specific temporality, and rather than make general statements about the experiences of all temporary migrants, it attempts to further illuminate the topic of temporality in a new way. Here, the issue of temporality is applied to the process of citizenship enactment, and it emphasises aspects of citizenship which are emotional and concerned with wellbeing, but also rational and practical in their need for efficiency and effect, where social capital is an important motivation and facilitator for citizenship enactment.

This exploratory thesis suggests a possible connection between social capital and citizenship enactment for highly skilled temporary migrants, a connection which could and should be explored further in research, in order to deepen and widen the insights in this study. As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, the aim of this study was to add to the theory on temporary migrants specifically. Therefore, the following suggestions will not suggest future research on non-temporary migrants. Rather, the first suggestion will be to include highly skilled workers or expats to a higher extent. This thesis study uses a sample with a majority of international students. Studying a larger sample of highly skilled temporary migrant, with a better balance between students and workers or expats, would contribute to strengthen or further develop the framework presented in this thesis regarding highly skilled temporary migrants' citizenship enactment. A larger sample with a better balance of various highly skilled temporary

migrants, i.e. students, workers and expats, would help to strengthen the applicability of the conclusion to highly skilled temporary migrants outside of the sample.

The conclusion of this thesis suggests a role of social capital in citizenship enactment, where social capital works as a motivation and facilitation of citizenship enactment, within a specific context of temporality and social media use. Future research could examine these connections by applying them to new contexts and new groups of temporary. Given the obstacles between migrants and Norwegians, an interesting new context would be highly skilled temporary migrants in a different culture, e.g. an English-speaking country, to see if a lack of these language barriers would have different results for the migrants' citizenship enactment. Another new context could be a group of highly skilled temporary migrants whose homeland contact is focused around a different communication technology, i.e. email, to examine the role of social media in facilitating transnational and local social capital building. Lastly, by concerning low-skilled or uneducated migrants, or high-skilled migrants in nation-states with immigration regulations which do not favour the entrance of highly skilled migrants, the role of ease of mobility could be examined.

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Appendix A: Interview and observation guide

1. Introduction

- a. Brief introduction of the researcher (in order to create a more personal space, social connection)
- b. Brief introduction to the research/ Master Thesis topic – looking at participation and attachment of migrants
- c. Clarification of research conditions: confidentiality, no judgement, interview guide/ structure (open questions, opinions of any kind appreciated, no limit of talking)

2. Personal information

- a. What is your nationality – do you consider this to be your homeland?
- b. Work (sector), student
 - i. Norwegian or international?

3. Migration background

- a. Why did you come to Norway? Tell me about the decision, motivation
 - i. When? How long have they been in Norway?
 - ii. Did you experience any problems, difficulties when arriving?
- b. In what ways is your migration temporary?
- c. How do you feel about this temporariness?

4. Participation

- a. What do you do during your free time, outside of work/school?
 - i. Where are your friends from?
- b. What does it mean to participate in a society?
- c. Do you feel like you participate in Norwegian society?
 - i. In what ways?
- d. Are there any ways in which you do not participate/feel outside?
- e. Do you feel like you have a say/control/power in the society you live in?
- f. Do you feel like you belong here somewhere? Do you feel like you do not belong somewhere here?

5. Social Media

- a. Contact with relatives or friends from back home via social media?
 - i. What kind of contact?

- ii. What do you talk about?
- b. What do you get out of these relationships?
- c. Do they provide emotional support?
- d. How do you feel about having contact with them?
 - i. Want more/less
- e. Has your social media or media use in general changed since you arrived?
 - i. More contact, more international focus
- f. Migration
 - i. Did you receive any help through social media from these friends/family with initial migration issues, if there were any?
 - ii. Where did you find information/help regarding the initial migration issues, if there were any?
- g. Participation
 - i. Participation activities in society (refer to answers to section 4)
 - 1. Did you find these activities on social media? Did you find them through friends talking about them on social media? Where they suggestions from friends back home?
 - ii. Do you ever communicate with friends/family back home instead of local activities? i.e. seeing local friends, going to an activity

6. Observation:

- a. Brief overview of the observation part: newsfeed, activity log, some questions
- b. Newsfeed:
 - i. Pick out interesting things, things they might have wanted to react to, look at, click on
 - ii. Why is it interesting?
- c. Activity log
 - i. What kind of activity do they partake in?
 - ii. Who do they interact with? Where are they from
 - iii. Do they post any content of their own?
- d. Chat
 - i. If they are chatting with anyone from the homeland, are they friends offline? Note codes for reference later in observation

- ii. Do they also chat with these people? What about? Serious, light, about Norway, about homeland, interests? More contact now than before migration?

6: Conclusion

- a. Thank for the participation
- b. Open for comments, feedbacks and suggestions
- c. Any people/groups you think I should talk to? Skilled workers or int. students
University

Appendix B: Consent form/ Information page

Invitation to participate in the research project

”Role of social media in feelings of citizenship in temporary transnational migrants”

Background and purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore whether social capital gained from contact with the homeland hinders or helps feelings of connection to the host country for transnational migrants. What kind of contact do migrants have to the homeland through social media, and does this contact hinder or help the migrant feel a sense of belonging to the host country? What determines whether the contact is helpful or not?

The study is carried as part of a master’s thesis at the Institute of geography at NTNU.

I would like to invite you to participate in my study, as I wish to interview people who have migrated to Norway, and who use a form of social media to keep in touch with friends/family in the homeland.

What will you have to do if you agree to take part?

The study consists of an interview and an observation part, which will take about 1 hour combined. In the observation part, we will together look at a social media page which belongs to the participant, for example the Facebook newsfeed. The participant will be asked to comment on different activities on the page, such as what a link is about, why they have ‘liked’ a certain post, etc. The participant will also be asked to identify whether persons on the page they have had contact with, live in the homeland of the participant, or not.

In the interview part, the questions will be about your migration background, free time activities and social media use.

There will be a sound recording done during the interview, and notes will be taken during the observation part.

What will happen to information about you?

All your personal information will be treated confidentially. Only I as the researcher will have access to the personal information. Names and contact information will be stored separately from recordings from the interview and observation.

As a participant, you will not be recognizable in the publication. All information will be anonymous.

The project will be completed 10.05.2017. After this, all sound recordings will be deleted, and all notes of names and contact information will be destroyed.

Voluntary participation

Participation in this study is voluntary, and you can at any moment withdraw your consent without giving a reason. If you withdraw, all information about you will be anonymous.

If you want to participate or have any questions about the study, contact Mari Øverland at xxxxxxxx. Supervisor in this study is Ståle Angen Rye, at xxxxxxxx.

The study is reported to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS.

Consent to participation in the study

I have received information about the study, and am willing to participate

(Signed by project participant, date)